

# THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN HOLY LAND

RECEPTION FROM LATE ANTIQUITY  
THROUGH THE RENAISSANCE

KATHRYN BLAIR MOORE







# THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN HOLY LAND



In the absence of the bodies of Christ and Mary, architecture took on a special representational role during the Christian Middle Ages, marking out sites associated with bodily presence of the dominant figures of the religion. Throughout this period, buildings were reinterpreted in relation to the mediating role of textual and pictorial representations that shaped the pilgrimage experience across expansive geographies. In this study, Kathryn Blair Moore challenges fundamental ideas within architectural history regarding the origins and significance of European re-creations of buildings in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. From these conceptual foundations, she traces and reinterprets the significance of the architecture of the Holy Land within changing religious and political contexts, from the First Crusade and the emergence of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land to the anti-Islamic crusade movements of the Renaissance, as well as the Reformation.

Kathryn Blair Moore teaches medieval and Renaissance art history at Texas State University. She received her art historical training at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Fellowships and grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Academy in Rome, and the University of Hong Kong (where she previously taught) have supported extensive research throughout Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa. Her scholarly work explores the intersection of architectural, pictorial, and textual cultures, with a particular emphasis upon larger religious and political contexts, from pilgrimage to religious wars, that shaped the experience of buildings across Europe and the Mediterranean world.



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*Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance*



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For Barbara Carter, who taught me Latin, Mary O'Brien, who  
taught me close reading, Paul Barolsky, who taught me close  
looking, Marvin Trachtenberg, who taught me critical thinking,  
and my parents, who taught me in the first place





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## PREFACE



This book is about a group of buildings located in the modern countries of Israel, Syria, and Egypt that have motivated countless pilgrims to cross continents and seas and have inspired cataclysmic wars and territorial disputes whose effects reverberate through the present day. And yet why and how these buildings that collectively make up the sacred architecture of the Christian Holy Land first emerged as significant symbolic entities remains surprisingly unexplored. Certainly the traditional building histories of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem or the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, for example, have been told and carefully weighed against archaeological evidence. This study, however, is not conceived as a traditional history of the lives of buildings, but instead proposes to consider how this group of buildings first entered the European imaginary, especially by means of the generative capacity of language, and how symbolic actions of appropriation, re-creation, and destruction came to impinge upon the physical reality of these buildings in the Holy Land.

Since their first creation in the period of Christianity's legalization under Constantine (i.e., in the fourth century AD), the buildings that came to shape the Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land have existed in a charged conceptual space formed out of the opposing impulses of re-creation and destruction. Within this dynamic space the relationships between Judaism, Roman paganism, Christianity, Islam, Catholicism, and Protestantism have been defined through symbolic acts of architectural re-creation or

destruction, which either reiterated or foreshadowed physical acts. The large historical scope of this book allows us, on the one hand, to trace the differing uses of representational media, from textual description and hand-made drawing to printed images and physical re-creations, in the negotiation of relationships between imaginary and real space, and, on the other hand, to see significant relationships between real buildings across expansive geographies. For example, physical re-creations of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher or the Way of the Cross constructed in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, whether in Catholic parts of Italy, Spain, Germany, or the New World, can be seen as engaging with an opposing destructive tendency, which led to the dismantling of similar buildings as part of the Protestant reform movements, or the parallel symbolic erasure of the Christian pilgrimage buildings in maps of the Holy Land published in bibles in the Protestant North. Currently, there are attempts to rewrite the history of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem as a purely Islamic structure with no relation to the historical Jewish Temple; in opposition to this are calls for the destruction of the Dome of the Rock and the restoration of the Jewish Temple that have been symbolically enacted in various media, from computer simulations of the Temple to a theme park exhibit in Orlando, Florida. A millennium earlier, in the eleventh century, calls to unite European Christians to take Jerusalem from the Muslim agents of the Antichrist – as they were characterized – engaged with a symbolic act of architectural appropriation and re-creation, by

which the Dome of the Rock was represented in sermons and texts as a Christian building perversely transgressed by Muslims. At the same time, would-be crusaders rallied around the idea of protecting the site of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, whose architecture had recently been destroyed by Muslims. The construction of churches dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher throughout eleventh-century Europe enacted a symbolic reconstruction of the building in Jerusalem, pointing to a future possession of the city and its sacred architecture.

This dynamic tension between re-creation and destruction can be extended back to the first formation of the Christian architecture of the Holy Land in the time of Constantine. The initial creation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher entailed the dismantling of a pagan Roman temple reportedly dedicated to Venus, whose stones and columns were reused in the new Christian building; the empty Tomb and inscribing Rotunda of the Christian church initiated a new potential symbolic life for architecture, inscribing not an idol but an empty space standing for the absent body of Christ. The apparently anti-idolatrous nature of European churches dedicated to the Tomb of Christ may have been significant in the context of their first creation, as part of missionary activities of the ninth and tenth centuries. From another perspective, we might consider how the symbolic life of the architecture of the Christian Holy Land was at the same time a reaction to the Islamic possession of the region, from the seventh century. The first significant representation of the architecture of the Holy Land as a collective entity was created when Christianity was challenged by the new religion of Islam that denied the divine status of Christ. It took the form of an illustrated book, with descriptions of the features of those distant buildings, related – by the monastic author, Adomnán of Iona – to the primary material traces characterized as testaments to the divinity of Christ. The ground-plans of the sacred buildings defined the contours of the Christian Holy Land at a moment when Islam threatened the Christian identity of the territory. The buildings were imagined as enclosing sanctifying inscriptions, and by extension as composed of inscriptional forms, marking out sites of theophany – where God’s presence on earth had been revealed.

Adomnán’s book was composed around the end of the seventh century and would circulate throughout Europe in numerous manuscript copies in the following centuries, and then would take on a renewed life in printed books of the early modern period. Significantly, the moment of the book’s creation intersected with the construction of the Dome of the Rock over the ruins of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem. The Dome of the Rock encapsulated the Islamic challenge to Christianity’s presence in the Holy Land, by competitively appropriating architectural forms associated with Christ and Mary in and around Jerusalem. When the crusaders took Jerusalem in 1099, motivated by the recent Islamic destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, they took over the Dome of the Rock and transformed it into a church. From that moment, the building would become central to the Christian conception of the sacred architecture of the Holy Land, and its representation in succeeding centuries would visually articulate the intentions of new crusading movements that hoped to restore Christian possession of Jerusalem’s Temple. The overall conception of what constituted the architecture of the Christian Holy Land therefore significantly changed over the centuries, reflecting how the Christian identity of the Holy Land was repeatedly redefined in opposition to Islam.

Studies of the symbolic significance of the architecture of the Holy Land have in the past focused upon the relationship between Christianity and its antecedent religions, Judaism and Roman paganism. The relative absence of attention to the relationship of Christianity to Islam as it informed the fundamental notions of the sanctity of the architecture of the Holy Land could be seen as a product of the history traced here. This book attempts – as much as may be possible – to disregard conceptual boundaries that divide studies of Jerusalem’s architecture along religious and national lines. The study also attempts to disregard assumptions about period divisions, particularly between the medieval and Renaissance periods, as well also as geographical boundaries that tend to divide southern from northern Europe, for example. The idea of the architecture of Jerusalem was, and continues to be, both deeply divisive and unifying, and the full implications of this paradox

can only be appreciated with a broad perspective. Although the primary focus of this book is the millennium stretching from the seventh through the seventeenth centuries, the renewed interest in the architecture of the Holy Land in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be discussed in the Epilogue.

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## ABBREVIATIONS



BAP	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris	BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome	BSN	Bibliothèque du Séminaire, Namur
BCR	Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome	CCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
BL	British Library, London	KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
BLK	Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe	NYPL	New York Public Library, New York
BLO	Bodleian Library, Oxford	ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
BML	Bibliothèque Municipale, Laon	QCO	Queen's College, Oxford
BMV	Biblioteca Marciana, Venice	SB	Stiftsbibliothek, St. Gall
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence	VBM	Valenciennes Bibliothèque Municipale
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris	ZB	Zentralbibliothek, Zurich
BRB	Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels		
BRT	Biblioteca Reale, Turin		



## INTRODUCTION



THIS BOOK PROPOSES TO EXPLORE THE CHANGING contexts for the perceptions of the architecture of the Christian Holy Land. The most important body of evidence for these perceptions is found in the books that described the pilgrimage; such books mediated between the pilgrimage in Jerusalem and its re-creation elsewhere, and created fundamental links between the two realms of experience. The earliest pilgrimage books suggest that Christians actively sought to trace out the vestiges of Christ's body – such as imprints of his face and hands on the Column of the Flagellation (Fig. 1) or his footprints on the Mount of Olives (Fig. 2) – perceived as inscriptions drawn by Christ as testaments to his dual divine and human nature. The description of the related architectural enclosures inscribing the imprints of Christ's otherwise absent form, first constructed during the lives of Helena and her son Constantine, became a fundamental part of the larger process of tracing and memorialization enacted by pilgrims in the Holy Land and re-enacted in a monastic context within manuscripts. The combined perception of the significance of the architecture associated with the body of Christ and the desire to experience the pilgrimage without making the journey – particularly as made more difficult following the Islamic conquests in the region – precipitated the first physical re-creations of the architecture of the Holy Land. The analysis of these various re-creations of the Holy Land will aim to elucidate the nature of representation, broadly defined to incorporate textual description, pictorial



Fig. 1 Column of the Flagellation, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Photo: author)

representation, and architectural re-creation, and primarily understood as a making present again – a representation – of something absent: the bodies of



Fig. 2 Church of the Ascension, Jerusalem, twelfth century (Photo: author)



Christ and Mary. The Tomb in Jerusalem temporarily enclosing Christ's body before the Resurrection (Fig. 3), the cave where he had been born in Bethlehem and adored by the Magi, and the house of Mary where the Angel Gabriel had announced the birth of Jesus, could all be re-created and their auratic presence expanded, as they were throughout Christendom.

The architectural materials inscribing the sites of Christ's corporeal presence, although not present during his life, came to be an essential part of experiencing the traces of his earthly presence. Architectural forms had a primary representational function in abstractly manifesting Christ's absent body, both within the Holy Land and beyond. In Europe, the pilgrimage churches were re-created in the form of new buildings that were doubly representational: by first standing in for the absent original, inaccessible because of the distance of the Holy Land, and then also standing in place of a building that was itself primarily an inscription of bodily absence. The implication of a double absence nonetheless made the representation more essential to the experience, and this significance was amplified by other deeply felt absences: the vestiges of numerous pilgrims who had made the pilgrimage in order to transmit their experiences in a collective memorialization of the journey. The auratic force of the buildings also derived from the centuries of accumulated inscription, description, and transmission: it was not just that Christ's body was implicated in the presence of the buildings, but that the architectural forms also retained the memory of the countless Christian pilgrims who had come and touched the buildings, whose primary vestiges were simple graffiti inscribed into the stones of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 4) and the written accounts that memorialized the process of interior inscription in tangible form.

## PREVIOUS LITERATURE

There is a vast body of literature on the architecture of the Holy Land, from analyses of pilgrimage accounts through archaeological surveys of the modern period.<sup>1</sup> My interest is not in the patrons who first initiated the buildings or the motivations

for their initial construction – these are topics well explored elsewhere – but instead in the perception of the buildings. From the perspective of historians of pilgrimage literature, the changes in attitudes towards the representation of the architecture of the Holy Land have not been a primary interest. Textual accounts, in particular, have been taken as the primary evidence for the state of the buildings over the centuries. The question of why the accounts varied, how the variations might indicate changing perceptions of the architecture over the centuries – especially in contrast to the idea of the overall city of Jerusalem – and in what ways these textual descriptions related to pictorial and architectural representations, has remained unasked.<sup>2</sup>

Within the history of European art and architecture, there has been a long-standing disconnect between the architecture of the Holy Land as experienced by pilgrims and the buildings in Europe that were intended to re-create the distant originals. While it has been understood that pilgrims played an active role in inspiring the construction of many of the re-creations of buildings like the Holy Sepulcher in Europe, the related role of the book culture of pilgrimage accounts – and the corresponding oral culture – in bridging the physical distance to Jerusalem and the conceptual distance from the body of Christ has been largely overlooked. Richard Krautheimer's often-cited discussion of the "iconography of medieval architecture" is exemplary in this regard.<sup>3</sup> He considered the lack of resemblance between the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and its European "copies" as resulting from a pervasive medieval disregard for visible appearances. Krautheimer characterized the medieval attitude towards all architectural forms as a collective imprecision and inattentiveness to accuracy.<sup>4</sup> An exploration of the pilgrimage literature instead suggests that such physical re-creations were primarily created and perceived in the context of an oral and textual culture of pilgrims recounting or imagining their experiences for an audience who would for the most part never see Jerusalem with their own eyes.

And yet the following exploration of how the architecture of the Christian Holy Land was re-created in Europe is in fact an expansion of Krautheimer's original observations. For it was



Fig. 3 Anastasis Rotunda, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem, founded fourth century (Photo: author)





Fig. 4 Graffiti, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Photo: author)

Krautheimer who first observed that the symbolic meaning – or content, as he called it – of many significant European churches depended upon their perceived relationship to a distant building in Jerusalem. This observation opened up a new kind of medieval architectural history, in which forms might be correlated with meanings. The fact that Krautheimer’s article of 1942 still continues to be cited with remarkable frequency is in itself a testament to the foundational nature of his argument for the field of European architectural history. This study is not conceived as a repudiation of his iconography, but an elaboration. For instance, Krautheimer characterized the relation between the copies of the Holy Sepulcher in Europe and the prototype in Jerusalem in terms of the “disintegration ... into single elements, the selective transfer of these parts, and their reshuffling in the copy.”<sup>5</sup> While insightful, this observation leaves open the question of how and why such a disintegration occurred. By taking into account the distance in both space and time, the role of pilgrimage, and the mediating roles of memory, verbal description, and pictorial representation, we might be able to reconfigure our understanding of the relationship between the buildings in the Holy Land and their re-creations in Europe.<sup>6</sup>

Krautheimer had turned to the question of how the architecture associated with Christ’s Tomb in Jerusalem was re-created in Europe in order to lay the groundwork for the study of symbolic

content in all of medieval architecture, proposing that the Holy Sepulcher functioned as an architectural model in the same way as any building in medieval Europe. I would instead suggest that the architecture associated with the absent bodies of Christ and Mary was special, and the example of the Anastasis Rotunda, or Holy Land architecture in general, should not be extrapolated to form a general theory of architectural symbolism in medieval Christianity.<sup>7</sup> A primary aim of this study is to trace the evolution of the special status of the architecture of the Holy Land from late antiquity through the early modern period. Krautheimer also framed his discussion in negative terms, that is, in terms of what was lacking in medieval architectural representation in contrast to the precision and fidelity of Renaissance and modern modes of imitation. Rather than viewing the European recreations of the Holy Sepulcher and related buildings associated with the bodies of Christ and Mary in terms of what is lacking, or absent, in contrast to the originals, their forms and meanings will be resituated in the context of a pervasive interest in the symbolic presence of Christ and Mary. The ultimate subject of representation was not the material buildings in the Holy Land, but the bodies they had once enclosed.

In the decades since Krautheimer’s article was first published, his concept of architectural iconography has most often been reduced to the notion of “copying.”<sup>8</sup> In an effort to link together the various

European re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher into a chain of replicas, these buildings have become decontextualized from their individual historical contexts. There is a particularly notable habit of citing a handful of the copies of the Holy Sepulcher from various periods and locations, in a way that implies their fundamental equivalence, despite varying circumstances of creation and changing historical contexts.<sup>9</sup> By doing so, it is also implied that the exact number of buildings and their contexts need not – or cannot – be specified. In other words, the notion of inexactitude has been extended to how the entire class of buildings has been treated in modern scholarship. It is primarily this use of Krautheimer’s iconography that I see as problematic, and which I hope to challenge by re-evaluating the fundamental aspects of not just how and why, but also where and when buildings were made in the image of the Holy Sepulcher.

What, ultimately, was the origin of Krautheimer’s assertion that the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was the most frequently copied building in medieval Europe, or even that it was copied at all? In the ninth and tenth centuries in the region of modern-day Germany, churches were for the first time explicitly dedicated to Christ’s Tomb and said by contemporaries to have been constructed in the “likeness” of Christ’s Sepulcher.<sup>10</sup> Such dedications continued to proliferate throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Rather than examine the historical context for these buildings – asking questions such as why the first dedications emerged in the context of Benedictine monastic foundations, or why the buildings subsequently proliferated in the period of crusades, or wane with the loss of the crusader states – Krautheimer implied the limitless nature of his argument. The most notable way was by suggesting that any centralized baptistery constructed in Christianity, beginning with the fourth-century Lateran Baptistery, could potentially be viewed as a copy of the Holy Sepulcher, despite the fact that no baptistery was ever recorded as being dedicated to Christ’s Sepulcher.<sup>11</sup> The certainty of an intent to copy the Holy Sepulcher was teleologically projected back to the first period of Christianity as an imperial religion, and in this way architectural copies of the Holy Sepulcher became a defining

ahistorical feature of all medieval Christian architecture.<sup>12</sup> Krautheimer’s iconography has nonetheless been understood as a significant example of contextualism.<sup>13</sup> However, I would emphasize that Krautheimer primarily considered the macro-context for the creation of churches copying the Holy Sepulcher, namely the Christian Middle Ages. The buildings’ specific material and institutional contexts, and the related physical evidence for their symbolic significance, largely remains to be investigated.

#### AIMS AND DIVISION OF MATERIALS

A primary aim of this study is to think about how connections to Jerusalem and its sacred architecture were materialized in the book culture of pilgrimage, and at the same time to use the evidence of these books to establish the changing perceptions of the buildings in relation to historical and political contexts. I would propose that we consider that the creators of such books were not passively recording the existence of symbolic forms, but instead actively bringing them into being as part of a larger signifying process. I would likewise propose that we look to the pilgrimage books as more than just documents testifying to the state of the buildings, but also as significant creations in themselves, whose features can contribute to our understanding of this special set of buildings and how they were given symbolic meaning. In doing so, I have found that fundamental questions have never been posed, most importantly: when and why did description of architectural forms become an essential idea of the imagined pilgrimage to the Holy Land? And, how did this relate to the recreation of the pilgrimage in real space, through architectural construction?

It is in the *De Locis Sanctis* (On the Holy Places) of Adamnanus de Iona, more commonly known as Adomnán of Iona, composed around the end of the seventh century, that we find the first surviving description of the forms of the buildings of the Holy Land – created, significantly, by a monk who had never seen Jerusalem with his own eyes.<sup>14</sup> Adomnán wrote the book sometime during his period as abbot



of the remote island monastery of Iona off of the coast of modern-day Scotland, from 679 to 704.<sup>15</sup> His book exemplifies the role of monastic libraries in the pre-crusades engagement with the Holy Land. His knowledge of the topographic and architectural features of Palestine depended upon a combination of previous books and oral accounts made by those who had completed the pilgrimage, as well as his own careful reading of Scripture and exegetical treatises, particularly Augustine's.<sup>16</sup> Adomnán apparently also produced the first pictorial illustrations of the buildings, although they only survive in manuscripts produced in the Carolingian period. His book was intended to serve as the basis of an imagined pilgrimage; through the exegesis of architectural forms, the sanctified quality of the Christian Holy Land – in contrast to the reality of Islamic possession – could be experienced in any monastic context. At the same time, the forms of the buildings that he inscribed on the manuscript page gave to the buildings for

the first time an independent symbolic existence, unbound from the sacred topography that first gave them meaning. The buildings, in other words, took on a new kind of abstract existence across a community of monastic readers. Adomnán brought the buildings to life for an audience who would never physically go to Jerusalem. I found that the most significant re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher that incorporated not only the round form of the Anastasis Rotunda but also some kind of re-creation of the Tomb of Christ, like the ninth-century chapel at Fulda (Fig. 5), were monastic foundations whose abbey libraries had copies of Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*. These foundations, beginning with Fulda, formed a network of Anglo-Saxon missionary and scholarly activities that first defined the collective Christian identity of Western Europe.

In general, the role of pilgrimage accounts in ascribing symbolic significance to the architectural forms of the Holy Land has never been fully



Fig. 5 Chapel of St. Michael, Fulda, c. 820 (Photo: author)

explored. One of my primary arguments is that in the first centuries of pilgrimage to the Holy Land the architecture associated with the bodies of Christ and Mary acquired a special symbolic status because it was implicitly tied to the culture of textual exegesis. The topography of the Holy Land was closely linked to the study and interpretation of the Gospel accounts; the related buildings became implicated in the process of interpreting the vestiges of Christ's life. Adomnán's idea of describing the forms of the Holy Land buildings – both verbally and pictorially – originated in a search for inscriptions of Christ's forms embedded in the earth and stones of the Holy Land. He suggested a dynamic relationship between the forms of the buildings and the inscriptions that they enclose, most explicitly on the Mount of Olives, where the church's open vault was ascribed to the earth's refusal to accept any covering over Christ's footprints within (Plate 2). Like the form of the True Cross, or the true portrait of Christ, whose symbolic significance was also being interpreted in the same period, buildings like the Church of the Ascension provided a metaphor for the Incarnational joining of divine form and earthly material. The earliest European buildings re-creating Christ's Sepulcher similarly did not offer a totalizing revelation, but instead alluded to the salient symbolic forms as a way of foreshadowing both the return of Christ to the Mount of Olives at the end of time and the Christian repossession of Jerusalem.

Part I, "The Symbolization of Holy Land Architecture," focuses on the role of monastic writer-pilgrims, who produced and read the first manuscripts describing and illustrating the architectural forms associated with Christ's life in the Holy Land. It was in the context of Benedictine monastic foundations – in close physical and temporal relation to the creation of the illustrated books on the architecture of the Holy Land – that the first physical re-creations of churches dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher were created. The fundamental inspiration for the symbolization of the architecture associated with Christ's life – I argue – was the idea of pilgrims tracing out the sites of past bodily presence, whether in person or simulated on the parchment surface of a manuscript. Architectural forms traced the contours of places where the bodies of Christ and Mary had been. Buildings gave shape to the spaces inscribing

sites of past bodily presence and implied a totality to the otherwise fragmentary imprints of Christ's body. In this respect, it was the forms of buildings that first emerged as meaningful, generative entities. Unlike other contact relics relating to Christ, the Apostles, or saints, the transfer of the sanctity of buildings like the Anastasis Rotunda was not accomplished through physical movement of materials, but instead through a re-inscription of significant forms, both in the context of the book culture of pilgrimage accounts and through architectural construction.

Part II, "Triumphal Restoration and Re-creation in the Crusades," explores how the Christian takeover of the Holy Land affected the perception of its architecture, from the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 until the fall of Acre in 1291, when the last of the crusaders were expelled from the Holy Land. Krautheimer's iconography took the Holy Sepulcher as a stable entity throughout the entire Middle Ages, and yet there were radical material changes, from the destruction of the building in 1009 to its reconstruction in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The caesura between Parts I and II is intended to register this significant break between the two periods. I view the destruction of the church and the crusader conquest ninety years later as a violent rupture, which ended a centuries-long tradition of primarily imagining the architecture of the Holy Land in the context of monastic libraries and biblical exegesis. The restoration of the Holy Sepulcher initiated a new celebration of the church in Jerusalem as a symbol of the crusader triumph over Islam.

Part II explores the ways in which the crusaders and pilgrims who flooded into the Holy Land in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187) celebrated the total city of Jerusalem as the material embodiment of the heavenly city promised in Revelation. This celebration of the living materials and rituals of its churches stands in stark contrast to the pre-crusades period, in which pilgrims had focused on the essential forms of key churches, as a series of symbols extracted from a city that otherwise had limited relevance for the Christian pilgrim. The expansion of existing pilgrimage churches and newly acquired ones, taken from their previous Muslim custodians, focused on a reorientation towards a vision of the restoration of the Temple of Jerusalem and its Gate, through which Christ would return at the end of time (Fig. 6). In Europe, the churches dedicated





Fig. 6 Temple Mount from the Mount of Olives (Photo: author)

to the Holy Sepulcher constructed in response to the crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 should be viewed as emerging from a new context. These churches were often inspired by returning crusaders and pilgrims who had been to the Holy Sepulcher; for them, the architecture of the Holy Land stood for Christianity's triumph over Islam and the heavenly Jerusalem made real.

During the period of the crusades, re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher, like the production of new pilgrimage accounts, became a more pervasive phenomenon. In contrast to the pre-crusades period, some of the re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher were made within the context of a larger topographic imitation of the Holy Land, in a way that paralleled new kinds of pictorial representations of the total city of Jerusalem. In Pisa, the re-creation of the Anastasis Rotunda embodied in the form of

that city's Baptistery (Fig. 7) was augmented by the renaming of the city's main entrance as the Golden Gate and the reported transportation of massive amounts of earth from the site of the Crucifixion to the city's cemetery. In both Mantua and Bologna (Fig. 8), buildings constructed in the image of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem were part of more elaborate re-creations of other buildings and sites of the Holy Land.

The break between Parts II and III is also intended to indicate a fundamental historical change, which impacted the perceptions of the architecture of the Holy Land, in this case relating to the loss of Jerusalem and the formation of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land in 1342. For Krautheimer, the medieval practice of copying the Holy Sepulcher came to an end with the advent of precision in Renaissance architectural representation

Fig. 7 Baptistry, Pisa, founded 1153  
(Photo: author)



Fig. 8 Holy Sepulcher, Bologna, twelfth century  
(Photo: author)

with no mention of the role of the Franciscans. [Part III](#) therefore supplies a missing chapter in this history. Franciscan friars were the primary actors in the cultivation of a broader dedication to the material

relics of the life of Christ in the Holy Land, in which architecture played a primary role.<sup>17</sup> Rather than ascribing a new interest in describing precise forms, measures, spatial arrangements, and material make-up of the buildings and their settings to an incipient Renaissance movement inspired by ancient Roman notions of mimetic representation, I view this new attitude towards Holy Land architecture in light of Franciscan theology and affective piety, and particularly the imperative to imagine being in the Holy Land as an active participant in the lives of Christ and Mary.

[Part III](#), “The Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land,” explores how the Franciscans shaped the perceptions of the architecture of the Holy Land in the post-crusade period. The Franciscans promoted a vernacular culture related to modes of piety centering on the use of images in the vicarious experience of the pilgrimage, in a broad popularization of a form of contemplative devotion that asked for the active engagement of the imagination to experience the Holy Land as the setting for the life of Jesus. Franciscans promoted a perception of the collective vitality of the materials relics of Christ’s life – conceived more insistently as incorporating the architecture associated with his and Mary’s bodily presence – defined in contrast to the opposing destructive tendency of Muslims. Franciscans renewed the book culture of pilgrimage manuscripts, so that the imagined pilgrimage could be experienced as a bodily communion with the sanctified matter of the Holy Land, consecrated by



the blood of Christ – and therefore both inherently and rightfully Christian. What resulted was a significant illusion of animism in the stones and forms of the Holy Land buildings, rooted in the vital earth and water of the Holy Land; this fed into an ever-expanding interest in using the representation of architecture to structure pictorial spaces – both real and imagined.

The most important example of this Franciscan book culture is the illustrated account written by Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi after his journey of 1346–50. The Franciscan author set out from his convent of San Lucchese in Tuscany with the intent already formed in mind of recording in vivid detail the buildings and cities that had provided the setting for the life of Christ. The resulting book, entitled the *Libro d'oltramare* (Book of Overseas) is the first fully illustrated account of the architecture of the Holy Land, with over a hundred drawings figuring buildings in Jerusalem (Fig. 9), Bethlehem, Nazareth, Damascus, Cairo, and places in between.<sup>18</sup> Fra Niccolò created the first known purely eyewitness account of the pilgrimage, describing his tactile, spatial, and visual engagement as he moved through the buildings that framed the spaces associated with the life of Christ. In contrast to the previous pilgrimage accounts, limited to monastic communities and a Latinate readership, Fra Niccolò's book was written in the vernacular and employed pictorial imagery giving emphasis to the embodied and experiential qualities of the pilgrimage.

Niccolò da Poggibonsi's book was copied often – both with and without illustrations – and in 1500 transformed into an anonymous printed book of immense popularity, published in over sixty editions in Italy until 1800.<sup>19</sup> By the nineteenth century, the illustrated manuscript versions – including Fra Niccolò's autograph copy – had been lost to modern scholars, and the many woodcuts of the printed editions were presumed to be works of artistic fantasy. The illustrated manuscripts were, however, not permanently lost, as was thought in the twentieth century. The drawings in the four illustrated copies discussed in Part III are the complement to the detailed narrative of Fra Niccolò's book.<sup>20</sup> Fra Niccolò's book represents the culmination of a long

history of invoking the physical aspects of the pilgrimage in the context of a written account of the journey, especially in a way that drew upon expectations for the potential re-creation of the Holy Land buildings in real space.

I hope that patterns will also be seen across the four parts of the book, especially in relation to my decision to break the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century materials – the subject of Part IV – from the initial impact of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, the subject of Part III. There is a broad pattern of alienation, in which Jerusalem was not physically possessed by Christians, alternating with possession. Parts I and III pertain to periods of alienation, in which Muslim rulers controlled the city and the book culture of pilgrimage accounts – exemplified by Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* and Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'oltramare* – like related physical re-creations of the architecture of the Holy Land, were cultivated as a way of making up for that heightened sense of distance from Jerusalem. These re-creations were necessarily partial, and the ultimate absence to which they pointed was an essential generating mechanism that fed back into the desire for further re-creations and ultimately the longing for an unmediated experience.<sup>21</sup> Parts II and IV, on the other hand, pertain to periods of possession, with the important note that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in contrast to the eleventh and twelfth, this was an imagined possession. The fifteenth century, like the eleventh, was a period dominated by the idea of conquering Jerusalem, which ultimately remained unfulfilled. The imagined repossession, of which the most famous example is the Holy House of Loreto – said to be the house of the Virgin Mary transported *in toto* by angels from Nazareth to Italy – was immediately followed by another failure. In the sixteenth century, numerous Christians were persuaded by reformers like Martin Luther and Erasmus that the sacred buildings of the Holy Land guarded by the Franciscans, in particular the church associated with the sites of his Crucifixion and Entombment, were in fact unholy frauds, of as little value as a piece of wood counterfeited and sold as a relic of the True Cross. Throughout the regions of modern-day Germany, France, the Netherlands, and England churches dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher

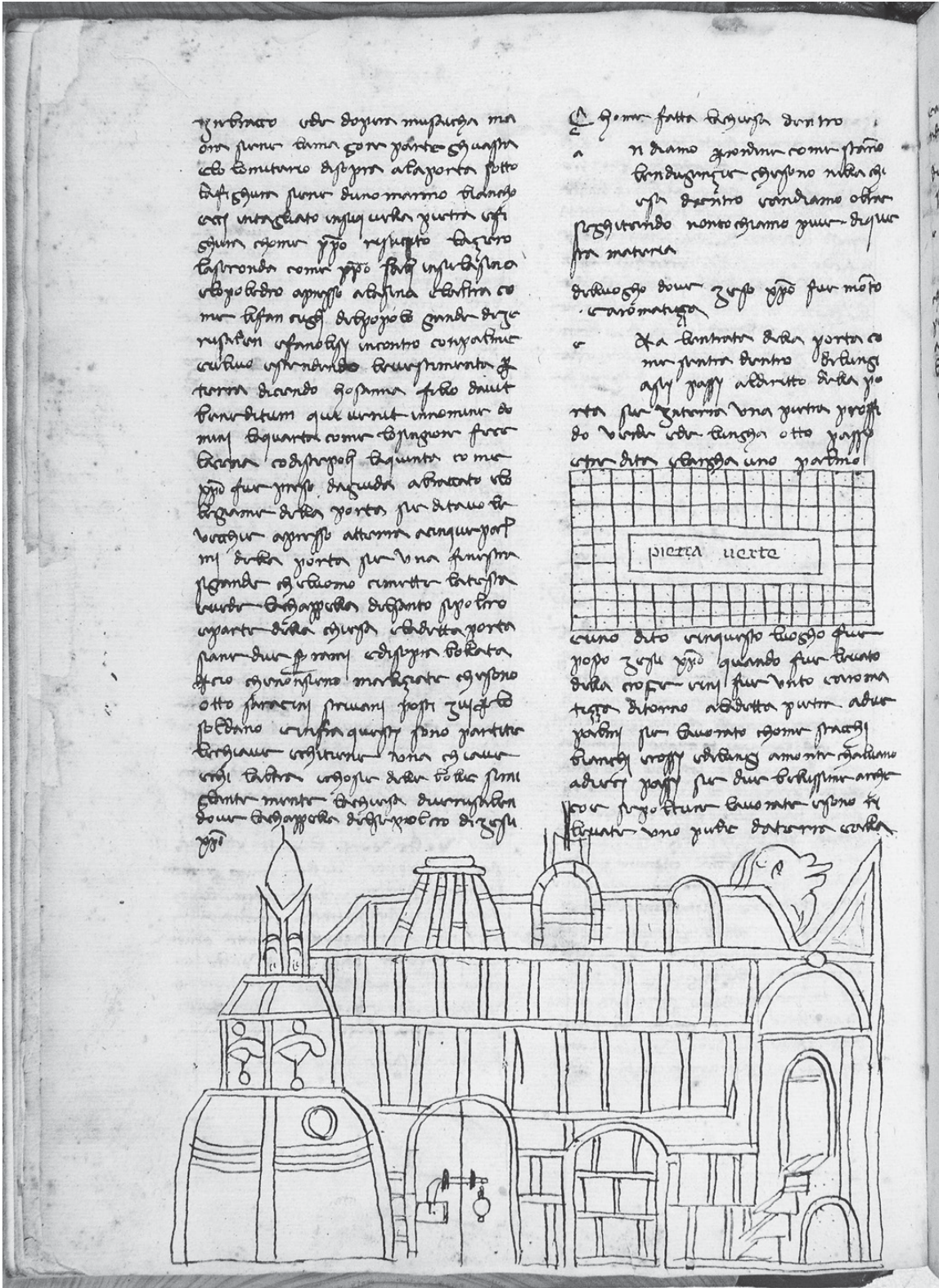


Fig. 9 Church of the Holy Sepulcher, BNCF Ms. II IV 101, fol. 6v, second half fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)





Fig. 10 Cave of the Nativity, Sacred Mountain of Varallo, c. 1493–1514 (Photo: author)

were dismantled or destroyed in acts of calculated architectural iconoclasm, paralleled by the erasure of the sacred architecture of Jerusalem within the book culture of Protestant Europe.

**Part IV**, “Imagined Pilgrimages and Crusades in the Renaissance,” traces the explosion of interest in the architecture of the Holy Land in connection to the desired conquest of Jerusalem in the fifteenth century, which was followed by the remarkable reversal in the sixteenth century, when images and buildings associated with the architecture of the Holy Land were effaced throughout Protestant Europe. As in the eleventh century, the calls for an anti-Islamic crusade sounded in the fifteenth century were accompanied by the creation of buildings and imagery dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher. However, the Renaissance buildings re-creating the Holy Sepulcher were fundamentally different from the previous examples; the difference is not primarily registered through visual precision (as Krautheimer had suggested), but instead through an emphasis on

somatic experience and measured movements in space, reflecting the ongoing impact of Franciscan devotional techniques. Buildings constructed in Bruges, Leiden, Varallo (Fig. 10), and elsewhere re-created the experience of climbing the steps to the Calvary chapel, or descending into the Cave of the Nativity (Fig. 11).

There was also a fundamental difference in the fifteenth-century focus on the image of the Temple of Solomon, associated with a desire to repossess the Dome of the Rock, the primary Islamic monument of Jerusalem that had been converted to a church during the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. This focus on the image of the Temple of Solomon reflects the degree to which the crusade of the fifteenth century was not just imagined in terms of the protection and restoration of the Holy Sepulcher, but also as an anti-Islamic crusade, in which the eradication of the Ottoman Empire was desired. New media and technologies, namely oil paint and printing (Fig. 12), reconfigured the possibilities for



Fig. 11 Cave of the Nativity, Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, founded fourth century (Photo: author)

imagining possession of Jerusalem through images, in which the Temple – endowed with the recognizable forms of the Dome of the Rock – took on a central role. The quantity and quality of visual material, from oil paintings, illuminated manuscripts, printed books, to architectural chapels (Fig. 13), produced in the Renaissance period also reflects the pervasive interests of wealthy patrons in demonstrating their noble dedication to the knightly crusading cause.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, there was an increasing polarization between such lavish productions intended to conspicuously display the nobility and wealth of patrons and the interests in an interiorization of the experience of the Holy Land, imagined as a humble activity undertaken in homes or convents. Various writers at first associated with the Franciscan order and then more directly with the related *Devotio Moderna* (Modern Devotion) encouraged a focus on a non-material engagement with the idea of the architectural and urban environment

of the Holy Land, through which the worshipper might imagine moving. Most Franciscans, however, continued to emphasize an imagined engagement with the material make-up of the related buildings, understood as relics of the life of Christ sometimes literally stained with his blood. Copies of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's book produced in fifteenth-century Italy and Germany, and the many printed versions published beginning in the sixteenth century, continued to promote an imagined materiality in the context of armchair pilgrimage. The most important example of the ongoing Franciscan dedication to the buildings of the Holy Land as material relics are the *sacri monti* or sacred mountains constructed at Varallo and Montaione, initiated before the Protestant Reformation. These Franciscan foundations, sanctioned by the papacy, incorporated re-creations of not just the Holy Sepulcher, but also other buildings associated with the life of Christ, such as the Cave of the Nativity (Fig. 11) already mentioned and





Fig. 12 Erhard Reuwich, Jerusalem (detail), from Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, Mainz, 1486, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 19.49.3, Rogers Fund, 1919 (Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

the Church of the Ascension. There was nonetheless a notable undercurrent of resistance to the focus upon the materiality of the architecture of the Holy Land. The Protestant rejection of the sanctity of the Holy Sepulcher was as much a final repudiation of the Franciscan emphasis upon the devotion to the material substance of the pilgrimage buildings, as a rejection of the authenticity of the locations of the Crucifixion and Entombment.

In the sixteenth century, the role of books in shaping the perceived significance of the architecture of the Holy Land became more pronounced than ever before. Beginning in the 1520s, bibles printed in the Protestant North incorporated images of the Holy Land and Jerusalem, in which the pilgrimage architecture of the Holy Land was visually erased from the city.<sup>22</sup> The reformers' criticisms of

the pilgrimage, together with the repeated failure of Renaissance crusading movements, prompted a search for a new visualization of the architecture of the Christian Holy Land throughout Europe. New images of ancient Jerusalem stripped the city down to its foundations, revealing the ground-plan of the Temple of Solomon (Fig. 14), suggesting a re-inscription of the territory of the Holy Land within the context of biblical exegesis. The paradigm of sacred building as sanctifying inscription re-emerged as a signifier of erasure across the landscape of Palestine. The inscription marked across the pristine territory of the Holy Land enacted the dematerialization of sacred architecture and existed in perpetual reference to the Bible, specifically its description of Solomon's Temple in Kings and Chronicles.<sup>23</sup>





Fig. 13 Holy Sepulcher chapel, San Pancrazio, Florence, 1467 (Photo: author)

Books emerging from the Franciscan milieu, on the other hand, continued to emphasize devotion to the material relics of the buildings in the Holy Land. Bernardino Amico's treatise is the culmination of this idea, first published in 1610 in Rome with the intent of rousing a crusade to retake the Holy Land and its sacred buildings.<sup>24</sup> Like many before him, the Franciscan Fra Bernardino intended his book to facilitate an imagined pilgrimage, and at the same time his many scaled drawings were to serve as the basis of full-scale re-creations of the pilgrimage churches. In this way Fra Bernardino made explicit a theme that recurs throughout this long history: that the vicarious experience created by description and illustration in a book drew upon the potential for the re-creation of the architecture of the Holy Land in real space.

Bernardino Amico seems to realize the full potential of an illustrated book to orchestrate a virtual pilgrimage. He explicitly asks his reader to actively look at each illustrated building, such as the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (Fig. 15), as a three-dimensional material entity emerging from the page. Amico also invokes the force of his drawings to work in concert and together to have a greater power to create such effects of materiality and spatial existence. "Force" is at the root of the concept of virtuality (*virtus*: force).<sup>25</sup> This book, I hope, is not just a history of the perceptions of the Holy Land architecture, but instead, shows that this history was closely tied up with changing perceptions of the combined potential of textual and pictorial representation as a medium of powerful interactivity when engaged by the imagination. And yet, I have consistently resisted applying the phrase "virtual pilgrimage" – a phrase that is in vogue at the moment – to the many books, buildings, and other works of art discussed here.<sup>26</sup> I have resisted the use of this phrase for a few reasons; the notion of virtuality is at the moment too fluid and implies technologies and media alien to the periods under consideration. I find a similar problem with invocations of "copying," which implies a mechanical precision, in this case not relevant for most of the periods under consideration. Primarily, though, "virtual pilgrimage" has been applied to radically different enterprises, from unillustrated hand-made books to panel paintings to sculptural installations, in a way that suggests a lack of clear understanding regarding the limits or meanings of a "virtual pilgrimage."

Distinctions might be more productively observed by broadly contrasting the modalities of imagined experience of the Holy Land in the periods associated with Parts I and II, on the one hand, and Parts III and IV, on the other. The first modality can be best characterized in terms of inscription, in which the field of reference was a two-dimensional surface, conceived in relation to the manuscript page and – at the same time – the landscape of the Holy Land. Pilgrim-writers, repeatedly using the term *vestigia* (mark or trace), implied that the earth and matter of the Holy Land was an exteriorized tablet of memory – that is, a receptacle for the vestiges of Christ's earthly presence. On the manuscript page, the pilgrimage experience was conceived as a transcription



Fig. 14 Benito Arias Montano, *Ancient Jerusalem*, Antwerp, 1572 (Photo: The National Library of Israel, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Shapell Family Digitization Project and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography – Historic Cities Research Project)

into the reader's memory and an exegesis of these signs. The act of inscription was closely tied up with the mystery of the Incarnation, in which materials miraculously responded to Christ's bodily presence, as for example the Column of Flagellation (Fig. 1), the paradigmatic architectural element standing for the relation of the Holy Land to the body of Christ; although composed of hard marble, the Column took on a soft, wax-like composition in reaction to Christ's body, which drew permanent imprints into the material of the column.

The second modality might instead be characterized in terms of spatialization. Amico's call for his reader to see buildings as material entities emerging from his book marks the full development of this modality, in which the two-dimensional page is reconceptualized as an illusionistic spatial field. The spatialization of the pilgrimage experience, which

impacted equally how the pilgrimage was described in books and re-created in new buildings, was first fully cultivated by the Franciscans. Beginning in the fourteenth century, authors invoke the concept of space and consistently conceive of the pilgrim's bodily movement in three dimensions, measured by steps and directions of movement within and between buildings. If we were to invoke the concept of virtuality in order to understand this development, I would stress that this bodily pilgrimage effected in the mind was a fundamentally physical form of virtuality, in which the experience was constituted through corporeal phenomena, including sensory dialogues like seeing, touching, and even tasting. The printed images first published in the fifteenth century likewise present the architecture of the Holy Land as if seen from particular vantage points, standing on the Mount of Olives (Fig. 12) or in the



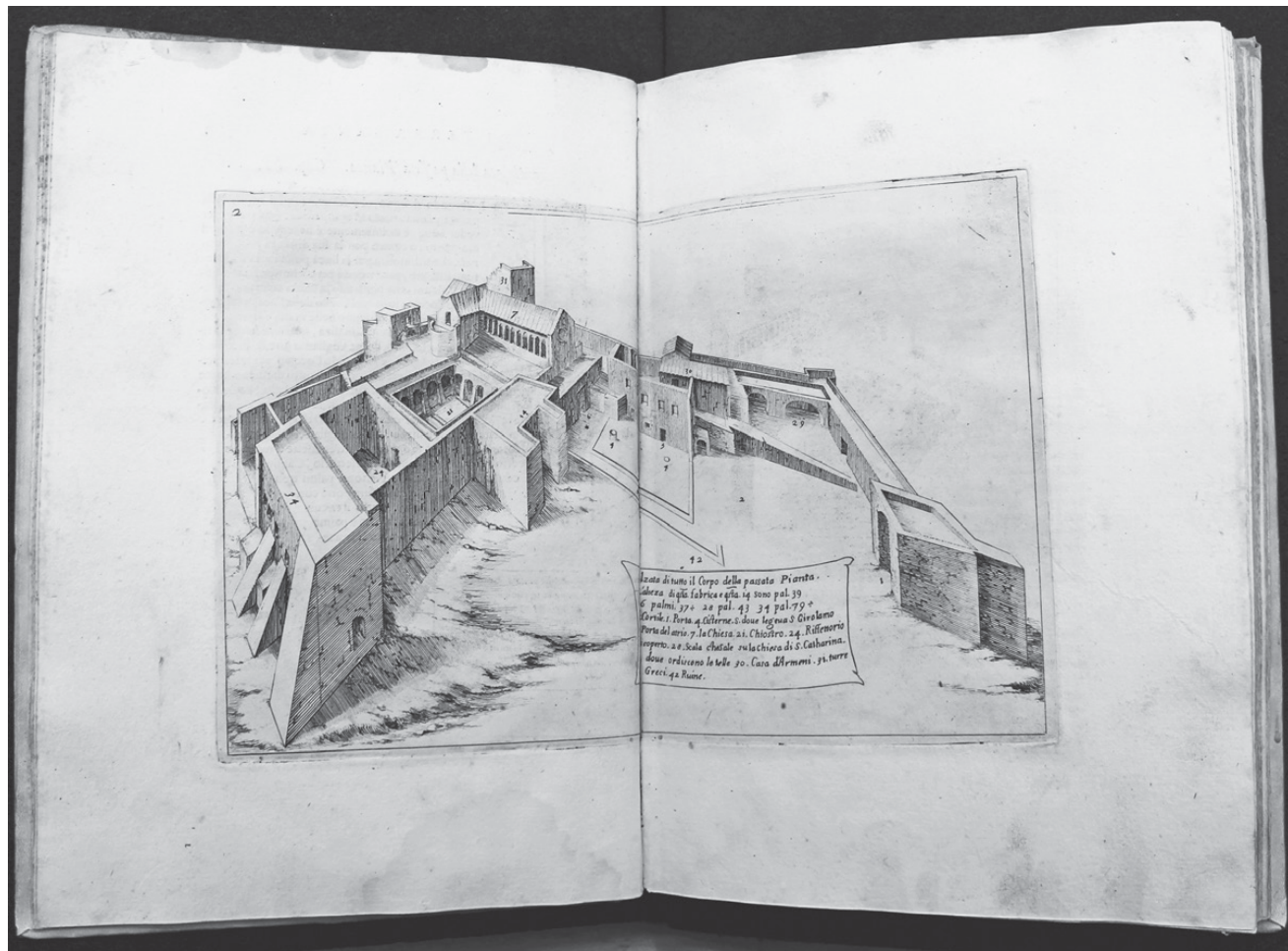


Fig. 15 Bernardino Amico, Church of the Nativity, *Trattato delle Piante & Immagini de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa* ..., Florence, 1620, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 84-B29370 (Photo: author)

courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The accompanying textual accounts guided the reader through the spaces of the city, to imagine movement as if on foot in its streets and buildings.

The contrast with the earlier experience created by books like Adomnán's is striking; in the copies of the *De Locis Sanctis* produced from the ninth through the thirteenth centuries (Plates 1–4), the two-dimensional page stabilizes an ideal form extracted as a static and absolute essentialization, in which matter, color, movement, and the whole range of individual bodily experiences have been removed. And yet I certainly do not mean to suggest that the inscriptional modality was non-spatial or non-material; on the contrary, one of my primary aims is to explore the relation between the conception of the Holy Sepulcher in the context of hand-made

manuscripts and its re-creation in real space. I have avoided the terms copy and replica, in addition to the reasons cited above, because I believe they efface the mediating role of inscribing a textual description or ground-plan on a page, and the important material and physical conception of the acts of inscription and re-inscription. I have instead preferred the term “re-creation,” which implies – I hope – a potentially extended generative process with variable outcomes.<sup>27</sup> Re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher, the site of Christ's Resurrection, should be seen in relation to a potential for the genesis of life from death. In this sense I use the term re-creation to invoke the notion of life-giving forms, which – through symbolization – take on some of the power associated with the original.<sup>28</sup> The activation of these symbolic forms was orchestrated through invocation

of likeness and the presence of relics, like pieces of the True Cross or drops of Christ's blood, which confirmed the life-giving potency of buildings dedicated to Christ's Sepulcher. The relics were explicit signs of contact, otherwise implicitly manifested through perception of shared symbolic forms and shared acts of inscription. Such re-creations within the inscriptional modality virtualized the presence of Christ's body, made present in new locations; in the spatial modality, it was instead the pilgrim's body that was understood to have been relocated, taken on a journey through the Holy Land.

In the context of the Protestant reform of the pilgrimage, the imagined journey to the Holy Land was (theoretically) evacuated of all material architectural entities, and conceived as the movement from point to point in a proto-Cartesian spatial field, in which sensory and emotional engagement were relatively absent. Despite this fundamental antagonism towards the material buildings of the Franciscan Custody, the reformed conception of the pilgrimage and the Franciscan one shared a new kind of space consciousness. More generally,

I hope that the observations regarding the emerging role of space in the imagined experience and re-creation of the architecture of the Holy Land might shed light on the varying perceptions of the role of the body in relation to the architectural environment. While the inscriptional modality, conceived in the context of textual exegesis, allowed for its participants to imagine being witness to the signs of Christ's life, the spatial modality instead emphasized the personal journey as the pilgrim assimilated himself or herself to him. Perhaps the one constant that cuts across this history is the role of writing as a prior form of virtuality, whose signifying potential continuously informed the culture of images and buildings associated with the experience of the Holy Land pilgrimage.<sup>29</sup> In this study, I hope to restore to writer-pilgrims, like Adomnán, Niccolò da Poggibonsi, and Bernardino Amico, their primary status in the process of transforming the pilgrimage experience, giving life to the sacred buildings of the Holy Land, and rendering them as a vital visual presence in medieval and Renaissance Europe.



## PART I

# THE SYMBOLIZATION OF HOLY LAND ARCHITECTURE



### INTRODUCTION

Since the earliest centuries of Christianity, pilgrims have sought out in the region associated with the historical events in the life of Christ, stretching from Cairo to Nazareth and collectively known as the *Terra Sancta* (Holy Land), the living traces of his corporeal presence on earth. The story of a transcendent God made flesh through the vessel of a human mother engendered the creation of material objects and buildings – which we have since come to think of as art – that celebrated Christ’s life and the promise of his return at the end of time.<sup>1</sup> These objects and buildings were often perceived as possessing an animate potential, as the modern boundaries drawn between living bodies, dead bodies, and inert materials were repeatedly transgressed. All of humanity, dead or alive, was ranked by relation to the body of Christ, from the saints who formed his heavenly court and whose bodies on earth continued to transmit after death some of the redemptive power associated with him, to the more mundanely sinful who

sought out the relics of saints in order to increase their own eventual proximity to Christ. Through martyrdom, Christian saints were conceptually assimilated to the image of the Crucified Christ, and their bodies on earth – however fragmented and scattered – provided a conduit to his heavenly body, uniquely absent and inaccessible through direct contact.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to the myriad of Christian saints, it is impossible to touch, see, or otherwise sense the form of Jesus conjoined to his material body. The Gospel accounts established that Christ returned to heaven forty days after the Resurrection, leaving no corpse behind. There are important examples of relics whose status is ultimately that of detritus, which nonetheless attained great fame: most notably the foreskin circumcised from Jesus’ body when he was an infant and the blood emitted during the Crucifixion.<sup>3</sup> It was eventually decided that the Virgin Mary was also taken into heaven shortly after death, like Christ leaving an empty tomb, and – also like Christ – leaving only detritus as relics, including some hair, blood, and breast milk.<sup>4</sup> Their empty tombs are the origin

point for the phenomenon to be explored in [Part I](#): how the earth, objects, and ultimately buildings associated with Christ and Mary – whose flesh is understood to be essentially coequal – became perceived as embodying the traces of their past or future presence, and by doing so manifested a tangible link between the perceptible and the transcendent.

The absence of Christ's body generated a paradoxical situation: the idea of his body could be conceptually expanded virtually without limit. The two primary conceptual sites for the abstract materialization and extension of the body of Christ were the Eucharist – the consecrated bread and wine equated with the flesh and blood of Christ – and the earth associated with his life. Jesus was understood to have established the Eucharistic rite himself during the Last Supper, when he commanded his disciples to consume the bread and wine in remembrance of Him, saying, "This is my body," and "This is my blood."<sup>5</sup> The miraculous transformation of flesh into bread and blood into wine celebrated in the Eucharistic rite had its parallel in the miraculous transformations of matter in response to Christ's living presence, evidenced in the inscriptions of his bodily forms found throughout the Holy Land. Inscription and imprinting provided the primary metaphors for the physical manifestation of divine presence in Late Antiquity. The resulting traces were closely linked to the notion of Christ himself writing and producing material directly sanctified through a process of emblemization, as if by the hand of God. Underlying this understanding of the genesis of sanctity in the material world was the basic concept of the Logos – God as the word – made flesh, in the form of Christ.

Christian theologians maintained that the formless nature of the bread indicated that the totality of Christ's body was present during the Eucharistic liturgy, rather than a literal piece of flesh.<sup>6</sup> In other

words, the Eucharistic rite does not represent the literal division of Christ's body; instead, infinite presence is affirmed through replication. Likewise, every drop of blood stands for the whole body of Christ. This concept helps explain how an immense geographical region, incorporating Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, came to be regarded as similarly providing Christians with a very real engagement with the body of Christ. On a most basic level, the sanctity of the Holy Land theoretically derived from the blood that had stained the earth during the Crucifixion. Although the original amount of blood shed by Christ would have been fairly small and mostly limited to Jerusalem, the sanctity was also expanded to any place where Christ had been physically present. The territory of Christ's life stretches along the coast of the Eastern Mediterranean into North Africa, but material traces of his presence are most potently concentrated in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth.

Pilgrims actively responded to the perception of Christ's immanence in the earth and matter associated with his life, and were primarily responsible for the expansion of Christ's perceived presence beyond the Holy Land. The actions of pilgrims remained largely unregulated and outside of the limits of the carefully orchestrated display of divine presence in the Eucharistic rite.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, in contrast to theological discussions of the meaning of the Eucharistic rite, the implications of pilgrims' accounts never amounted to a coherent theory of the sacramental status of the Holy Land. The process of creating textual accounts of the pilgrimage was the essential if informal mechanism for the formation of the idea of the Holy Land and the symbolic meaning of its architecture. Pilgrims were the primary actors in this process, as they sought out the traces of Christ's body and inscribed the memory of these traces through verbal and pictorial description.



# I

## FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS AND MATERIAL PRESENCE



### THE ORIGINS OF HOLY LAND ARCHITECTURE

The Christian holy places in Jerusalem, located just west of the ancient city walls, were initially in open air, including Mount Calvary – the site of the Crucifixion – and nearby the cave with its empty Tomb. The site of the Crucifixion was also identified with the creation and burial of Adam; the name for the site – Mount Calvary (from *calvaria*, Latin: skull), Golgotha (from Γολγοθάς, Greek: skull) – perhaps derives from this association.<sup>1</sup> During the reign of the Roman emperor Hadrian (r. 117–38), these open-air sites were submerged under a temple with a marble statue of Venus at the place of the Crucifixion, in the same period when the entire city became known as Aelia Capitolina (after Hadrian’s family name, Aelius).<sup>2</sup> Two centuries later, Emperor Constantine (r. 306–37), after experiencing a vision of the Cross that would ultimately precipitate his conversion to Christianity, initiated the unearthing of the holy places and the construction of a church encompassing the newly found burial site, generally known as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The current building (Fig. 3) primarily results from reconstruction in the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> The fourth-century building was composed of a basilica and a rotunda containing the Tomb, originally separated by an open-air atrium.<sup>4</sup> Mount Calvary remained in open air and a covering appears to have been

first constructed only after damage incurred during the Persian invasion of 614.<sup>5</sup> Of the current church, only the outline of the rotunda matches the original layout of the Constantinian edifice.<sup>6</sup> Archaeological excavations have suggested that the original foundations and walls of the Hadrianic temple were incorporated into the Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>7</sup> The entire church was initially referred to as Anastasis, from the Greek for Resurrection (ἀνάστασις), although in later years this term would be applied exclusively to the rotunda enclosing the Tomb (as “the Anastasis Rotunda”). The miniature building inside the Anastasis Rotunda, thought to have first been constructed by Constantine in order to enclose the cave where Christ was buried, has come to be referred to as “the Aedicule” (from the Latin, *aediculum*: little building).<sup>8</sup> The current Aedicule is a nineteenth-century reconstruction, and its original form can only be conjectured. A reliquary in Narbonne (Fig. 16), generally dated to the fifth century and thought to have been made in the form of the Tomb Aedicule, has been the basis of hypothetical reconstructions.<sup>9</sup>

A combination of an octagonal shrine and basilica (Fig. 17) was constructed in the same period in Bethlehem, in this case enshrining the site of Christ’s birth, located in a small subterranean chapel below the altar (Fig. 13). The five-aisled basilica and octagonal shrine over the Cave of the Nativity were rebuilt in the sixth century with a new apsed choir



Fig. 16 Reliquary, Musée Archéologique, Narbonne, fifth century (Photo: Musée Archéologique – Narbonne)

and with two entrances into the Cave.<sup>10</sup> Later in the fourth and fifth centuries, smaller churches were also constructed around the site of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, over the cave associated with the house of the Virgin in Nazareth, and around the empty Tomb of Mary, east of the walls of Jerusalem in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (or Kidron Valley). Popular legend often attributed the foundations of these churches to Constantine or his mother, Helena (c. 246/50–330).<sup>11</sup> The empty tombs of Mary and Christ, the earthen mounds associated with the Ascension and the Crucifixion, and the caves identified as the sites of the Nativity and Annunciation were in this way given a monumental architectural presence. These buildings would remain the primary pilgrimage sites even as additional sanctuaries were constructed to memorialize other aspects of the lives of Christ, Mary, various saints, and the Apostles.

#### TRACING CHRIST'S FORM IN THE FIRST PILGRIMAGE ACCOUNTS

There are very few records regarding the beginnings of Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The first written accounts date to the fourth century, in the period immediately following the legalization of Christianity in 313 by the Roman emperor



Fig. 17 Basilica, Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, founded fourth century (Photo: author)

Constantine. Paulinus (c. 354–431), bishop of Nola, provides a significant description of one of the first pilgrimages, made by Helena; she – according to Paulinus – “avidly visited all the places in the city and vicinity which bore the marks (*insignium*) of God’s presence. She was eager to absorb through her eyes the faith which she had gained by devoted listening, and reading.”<sup>12</sup> Paulinus suggests that the first encounters with the Holy Land were primarily conceived in the context of textual exegesis, through which Christians sought to understand the physical evidence for the dual human and divine natures of Christ.

In the earliest surviving accounts written by pilgrims to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, dating to the fourth century, we have the first recorded references to the holy places and the related territory as collectively comprising the Holy Land.<sup>13</sup> There are only very few surviving written accounts produced by Christian pilgrims who made the journey to Jerusalem from the earliest centuries of Christianity.<sup>14</sup> Those that survive were copied often and in monastic contexts likely had whole communities comprising their readership. A Gallic nun named Egeria wrote an account of her journey made in 381–4; she tells her readers that if she describes her experiences with enough detail, they might “see more completely what happened in these places.”<sup>15</sup> Writing in the following century, Paulinus commented more generally on why Christians felt compelled to make the journey: “No other sentiment draws men to Jerusalem but the desire to see and touch the places where Christ was physically present.”<sup>16</sup> These two early texts establish the major themes of written accounts of the pilgrimage that would be extended and expanded in subsequent centuries: the possibility of an imaginary engagement with the life of Christ generated by vivid descriptions of the places where events had occurred, experienced through reading the account of a pilgrim who had made the journey, and a desire for a more immediate and physical experience, one that places the pilgrim in direct contact with the traces of Christ’s bodily presence on earth. The two different approaches to experiencing the Holy Land quickly became intertwined, as writers incorporated aspects of their physical engagement with the vestiges of Christ’s body in the Holy Land, while other

writers who had never traveled to the Holy Land drew upon these techniques to imagine a physical pilgrimage.

Pilgrims sought out other signs of his bodily presence. St. Jerome (c. 347–420), who visited Jerusalem as a pilgrim in 385, shortly before settling outside of Bethlehem, where he lived as a hermit until his death, wrote that the “traces of his Birth, Cross, and Passion” are “still fresh.”<sup>17</sup> A contemporary, Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–95), similarly remarked that Christians “see in types the signs of Lord’s incarnate sojourn here.”<sup>18</sup> These “signs” or “traces” took on different forms, and ranged from the literal, such as his footprints, to the more abstract, such as the place where water used to bathe Christ as a child had been spilled, in an area outside of Cairo known as Matariyya.<sup>19</sup> By the period of the crusades, a balsam garden was associated with this sanctified water. The balsam oil used in baptism was said to have originated from this garden, and its life-giving qualities to derive from contact with the body of Jesus.<sup>20</sup> At various sites from Egypt to Palestine, we can imagine that pilgrims became actively involved in the process of tracing out the presence of Christ’s body, as they verbally communicated, “this was the place where ...,” or “this touched his body when ...,” and sometimes also recorded these ideas in written accounts. Such description was an essential part of conceptually inscribing the places where Christ’s body had been present. The architectural enclosures that were built around the sites and their verbal description emerged in tandem as part of a larger process of tracing out the contours of Christ’s earthly life.

As pilgrims moved from town to town and site to site, they often made note of the distances traversed, as a way of inscribing their own presence upon the landscape of the Holy Land. An anonymous pilgrim from Bordeaux, for instance, writing in the fourth century about a journey made in 332, was one of the earliest to incorporate these distances into his or her written account.<sup>21</sup> By doing so, he or she allowed the reader to mentally trace out a path, while also providing a guide for any who might physically make the journey.<sup>22</sup> In later periods, the creation of schematic maps of the region visualizing relative distances served to both enact and record the physical nature of an imagined journey.

In relation to the objects and buildings associated with Christ and Mary, the act of taking measures put the pilgrim in direct communion with the material traces of their bodily presence. One of the earliest writers to make note of pilgrims repeatedly taking measures was an anonymous sixth-century pilgrim from Piacenza. The anonymous pilgrim's journey is stated as being motivated by a desire to follow the path marked out by the traces (*vestigia*) of Christ.<sup>23</sup> At the Column of the Flagellation (Fig. 1), then located in Jerusalem's Praetorium (the residence of the Roman governor, where Christ had been put on trial), the pilgrim found a cluster of imprints left by different parts of Christ's body, which the pilgrim measured with pieces of string:<sup>24</sup>

In this church is the column where the Lord was scourged, and on this column was a sign (*signum*). His chest adhered (*inhaesit*) into this marble, and both his hands and palms and also fingers appear in this stone. And therefore for each kind of disease a measure is taken, which worn as a necklace heals.<sup>25</sup>

Pilgrims believed that the material of the Column had responded to Christ's body by receiving imprints of his form, an idea not deriving from any scriptural source.<sup>26</sup>

An anonymous author of the sixth-century describes the marks on the Column of the Flagellation as drawn into wax:

From there you go to the great basilica of holy Sion, where is that column, where Lord Jesus was struck. One can see there a mark where he embraced [the column] with his hand, as if it had been drawn into wax (*quasi in cera designasset*).<sup>27</sup>

Theodosius, a pilgrim writing near the end of the reign of Emperor Anastasius (r. 491–518), more explicitly explains that the column took on a waxen quality as it received the form of Christ's body:<sup>28</sup>

Truly when the Lord was being scourged, and embraced the column, as if in soft wax the arms, hands, and fingers adhered in it,

and up to this time his face, chin, nose and eyes can be seen as if drawn in wax (*sicut in caera designavit*).<sup>29</sup>

By taking on a soft, waxen quality, the stone of the Column received marks in the same way that Christ's body was inscribed with wounds during the scourging. By measuring those physical imprints, the pilgrim used his or her own body in a gesture of simulated contact with Christ's absent body. The measurements formed of string or cloth were physically worn by the pilgrim; different lengths corresponded to different parts of Christ's body. Some pilgrims also took pieces of the Column with them.<sup>30</sup>

The pilgrim from Piacenza also noted a similar imprint of Christ's form in the center of the Praetorium:

In this basilica the Lord was raised, when he was heard by Pilate, so that by all the people he was heard and seen, and in that place his footprints (*vestigia*) remain. A beautiful foot, small, delicate, a common height, a handsome face, curly hair, and long fingers were all drawn in an image, which, while he was living, was drawn and placed in this Praetorium. Still from that stone, where he stood, are made blessings (*virtutes*) in abundance: taking measures from the imprints (*vestigia*) of his foot, people tie [these measures about their body] for each illness and are healed.<sup>31</sup>

In this instance, the footprint was clearly sought out by pilgrims also as a way of visualizing the appearance of the living Christ, in this case aided by a nearby portrait said to have been taken from life.<sup>32</sup> The imprint again was used to create healing strings, here referred to as blessings or *virtutes*. The strings presented a concrete materialization of the abstract notions of the traces and signs of Christ's incarnate sojourn.

The earliest evidence for the measuring activities of pilgrims suggests concentration on the objects that had come into direct contact with the body of Christ: the Column of the Flagellation and the related stone in the Praetorium, the Tomb of Christ,





Fig. 18 Unction Stone, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem, perhaps eleventh or twelfth century (Photo: author)

and the Unction Stone (Fig. 18). One of the first records of measures being taken from the Tomb of Christ is provided by the account of a Frankish pilgrim named Arculf, who apparently made the journey in the century after the Piacenza Pilgrim, sometime around 680.<sup>33</sup> The details of Arculf's journey are transmitted by Adomnán, the abbot of the island monastery of Iona (679–704), on the west coast of Scotland, to whom Arculf himself reportedly recounted the story of his travels.<sup>34</sup> Adomnán apparently never made the journey, but instead created his book – we are told – by interviewing Arculf about his experiences, focusing attention on the physical features of the buildings that inscribed Christ's vestiges.<sup>35</sup> The resulting book, entitled *De Locis Sanctis* (On the Holy Places), was written around the end of the seventh century.<sup>36</sup> In Adomnán's account, it is said that Arculf measured the Tomb “with his hand, and found it to be seven feet long,” and also measured its relation to the surrounding Aedicule:

In this small building on the north side is the sepulcher of the Lord, the interior has

been cut into the rock on the north side, but the floor of this small building is lower than the place of the Sepulcher; for it is evidently almost three palms (*trium mensura altitudinis*) from its floor up to the edge of the Sepulcher on the side. This was told to me by Arculf, who visited often the Sepulcher of the Lord, measuring it accurately ... The Sepulcher itself is said to be placed in the small building, this is in the northern part of the monument, in which the body of the Lord rested, wrapped in a shroud (*linteamibus*): the length of which Arculf measured with his own hand to be seven feet.<sup>37</sup>

Such measures made by pilgrims served as tangible traces of indirect contact with the body of Christ, and formed the basis for the reader's own imagined engagement with the material remnants of Christ's life. A number of pilgrims also took pieces of stone from the Column of the Flagellation and the cave of the Holy Sepulcher, to the extent that only the base of the natural rock remains. When they were taken back home, such stones were enshrined and revered as relics of Christ's absent body.<sup>38</sup>

#### MEASURING CHRIST'S TOMB

The measuring actions of pilgrims would have implicitly recalled those of Zechariah and particularly John, to whom the angel gave a rod to measure the Temple of God.<sup>39</sup> The measuring activities of pilgrims further connected their individual experiences to the biblical origin story of the physical embodiment of the divine on earth. In the Old Testament, Moses is said to have constructed the Tabernacle to contain the Ark of the Covenant according to the dimensions conveyed by God on Mount Sinai, and in Jerusalem Solomon was similarly given the measured blueprints, so to speak, for the Temple that he would construct to enclose the Tabernacle.<sup>40</sup> From the perspective of Christians, Jesus Christ embodied the new covenant, and Mary's body was conceptualized as the Tabernacle and Temple through which his divinity was made manifest in human form.<sup>41</sup>

Architectural metaphors for the body of Jesus expressed a new understanding of the potential figurability of the ineffable; his body manifested the living presence of God on earth, and the measures of his form were in a similar way thought to be designed by God, as if a second Adam. The term tabernacle (*tabernaculum*) came to be used for any physical container embodying divine presence, including enclosures for the Eucharistic host and for saints' relics. The idea of the tabernacle was also extended to the sites which contained the holy places associated with Christ's body, as indicated by John of Damascus (c. 676–749):

The Wood of the Cross is to be venerated as something made holy by having touched his sacred body and blood, [and so are] the nails, the lance, the clothes, and his sacred "tabernacles," that is to say the Manger, the Cave, saving Golgotha, the life-giving Tomb, Sion ... and such like.<sup>42</sup>

Although of varied forms and materials, the enclosures surrounding the sanctified earth associated with the birth of Jesus, his Crucifixion, Entombment, and Resurrection were all conceptualized as sacred tabernacles, equivalent in sanctity to the objects that had directly touched his body, including the instruments of the Passion.

The Tomb of Christ was more specifically understood as a re-creation of the Tabernacle of the Temple of Jerusalem. In the sixth century, the author of the *Breviarium* claimed to have seen the altar where Zechariah was killed in front of the Tomb of Christ, and also identified Golgotha with the site of Abraham's near sacrifice of his son; both events had previously been associated with Mount Moriah and the Jewish Tabernacle.<sup>43</sup>

#### THE WOOD OF THE CROSS AND THE "BLESSINGS" OF SACRED OIL

When John of Damascus conceptualized the sanctity of the tabernacles enclosing Christ's body as being equivalent to the instruments of the Passion, he also suggested the possibility of an expansion of the auratic presence of Christ, out from the sites of direct contact with his body to incorporate contiguous

enclosures and buildings. The conceptual expansion of Christ's body beyond the Holy Land at first similarly depended upon objects of primary contact, such as strings recording the lengths of bodily imprints on the Column of Flagellation, or oil that had touched the wood of the Cross. The cross was believed to have been unearthed in the Constantinian period, and already by 348 Cyril of Jerusalem remarks that "[t]he holy wood of the Cross bears witness, seen among us to this day, and from this place now almost filling the whole world, by means of those who in faith take portions from it."<sup>44</sup> During her pilgrimage of 380, Egeria was the first to record the ritual worship of the relics of the True Cross in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, stored in a silver reliquary and ceremonially revealed to be kissed by worshippers.<sup>45</sup> The potency of the relics of the wood of the Cross, and the related oil sanctified by touching the wood, likely also related to their anthropomorphic attributes, being – like the Eucharistic bread and wine – analogues for the vital liquid and flesh of Christ's body.

Pilgrims sought out the oil that had touched the wood of the True Cross (or perhaps related holy sites), and carried the sanctified liquid home in ampullae. The most significant group of flasks to survive are found in a collection originally presented around 600 from the Roman church to the Lombard queen Theodelinda, who then bestowed them upon the Basilica di San Giovanni in Monza (near Milan), where they still are today.<sup>46</sup> The pilgrim from Piacenza was the first to describe these flasks:

At the moment when the Cross is brought out of this small room for veneration, and arrives in the court to be venerated, a star appears in the sky, and comes over the place where they lay the Cross. It stays overhead whilst they are venerating the Cross, and they offer oil to be blessed in little flasks. When the mouth of one of the little flasks touches the Wood of the Cross, the oil instantly bubbles over, and unless it is closed very quickly it all spills out.<sup>47</sup>

The mouths of the ampullae – as if surrogates for the body of the pilgrim – imbibe the oil directly from



Fig. 19 Pilgrimage ampulla, Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C., acc. no. 48.18, sixth to early seventh century (Photo © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, DC)



Fig. 20 Bread mold, The Cleveland Museum of Art, seventh century, thirty-fifth anniversary gift of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mallon 1951.152 (Photo © The Cleveland Museum of Art)

the Cross, and the sacred liquid bubbles up as if activated by a life force that defies containment.

The ampullae were either metal flasks or glass bottles, manufactured locally for sale to pilgrims.<sup>48</sup> Their production was probably related to the creation of baked clay disks, formed out of soil from

the holy places, and stamped with a pattern, like the cross, the tomb, the cave at Bethlehem, or the Annunciation.<sup>49</sup> The places chosen for representation were the same “tabernacles” to which John of Damascus referred. The flasks were often similarly imprinted with these patterns.<sup>50</sup> The term generally used for these ampullae and the related souvenirs was eulogia, from the Greek for blessing (εὐλογία).<sup>51</sup> The appellation connected the objects to the consecrated nature of the Eucharistic bread, similarly referred to as eulogia, often imprinted with stamps to symbolize the sacramental, life-giving nature of the material. The material used to form the ampullae and the tokens was consistently either a form of lead or clay, comparable to the base materials of earth and flesh.<sup>52</sup> Representations of the Tomb Aedicule on pilgrims’ ampullae suggest the theophanic significance of seeing and touching the site of Christ’s Resurrection. Images found on ampullae, like one now in the Dumbarton Oaks (Fig. 19), employ the architectural forms of the Tomb of Christ as the setting for the Women at the Tomb. An inscription states “the Lord is risen”; on the obverse there is an image of the Crucifixion and an inscription indicating the contents: “oil of the Wood of Life of the holy places of Christ.”<sup>53</sup> The oil would have been sanctified by contact with the True Cross, as described by the Piacenza Pilgrim. The possession of these objects certified that the pilgrim had himself or herself been witness to the truth of the Resurrection, by seeing and touching the empty Tomb. And in the same way that the rite of baptism or the reception of the Eucharist was believed to seal the faithful, possession of such ampullae marked the pilgrim as one of the elect.<sup>54</sup>

The production of the ampullae and pilgrimage tokens in the fifth and sixth centuries also paralleled the development of the use of stamps to seal the sign of the cross into the Eucharistic bread.<sup>55</sup> Although the Eucharistic wafers do not survive, the bread stamps do; they are often inscribed with a short phrase, conveying the notion of a blessing imparted to the object through contact with the Lord’s essence.<sup>56</sup> The Eucharistic bread, like the pilgrimage ampullae often found with similar inscriptions, was metaphorically imprinted with the divine Logos, and sealed by the spirit.<sup>57</sup> A seventh-century bread mold (Fig. 20), currently in the Cleveland

Museum of Art, represents the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and was probably used to produce consecrated bread specially distributed to pilgrims in Jerusalem.<sup>58</sup> The forms of the exterior basilica, including the Anastasis Rotunda, are discernible. The imprinted forms together present compelling evidence of the growing sacramental significance of the architecture of the Holy Sepulcher in the context of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The imprinted

images must have also recalled for pilgrims the similar impressions of Christ's form they had found throughout Jerusalem; the souvenirs presented a memorialization standing for the entirety of the Holy Land, as the earth collectively imprinted with the sign of Christ's corporeal presence. The production of the pilgrimage ampullae and similar tokens seems to have ceased with the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem in 637.



## ROME AND CONSTANTINOPLE



## GEORGIA AND ETHIOPIA

As early as the fifth and sixth centuries, pilgrims had developed ways of materializing and transporting the living traces of Christ's body in a way that allowed for virtually limitless expansion beyond the Holy Land, through the dissemination of the earth of Golgotha and the wood of the cross, the oil that had touched the cross, the ampullae enclosing these various elements, and the healing strings that had measured his bodily imprints in Jerusalem. The names of the sacred sites could also be invoked as a way of sanctifying new topographies. In fifth-century Georgia, for example, a series of sites were named after Golgotha, Gethsemane, Tabor, and Bethlehem, in an area around the church of Svetitskhoveli in Mtskheta; the cathedral was called Sion.<sup>1</sup> Tradition held that this first Christian church in Georgia was established where Christ's robe was buried and a life-giving pillar miraculously came into place, evoking both the site of Christ's burial and Crucifixion.<sup>2</sup> As in the ancient Christian capital of Georgia, the Ethiopian cathedral at Aksum (525–40) was called Sion.<sup>3</sup> On the nearby mountain of Kaleb, Ethiopians identified a footprint in imitation of that on the Mount of Olives, said to mark the site where Christ descended from heaven to show the location of the cathedral.<sup>4</sup>

## JERUSALEM AND BETHLEHEM IN ROME

There was nonetheless some interest in defining the primary sites for the transposition of the sanctity

of the Holy Land. These primary sites in the first centuries of Christianity were Constantinople and Rome. Constantine took part of the Cross to Constantinople, where it was installed in the imperial palace among the most precious relics possessed by the emperor.<sup>5</sup> Helena reportedly transported earth from Golgotha to her imperial residence in Rome, which was converted into a basilica sometime between 325 and 337.<sup>6</sup> The basilica came to be known as Jerusalem in Rome or Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (Holy Cross in Jerusalem).<sup>7</sup> Helena's earth from Golgotha provided the floor while a relic of the True Cross – perhaps brought to Rome by Constantine in the 320s – was probably housed in a chapel behind the apse.<sup>8</sup> A major fragment of the cross was also given to Rome and installed at the nearby Lateran – the papal residence until the fourteenth century – by Pope Leo I (r. 440–61).<sup>9</sup> His successor, Pope Hilarius (r. 461–8), deposited the relic in an oratory of the Holy Cross he commissioned adjacent to the Lateran Baptistery.<sup>10</sup> In the same century, the new basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (St. Mary Major) began to take on the role of Bethlehem in Rome, an association confirmed by the acquisition of a piece of the crib of Christ by the seventh century.<sup>11</sup> On the Appian Way, a pair of footprints were said to have been left by Christ when he spoke to St. Peter, saying “where are you going” (in Latin: *quo vadis*).<sup>12</sup> The Quo Vadis Church was constructed sometime in the fifth or sixth century to accommodate pilgrims who came to see the footprints. The entirety of Rome was uniquely sanctified by the bodies of early Christians in the catacombs below

the city, including the many martyrs who were killed for their faith in the period before the legalization of Christianity.

### THE SANCTA SANCTORUM AND LATERAN BASILICA IN ROME

Later legend would hold that Helena had brought earth from Golgotha to Rome to be joined with the already blood-stained earth in the garden of the Vatican palace, where Christians had died at the orders of Emperor Nero. The Basilica of St. Peter's was first constructed in the first half of the fourth century, atop an ancient Christian necropolis adjacent to Nero's circus, where many martyrdoms had occurred.<sup>13</sup> Helena became the source for many other legendary transpositions of sacred objects from Jerusalem to Rome, including a nail and part of the True Cross, in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and the Scala Santa (Holy Stairs) said to have been taken from the palace of Pontius Pilate to the Lateran palace in Rome.<sup>14</sup> The twenty-eight marble steps, enclosed since the sixteenth century, lead up to the private chapel of the popes.<sup>15</sup> The chapel, known as the Sancta Sanctorum (Holy of Holies) (Fig. 21), was named after the long-destroyed inner chamber of the Temple of Jerusalem, where the Ark of the Covenant had been stored. The chapel was first constructed in the ninth century (replacing an earlier oratory dedicated to St. Lawrence) and protected the most holy relics of the popes; like the Holy of Holies, the most sacred center of the Temple in Jerusalem, only accessible to the Jewish High Priest, the chapel was reserved for the pope.<sup>16</sup>

Among the Sancta Sanctorum's most ancient contents was a reliquary box containing stones from the Holy Land (Fig. 22), made sometime in the sixth or seventh century and rediscovered in 1903.<sup>17</sup> The inner side of the lid of the box displays the events that sanctified each place, envisioned as memories activated by contact with the stones when closed. Around the central scene of the Crucifixion, marking the umbilicus of the world at Golgotha, are the Nativity in Bethlehem, the Baptism at the Jordan, the discovery of Christ's empty tomb in Jerusalem – with one of the earliest representations of the dome



Fig. 21 Sancta Sanctorum, Rome, ninth century (Photo © Musei Vaticani / Amministrazione del Patrimonio della Sede Apostolica)

covering the Aedicule – and the Ascension.<sup>18</sup> In the absence of bodily relics, the stones from Golgotha, the Mount of Olives, and Mount Zion stand for Christ's body, while also representing the very idea of the Holy Land; each stone's significance is indicated through inscriptions, now only partially legible. Although the pictorial scenes on the casket may resemble some of the contemporary pilgrimage ampullae, the singularity of their presentation and the conglomeration of the stone relics standing simultaneously for the entirety of Christ's life and of the earth sanctified as the Holy Land, suggest a unique attempt to gather the fragmentary relics, and establish a new Ark in Rome's new Tabernacle, the Sancta Sanctorum.

A number of additional relics were accumulated by Paschal I (817–24), for which Leo III (795–816) commissioned a chest of cypress wood, known as the



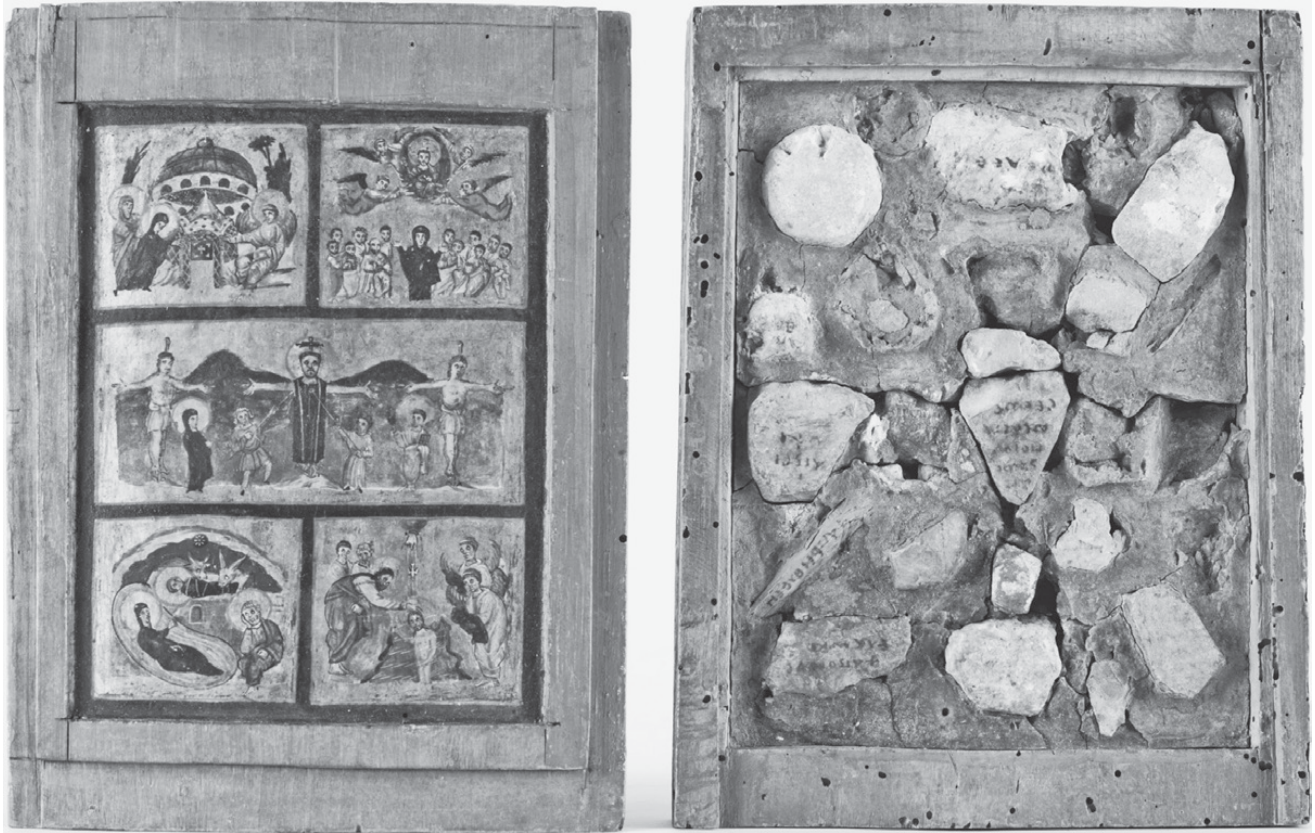


Fig. 22 Reliquary box from the Sancta Sanctorum, Rome, sixth or seventh century (Photo © Musei Vaticani / Amministrazione del Patrimonio della Sede Apostolica)

Arca Cipressina (Ark of Cypress); its form and material were apparently intended to re-create the Holy of Holies of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem.<sup>19</sup> As described in the Old Testament, Moses constructed the Tabernacle out of cedar wood according to the dimensions given by God, as the portable container for the Tablets of the Law and other sacred objects. The Roman Arca Cipressina is made of cypress wood, which – like cedar – is light and durable, suggesting another intentional similarity.<sup>20</sup> An inscription, dating to the thirteenth century but most likely replacing an earlier one, identifies the Arca Cipressina in a central gilded plaque as the “Holy of Holies” (SCA SCO RU).<sup>21</sup>

The altar of the Lateran basilica, adjacent to the Sancta Sanctorum and first constructed in the reign of Constantine, was said to contain the implements taken from the Temple of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus in AD 70, including Aaron’s rod, the seven-branched candlestick, the altar incense, the jar of

manna, and the shrew-bread table.<sup>22</sup> By the tenth century, a mosaic inscription was also added to the apse of the basilica, comparing “this house of God” to Sinai, where Moses first received the instructions and dimensions to build the Tabernacle: “This house of God is like Sinai, the bearer of the holy law ... from here proceeded the law which moves the spirits from the depths.”<sup>23</sup> The inscription implies the presence of the tablets of the law, preserved by the pope, as a new Moses.<sup>24</sup> The inscription disappeared during the restoration of the apse in 1291 and is only known through textual accounts of the ancient basilica, which would be entirely replaced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

#### THE TRUE PORTRAIT OF CHRIST IN ROME

In both Constantinople and Rome, the presence of “true portraits” of Christ – that is, images taken

directly from his person during life, often thought to also contain traces of his bodily matter, like blood and sweat – became the most significant means of bestowing the sanctity of the Holy Land upon each city, by embodying the living presence of Christ. The earth of the Holy Land, or the wood of the Cross, as matter in a formless state was being relocated throughout all of Christendom. The idea of a true portrait, in contrast, asserted a unique materialization of the form of Christ, a shadowy glimpse of his absent form as it had been on earth and existed in heaven, and served as a testament to the mysterious lability of matter in response to his divine person. Until the period of the crusades, the true portraits in Constantinople and Rome were generally held to be unique in Christendom. They primarily served to activate the sanctity of the architectural complexes of those who claimed to inherit Christ's authority over Christendom on earth: in Constantinople, the palace of the Byzantine emperor, and in Rome, the palace of the pope at the Lateran. The two portraits reflect the rivalry and competition between the two courts that informed the relations of the Eastern and Western churches through the period the crusades.

In Rome, the true portrait of Christ (Fig. 21) was housed in the Lateran, until it was transferred to a newly reconstructed Sancta Sanctorum and installed above the altar formed out of the Arca Cypressina under Pope Nicholas III (1277–80). The portrait, known as the Acheiropoieton – or later in Italian as the Acheropita – from the Greek for an image not formed by human hands (ἀχειροποίητον), presents a full-length image of Christ said to have been begun by Luke (d. c. 84) but finished by an angel.<sup>25</sup> The portrait, it was asserted, was brought from Jerusalem to Rome by Emperor Titus (r. 79–81), together with the other treasures taken from the Temple of Jerusalem and installed in the Lateran. In the twelfth century, still-extant frescoes would be added above the altar, which envision four angels carrying the wreathed portrait of Christ to heaven. A recent cleaning of the portrait suggests that the painting on cloth probably dates from the seventh or early eighth century. In the tenth century a new face was apparently painted on the cloth, when the entire body was covered with a silver coat of armor.<sup>26</sup> Although the portrait was kept in the pope's



Fig. 23 Portrait of Christ with thirteenth-century frame, San Bartolommeo degli Armeni, Genoa (Photo: BN Marconi)

private chapel, it was processed through the city of Rome to the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, in a symbolic reunion of the mother and son, since at least the time of Pope Stephen II (r. 752–7).<sup>27</sup> The portrait quickly acquired the status of the protector image of the entire city of Rome and provided a visible testament to the pope's claim of authority within Christendom.<sup>28</sup>

#### THE IMAGE OF EDESSA

The significance of the portrait of Christ in Rome most likely originated in a legendary portrait of Christ, known as the Image of Edessa. King Abgar of Edessa (in modern-day Turkey), who reigned over Osroene from 4 BC to AD 50, had – so the legend goes – written to Jesus to ask him to cure an illness; in response Jesus sent a letter and a portrait of himself to Edessa.<sup>29</sup> The first record of the portrait dates to around 600; it was moved to Constantinople in 944, where it was installed in a chapel of the



palace of the Byzantine emperor, until it disappeared in 1204.<sup>30</sup> The portrait was placed within a collection of relics of the Holy Land, including a portion of the True Cross, and – added in 1032 – also the letter from Christ to King Abgar. The accumulation of these relics transformed the palace of the Byzantine emperor into the “house of Christ.”<sup>31</sup> The pilgrim Egeria was one of the very first to record having seen the letter written by Christ when it was still kept in Edessa. Egeria recounts being welcomed by the bishop of Edessa, who showed her the palace of King Abgar and the gate where Ananias, the king’s messenger, had come with the letter.<sup>32</sup>

Egeria also indicates that by the time of her journey in 381–4 copies of Christ’s letter written to Abgar had disseminated throughout Christendom, and that at this point the related legend of a portrait of Christ sent to Abgar seems not yet to have developed. By the fourth century it had been established that Jesus had left nothing in writing; the letter had a special status, like the miraculous inscriptions in Jerusalem, which also had no basis in the Gospels.<sup>33</sup> Later accounts more clearly describe the gate of Edessa as having an inscription of the letter, as an embedding of the apotropaic powers of Christ’s writing into the city’s fabric.<sup>34</sup> Protective inscriptions with Christ’s Letter to Abgar became widespread in the Christian world. The best preserved of them is the engraving on the city gate of Philippi in Macedonia.<sup>35</sup> The fame of the letter also inspired imitations. In Ethiopia, for example, a letter was reportedly sent by Christ to King Lalibala and inscribed into the ‘Adma Berhan (Pillar of Light).<sup>36</sup> The rock-hewn pillar was located in the cathedral of Lalibala, then called Roha, the Syriac name for Edessa. In the fifth and sixth centuries, amulets were also produced with inscriptions of portions of Christ’s letter. The initial proliferation of the re-creations of the Letter to Abgar and Image of Edessa throughout Byzantine Christendom may have been especially motivated by the loss of Jerusalem to Islam in 637.<sup>37</sup> The idea of the Image of Edessa was conceived – like the Letter written by Christ – as a miraculous inscription.<sup>38</sup>

The legend of the Image of Edessa’s rediscovery would be elaborated to incorporate an important story of its autocreativity, or ability to self-replicate. When the portrait had been hidden in the gate of

Edessa, it was said to have been sealed behind a brick with a lamp that illuminated it continuously. The image miraculously imprinted itself into the brick, resulting in the creation of the object known as the holy tile, or Keramidion, from the Greek for a flat, unglazed slab like a brick (κεράμιον).<sup>39</sup> The earthen material, which in the presence of the heat of the lamp acquired a flesh-like malleability, responded to the presence of Christ’s form, marked into the cloth of the Image of Edessa, in the same way that the stone of the Column of Flagellation had actively received the imprint of Christ in Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup> The pervasiveness of the legends surrounding the Image of Edessa and Letter to Abgar suggests a consistent belief in the ability of Christ’s presence to be rendered through acts of inscription, which metaphorically imprinted sacred spaces with the sacramental presence of his body. The re-creation of the true portrait of Christ likewise reveals a common belief in the autocreative potential of Christ’s form as Logos. The closely related concepts of inscription and transcription could also be extended to architecture, in the ongoing genesis of sacred presence.

#### CHRIST’S PRESENCE IN CONSTANTINOPLE

From the seventh through the ninth century, the portrait and letter (as well perhaps as the Keramidion) were side by side in Edessa, said to be embedded within the city’s gate. Shortly after the Image of Edessa was obtained by the Byzantine emperor in 944 and placed in a golden box within the imperial chapel in Constantinople, along with a copy of Christ’s Letter to Abgar, the Keramidion arrived in 968; the letter said to be the original only came to Constantinople in 1032.<sup>41</sup> The chapel – perhaps first created as a reliquary for Jerusalem relics in the immediate aftermath of the Arab invasions of the seventh century – no longer survives, most likely having been destroyed in 1204, and its location has never been identified.<sup>42</sup> Our knowledge of the chapel and its contents depends upon accounts of visitors. When Anthony of Novgorod visited the imperial chapel at the end of the twelfth century, he encountered a second Keramidion, spawned from the original tile formed in Edessa.<sup>43</sup> One of

the most detailed descriptions was created *c.* 1200 by Nicholas Mesarites, a guardian of the church, in which he enumerates the ten most important relics of Christ's Passion – including the Crown of Thorns, the Shroud, and a piece from the stone of his Tomb. He suggests that altogether the relics transformed the chapel into a context for a visionary experience of Christ's life in the Holy Land, as “another Sinai, Bethlehem, Jordan, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethany, Galilee, Tiberias, another washing of the feet, Last Supper, Mount Tabor, Pilate's Praetorium, Calvary which is in Hebrew called Golgotha.”<sup>44</sup> Accounts of the appearance of the church suggest that the most important effects were created by the precious ornament, comprising silver, mosaics, and multi-colored marble, likely giving the chapel the appearance of a full-scale reliquary.<sup>45</sup> Otherwise, the descriptions created by pilgrims are simply lists of relics.<sup>46</sup>

The portrait of Christ would remain in the Byzantine palace in Constantinople until 1204, when the city was sacked during the Fourth Crusade. It was at this point that the portrait might have been taken to Genoa.<sup>47</sup> The portrait (Fig. 23) is still kept in the Genoese Church of San Bartolomeo degli Armeni (St. Bartholomew of the Armenians), founded in 1308 by Armenian monks fleeing a Turkish invasion. The history of the portrait is told within the silver gilt-frame, probably made by Byzantine craftsmen in the thirteenth century.<sup>48</sup> The inscribed portrait, whose significance derives from the story of its genesis, hovers on the edge of visibility; the features of Christ are only faintly discernible within the dark image. The contours of his features had once been traced with seed pearls – the materials of the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>49</sup>

Until it was taken in 1204, the Image of Edessa was preserved beyond mundane visibility within the chapel of the imperial palace. Although very few people would have seen the portrait in Constantinople, the idea of the generativeness of the sacred imprints of Christ's form contained in the imperial chapel informed the decoration of a number of churches of the Byzantine world.<sup>50</sup> One of the earliest examples is the fresco re-creating the Image of Edessa in Karanlık Kilise (Turkish: Dark Church) (Fig. 24), in the Capadocia region of modern-day Turkey, dating to the eleventh century.<sup>51</sup> The portrait, depicted as a



Fig. 24 Karanlık Kilise, Göreme, eleventh century  
(Photo: Alexei Lidov)

cloth in front of which the contours of Christ's visage hovers, is painted into a niche as if a veil hanging below the bust of Christ.<sup>52</sup> The portrait within the cloth is also framed by seven roundels, likely representing the seven seals belonging to Christ, which would – like his true face in all its radiant glory – be revealed at the end of time (Revelation 5:1).<sup>53</sup> The visualization of the Image of Edessa with the seven seals also underscores their fundamental similarity as divine inscriptions. When Nicholas Mesarites referred to the Image of Edessa and the Keramidion in Constantinople, he emphasized their common source through the notion of a miraculous “graphic art”:

[The Lawgiver himself] is here before your eyes, as if in the prototype, his impression imprinted in the towel and engraved into the fragile clay [tile] by some graphic art not wrought by hand.<sup>54</sup>

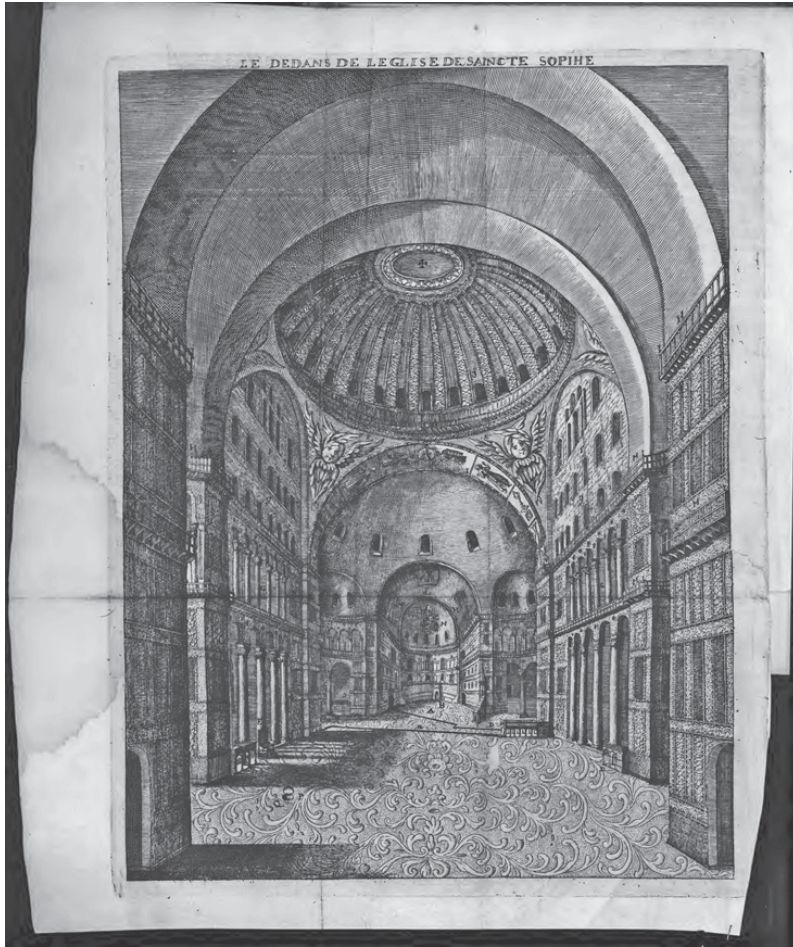


Fig. 25 Guillaume Grelot, interior of Hagia Sophia, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople*, Paris, 1680 (Photo: Archive.org / Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles – Public Domain)

“Graphic” explicitly links the production of the portrait to the inscription of the letter, invoking the ultimate mystery of the Logos made flesh in the fragile body of Christ.

#### HAGIA SOPHIA AS HOLY SEPULCHER

The relics in the imperial chapel in Constantinople were accessible to select visitors, but other relics of Christ and Mary were more prominently displayed in key churches of the city. The majority of the relics and churches that housed them do not survive, due primarily to looting and destruction during the Latin invasion of 1204 and the Ottoman conquest of 1453. The Church of the Holy Apostles housed a piece of the Column of the Flagellation, the church of Blachernai had the Virgin’s clothing since 472, and her girdle was found in the Chalkoprateia by the

eightth century.<sup>55</sup> The largest concentration of widely accessible relics associated with Christ was displayed in Hagia Sophia. With this spectacular building, Justinian reportedly claimed to have surpassed Solomon, suggesting an intended comparison with the first Jewish Temple in Jerusalem.<sup>56</sup> By the period of the crusades, the relics in Hagia Sophia included the blood of Christ, part of the True Cross, and other contact relics, including his swaddling clothes. A measure taken from Jerusalem was held to equal the length of Christ’s body. The lock from the Tomb offered its own material connection to the Aedicule, and finally a marble slab indicated the place of the Crucifixion. Our knowledge of the relics and their arrangement in Hagia Sophia depends entirely on textual accounts, since many were taken during the Latin invasion of Constantinople in 1204.<sup>57</sup> Other connections to Jerusalem were lost at a later date; an interior view engraved by Guillaume Grelot in 1680



suggests that a version of the Image of Edessa may have also once been seen at the apex of the apse's vault (Fig. 25).<sup>58</sup>

A portrait of Mary, taken from the Holy Sepulcher and installed in the church by the ninth century, has also disappeared. This was found in the monumental entranceway of Hagia Sophia and was reportedly taken from the façade of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, perhaps first in the reign of Leo VI (886–912). The miracle-working image was installed above the entrance leading from the narthex to the nave; a mosaic in the tympanum, in which Leo appears prostrated at the feet of Christ, also incorporated a portrait of Christ.<sup>59</sup> The sixth-century Piacenza Pilgrim was the first to mention the portrait of Mary “in a raised place” in Jerusalem.<sup>60</sup> By the seventh century the image had been connected to the life of St. Mary the Egyptian: Mary, a courtesan from Alexandria, was stopped at the entrance of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher four times by some heavenly power; she appealed to the image

of Mary above her in the porch for intercession before Christ, was forgiven, and then entered to venerate the True Cross.<sup>61</sup> By the twelfth century, pilgrims who visited Jerusalem only noted the place where the portrait of Mary had been on the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. A fresco recreating the portrait marked the site of the miraculous image, as described by Saewulf at the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>62</sup> In this way pilgrims were presented with a re-creation of the original portrait at the site where one would expect the original, while in Constantinople the real portrait eclipsed the status of the substitutional image in Jerusalem. Pilgrims noted the subtle differences, suggesting that they were attuned to the practices – well established by the period of the crusades – of transporting sacred objects relating to Christ from Jerusalem to Constantinople and Rome. In the period of the crusades, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was itself a substitute for a lost original, the building having been destroyed in 1009.



## ARCHITECTURAL INSCRIPTIONS IN ADOMNÁN'S *DE LOCIS SANCTIS*



### SACRED ARCHITECTURE BETWEEN RELIC AND INSCRIPTION

In both Rome and Constantinople, relics were amassed in churches that created sites outside of the Holy Land for encountering the earthly traces of Christ's Crucifixion, Entombment, and Resurrection. By containing relics, those buildings acquired by extension a sacred status as tabernacles or reliquaries. They evoked the idea of the distant architecture of Jerusalem not through specific architectural forms or explicit dedication, but through reference to the enclosed relics.<sup>1</sup> In the Holy Land, the sanctity of the most important buildings associated with the life of Christ emerged through a different process, which centered upon tracing out the sites of Christ's past bodily presence. Divine presence was not manifested through relics – although it certainly could be augmented by them – but primarily through the idea of everlasting presence, and the material vestiges that stood as proof – that is, the fragmentary imprints of Christ's form, embedded into the earth and matter of the Holy Land. Like the Letter to Abgar, these traces were understood to have been written by Christ himself, as testaments to his life and divinity. The fragmentary vestiges also implied a presence that exceeded a single place and could not be sensed in its totality. It was the related buildings, inscribing the sites of inscription, that came to offer a totalizing symbolization of the idea of Christ's auratic presence in the Holy Land.

Buildings like the Anastasis Rotunda and Church on Mount Sion enclosing the Column of Flagellation became, in a sense, relics standing in for the absent body of Christ – a status that logically would only emerge as the buildings grew in antiquity. Like reliquaries, the buildings offered a more concrete representation of the significance of fragmentary inscriptions, which – for the most part – were difficult to see, if visible at all.<sup>2</sup> But the concept of the building as a relic or reliquary is not adequately descriptive, since it was the forms of the buildings, not the matter, that emerged as symbolic entities, closely linked to the idea of seeking out the vestiges of Christ's earthly presence. Unlike the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome or Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, buildings like the Anastasis Rotunda and Church on Mount Sion came to exist as symbolic forms, beyond visibility and beyond materiality, like the true portraits of Christ. Like the Image of Edessa or the Lateran Acheropita, the Anastasis Rotunda could at once seem a material relic – its matter imbued with the general association of Christ's bodily presence – and an inscription whose existence transcended material incarnation. The transfer of the sanctity of the architecture of the Holy Land was not accomplished through physical movement of materials, but instead through reinscription of architectural forms.

## ADOMNÁN'S *DE LOCIS SANCTIS*, ISLAM, AND THE CHRISTIAN HOLY LAND

The Holy Land and its architecture would remain only an idea for the majority of Christians, who could not physically make the pilgrimage. The absence and distance from the buildings tracing out the most sacred sites made their symbolization a fundamentally relevant aspect of devotion to Christ. Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* (On the Holy Places), the first surviving account of the pilgrimage to contain descriptions and pictorializations of the architectural forms of the holy churches, was conceived in the decades following the loss of Jerusalem to Islam in 637, and completed sometime before the author's death in 704. Like the contemporaneously developing legends about the Image of Edessa, Adomnán's descriptions of the sacred buildings of the Holy Land may have been motivated by the increased difficulty of the pilgrimage and inaccessibility of the holy places, particularly following the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Adomnán was in fact the first Christian writer to account for the new Islamic presence in Jerusalem, describing a makeshift quadrangular prayer house constructed over the ruins of the Jewish Temple.<sup>4</sup>

There is no question, however, that for Adomnán Jerusalem and the larger region of the Holy Land remained fundamentally Christian. The short description of the Islamic prayer house – whose reported makeshift qualities suggest a tenuous relationship to the Holy Land – is in fact the first building described in the *De Locis Sanctis*, and it is quickly overshadowed by the elaborate account of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher that immediately follows.<sup>5</sup> The pilgrimage churches together, in Adomnán's account, constituted symbols of the landscape's Christian identity, inscribing long-standing imprints of Christ's forms, which were themselves characterized as documents sealed into the earth and matter of the region. Like pilgrim-authors before him, Adomnán casts the material manifestations of Christ's divinity in terms of the generative capacity of written language; Christ is both the human receptacle for the Logos, and – reflexively – the agent by which the Holy Land is sanctified through inscrip-tional acts as inherently Christian.<sup>6</sup> For Adomnán's

monastic readers, the Holy Land could thereby be claimed as a document testifying to Christ's dual humanity and divinity – denied by its current Muslim possessors – and its architecture could take on an abstract existence within the expanding communities of European monasticism. The copying and dissemination of Adomnán's book throughout these communities materialized the buildings as symbolic forms, a process which related to the first architectural re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher, constructed in monastic foundations in the same period.

## THE CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION AS AN ACHEIROPOIETAL BUILDING

Adomnán presents his book as being based upon the oral report of the pilgrim Arculf. Although originally composed in the last years of the seventh century, the earliest surviving manuscripts date to the ninth century, four of which contain ground-plans of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Church of the Ascension, the Basilica of Mount Sion, all in Jerusalem, and the church at Jacob's well, where Christ conversed with a Samaritan woman (in modern-day Nablus).<sup>7</sup> The important status of the drawings of the Holy Land churches within the book is suggested by the circumstances surrounding their creation. Adomnán tells us that he has copied the figures first created by Arculf, who produced them directly from memory by inscribing their forms into wax. Their facture suggests a fundamental relation to the traces of Christ's forms, which Arculf elsewhere so assiduously remembers. For instance, Arculf provides one of the first surviving accounts of the footprints left by Christ on the Mount of Olives (Figs. 2 and 26). He characterizes the related Church of the Ascension (Fig. 27) as an acheiropoietal building, miraculously generated rather than made by human hands.<sup>8</sup> The way in which the associations of Christ's letter written to Abgar were gradually absorbed into the legend of the Image of Edessa, conceived as a miraculous engraving that generated its own series of transcriptions or re-creations, offers a conceptual parallel for the way in which Arculf's inscribed ground-plans absorbed the previously established ideas about Christ's forms



Fig. 26 Footprints of Christ, Church of the Ascension, Mount of Olives, Jerusalem (Photo: author)



Fig. 27 Church of the Ascension, Jerusalem, twelfth century (Photo: author)

drawn into the earth and stones of the Holy Land. Arculf's account stands at the beginning of a new kind of abstract expansion of the body of Christ beyond Jerusalem in which architectural forms take on a primary role.

Of all of the traces of Christ left in the Holy Land, it would be the footprints on the Mount of Olives that would become the most significant, both as the last remnants of Christ left on earth and as the material evidence for the Ascension. Adomnán's source – in addition to Arculf's oral account – appears to have been the writings of Paulinus of Nola (*c.* 354–431) and Sulpicius Severus (*c.* 365–c.425); both refer to the footprints on the Mount of Olives as miraculous

imprints that cannot be covered, since they refuse any relation to human or mundane things.<sup>9</sup> Adomnán's account is the first surviving text detailing the architectural forms related to the footprints of Christ, and also the first purported eyewitness account of the footprints. A colonnade encircling the site of the Ascension had existed since sometime in the fourth century, when it was converted into a church.<sup>10</sup> The footprints were also understood to mark the site where Christ would return at the end of time. The earth that had witnessed Christ's Ascension refused to accept any covering over the footprints, resulting in a round vault that was open to the air.<sup>11</sup> The architecture of the Church of the Ascension was in

this way conferred a unique status, as a building “not made by human hands,” like the true portraits of Christ whose legends were being developed in the same period:

On the entire Mount of Olives no place is seen to be higher than that one, from which the Lord had ascended, where a great round church stands, which has around it three porticos (*cameratas*) with vaulted roofs above: the interior building of this church is without roof and without vault, it remains open to the sky below the open air, in its east part a covering below a narrow roof extends over an altar. The inner chamber does not have a vault so that in regards to that place, where the divine and lastly made footprints (*vestigia*) can be seen, due to the Lord being raised up in a cloud into heaven, the path might always be open, and remain open to heaven for the eyes of those who are praying. For when this basilica, about which I have just recalled a little, was being built, the same place of the footprints (*vestigiorum*) of the Lord, as is found again in other documents, could not be covered. Indeed anything placed near, the earth unaccustomed to human things refused to accept, and threw back to the edge whatever had been placed upon it. Moreover the sand stood on by the Lord truly is a document which will exist in perpetuity (*perenne documentum est*), since the imprinted footprints can be seen (*vestigia cernantur impressa*), and although everyday the faithful in a flock take away that which has been treaded upon by the Lord, nonetheless the area does not experience a lose, and to this day the earth, as if it had been sealed with the imprinted footprints (*veluti impressis signata vestigiis*), preserves its own appearance.<sup>12</sup>

Here Adomnán echoes Sulpicius Severus, referring to the footprints as eternal documents, like an inscribed text sealed into the earth of the Mount of Olives.<sup>13</sup>

Arculf further expands upon the miraculous nature of the footprints, describing a great bronze machine that inexhaustibly provides pilgrims with dust sanctified by the footprints:

As holy Arculf relates, he was painstaking in often visiting this place, encircled by a great bronze railing, as explained above, the height of which is shown to continuously have a measure to the neck [of a man]: in its center there is a not small opening, through which from above are shown the exposed footprints of the Lord’s feet completely and clearly imprinted into the sand (*vestigia pedum Domini plane & lucide in pulvere impressa*). In that railing on the west part is a kind of door that always remains open, so that through this those who are coming in might easily approach the place of the sacred sand, and through the opening from above this same railing spews out particles from the sacred sand into outstretched hands. Thus Arculf’s account of the Lord’s footprints (*vestigis Domini*) agrees precisely with the writings of others: that the enclosure cannot be covered by any kind of covering, whether high or low, so that all who enter might be able to see the traces of the Lord’s feet (*Dominicorum vestigia pedum*), clearly drawn in the sand of that place (*eiusdem loci in pulvere depicta clara*).<sup>14</sup>

Earth from the site of the Ascension was in fact treated as a relic and enshrined in churches in Europe. A relic at Saint-Riquier, recorded in the ninth century, for example, is referred to as “from the earth where he stood when he ascended into heaven.”<sup>15</sup> Similarly at the Lateran a reference to a relic “from the place of the Ascension of Christ into heaven” probably refers to earth taken from the Mount of Olives.<sup>16</sup> In the Church of San Clemente in Rome, a ninth-century fresco of the Ascension incorporates an aperture below that once – it seems – contained a stone brought from the Mount of Olives.<sup>17</sup>

After a description of the many lamps used to illuminate the footprints, Adomnán concludes his



description of the Church of the Ascension by referring to the accompanying drawing:

One may make visible the shape (*figura*) of this round church drawn (*depicta*) here, however poor the picture may be (*quamvis vili pictura*): and also the circular railing placed in the center, is shown by this plan (*formula*) delineated below.<sup>18</sup>

The ground-plan of the Church of the Ascension immediately follows in the manuscripts that are illustrated (Plate 2).<sup>19</sup> Note the repeated use of the term *depicta* (drawn) in reference to both the footprints of Christ imprinted into the Mount of Olives and the ground-plan inscribed by Arculf. Adomnán's modesty in relation to the drawing of the church, which he refers to as poor, suggests the secondary status of the ground-plan – a trace of a trace – in contrast to the primacy of the forms of Christ's body imprinted into the earth.<sup>20</sup> Despite Adomnán's modesty, the pictorial representation bestows upon the building the same status as the footprints it enshrines, rendered as the trace of Christ's corporeal presence on earth, inscribed onto to the manuscript as a material surrogate for the earth of the Holy Land.

Adomnán's description also implies that the forms of the building have not changed, and – more than this – that the forms of the building were generated by the earth's wish to preserve for eternity the memory of Christ's Ascension represented by his footprints on the Mount of Olives. The facts that the church had not been built until the fourth century, had been heavily damaged by invading Persians in 614, and would continue to fall into disrepair and require reconstruction, are all extraneous to Adomnán's description of the essential forms, which generate a timeless symbol. The essential forms were determined when the footprints were made, as a permanent testament to the Ascension and the eventual return of Christ; their material embodiment implied the unique qualities of the site, manifesting an opening between the earthly and heavenly realms, in the way that the true portraits of Christ similarly offered a tangible if visually elusive manifestation of Christ's dual human and heavenly aspects. Like the true portraits of Christ in Constantinople and Rome, the

footprints on the Mount of Olives and the symbolic forms of the related architecture offered a tangible mediation between the sensible and the heavenly.

In another part of *De Locis Sanctis*, it becomes evident that Adomnán may have been privy to the earliest stories developing around the idea of an acheiropoietal portrait of Christ. In his account of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Arculf reports having seen a sacred cloth that had once been placed over Christ's head in a Tomb, rediscovered just three years before and measuring eight feet.<sup>21</sup> This Shroud may be the same that was documented in Constantinople in later centuries and may also have been part of the inspiration for the conceptual transformation of the Letter to Abgar into the Image of Edessa.

#### ARCULF'S DRAWINGS AND CHRIST'S WAXEN INSCRIPTIONS

The buildings that Arculf recounts in detail are all characterized as enshrining primary sites where Christ's form had been imprinted into the earth or matter of the Holy Land. The architectural forms of the church enclosing the Tomb of Mary are described in relation to a miraculous impression of Christ's knees, left where he had prayed in the field of Gethsemane (at the foot of the Mount of Olives). Arculf describes the related architecture of the Church of Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat as a two-storied building with an upper rotunda:

Holy Arculf was tireless in visiting repeatedly the holy places. He visited often the church of Saint Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which is built at two levels, the lower part being below a stone vault in a remarkable round structure . . . Entering this lower round church of Saint Mary, people see that stone inserted into the wall on the right, above which the Lord on that night in the field of Gethsemane, where he would be delivered by Judas into the hands of sinful men, he prayed on his knees before the hour of his betrayal: in which stone one can clearly discern the traces (*vestigia*) of his two knees, as if these traces had been deeply imprinted

into the softest wax (*quasi in cera mollissima profundius impressa*). This was divulged to us by holy brother Arculf, visitor of the holy places, which he described to us, having seen everything with his own eyes. Accordingly the four altars in the upper round church of Saint Mary are shown to be there.<sup>22</sup>

The empty Tomb of Mary, like the imprints of Christ's knees, and by extension the surrounding building, are the earthly remainders of Christ's and Mary's bodies. The textual description of the related architecture implies a similar form of vestigial inscription, like the traces imprinted into the wax-like rock inside the church. The church described by Arculf had disappeared by the time of the crusades, and the forms of the pre-crusades church are known exclusively from literary sources, among which Arculf's is the most detailed.<sup>23</sup> The current Tomb may relate to its most ancient forms, including a small cupola with a hole at its summit. Like the open vault of the Church of the Ascension, this hole may have been intended to symbolize the interpenetration of heaven and earth.<sup>24</sup>

In his description of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Adomnán tells his readers that all of the drawings that they see (Plate 1) are the product of Arculf's own remembrance of the buildings. Adomnán has created his own drawings based upon Arculf's simple inscriptions made on a wax tablet (although neither of the original set of drawings survives):

On the church built above the Lord's sepulcher in a round plan (*rotunde formule*). This is certainly a very large church, all of stone, built on each side in an admirable round form (*mira rotunditate*), rising from the foundations into three parts, of which one peak is raised on high, and between one wall and the other side it has the width of the street; there are also three altars in three specially built constructions in the middle wall ... There are twelve columns of remarkable size sustaining this Rotunda. It has eight doors, that is four entries, for the three main walls, divided by the intervals of pathways, from which four exits

look to the north-east, which is also called the Caecias wind, while the other four look to the south-east ... The accompanying picture (*pictura*) shows the shape (*formulam*) of the said church with a round small building placed in its middle, in the east part of which is contained the Lord's sepulcher, and also there are plans (*figurae*) of three other churches, about which a description will be given below. We drew (*depinximus*) these plans (*figuras*) of the four churches according to the pattern (*exemplar*) which, as was said above, holy Arculf had drawn on a waxen tablet (*in paginula figuravit cerata*), and although it might not be possible for a likeness to be formed in a picture, nonetheless it is possible that the monument of the Lord might be shown placed in the middle of the rotunda in such a poor diagram (*figuratione vili*), at any rate the distance to the church as it is placed might be shown.<sup>25</sup>

Adomnán admits that his drawing does not represent a true appearance of the church, as seen in person, but also suggests that it might still be able to communicate to the reader the essential forms of the Tomb and Rotunda. In generating the pattern, or exemplar, for Adomnán to copy, Arculf was also mimicking the process of inscription into wax that he used to characterize the footprints and other impressions of Christ left in Jerusalem. In the ground-plan, the architectural forms were reduced to the same status of inscriptions, marking the footprints of those buildings on the earth of the Holy Land.

The terms used for the ground-plan are *figura* (figure), or more often, *formula*; the latter implies a small pattern or mold and also evokes the impression or sealing of a form in a waxen material. In the description of the Church on Mount Sion, Adomnán again employs the term *formula* to refer to the ground-plan.<sup>26</sup> The presence of the Column of the Flagellation within the church is either indicated by an inscription or by a drawing (Plate 3).<sup>27</sup> In this particular ninth-century manuscript produced at Salzburg, the illustrator has rendered a series of marks on the Column of the Flagellation, suggesting an attempt to visualize the fragmentary inscriptions of Christ's form.<sup>28</sup> In the same way that Adomnán's account of the Church

of the Ascension implies a significant relationship to the footprints of Christ imprinted into the earth of the Mount of Olives, Adomnán's selection of the Church on Mount Sion for illustration suggests a similar relation to the Column of the Flagellation, and its own miraculous imprints of Christ's body, enclosed within. When understood in relation to the fragmentary inscriptions of Christ, the ground-plans emerge as a unique example of a Christian conception of symbols as sensible representations of God.<sup>29</sup> The other two churches selected for illustration, the Church of Jacob's Well and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, connected in their own way to symbols familiar to Adomnán's audience.

### THE CROSS AND LABYRINTH

The ground-plans in the surviving illustrated copies of Arculf's account especially focus on buildings inscribing the imprints drawn by Christ: the Church of Mount Sion around the Column of the Flagellation, the Church of the Ascension around the footprints, as well as the Holy Sepulcher, enshrining the empty Tomb of Christ, and the Church of Jacob's Well.<sup>30</sup> The last one is a minor sixth-century pilgrimage church and is selected, it would seem, to emphasize the symbolic nature of the ground-plans.<sup>31</sup> As Arculf explains, the church is arranged in the form of a cross (*in crucis modum facta*). In at least one of the surviving illustrations, found in a ninth-century manuscript made in Reichenau, the lower portion is extended to emphasize this resemblance (Plate 4).<sup>32</sup> When Adomnán created the *De Locis Sanctis*, there was an important cult of the True Cross at the monastery of Iona. The famous cross-carpet page in the Book of Durrows, thought by many to have been produced in the same monastery in the time of Adomnán (c. 685), may reflect the new interest in developing the abstract representation of the True Cross.<sup>33</sup> The assimilation of the ground-plan of the Church of Jacob's Well to the form of the Cross suggests an interest in interpreting the forms of the sacred buildings of the Holy Land in terms of already existing symbols associated with the abstract representation of Christ's body.

Like the Church of Jacob's Well, assimilated to the image of the cross, the ground-plans of the two circular buildings, the Anastasis Rotunda and Church of the Ascension, have also been rendered in a way to emphasize the association with other significant symbols. The *figurae*, or *formulae*, of both buildings are rendered as concentric circles (rather than indicating columns, for example), suggestive of a labyrinthine form, especially through the inclusion of staggered openings that otherwise do not correspond to the descriptions or the real buildings.<sup>34</sup> In this way, the buildings could also be interpreted as standing for the arduous journey of both the pilgrimage and textual exegesis; at the center are the inscriptions of Christ's absent form, in the shape of his footprints on the Mount of Olives or his empty tomb in the Holy Sepulcher. Jerusalem was also more generally conceptualized as the umbilicus of the world (as Arculf mentions), and the pilgrimage as an encircling of that sacred center.<sup>35</sup> The reduction of the two buildings to a series of concentric circles evoking a labyrinth also linked the metaphorical journey, enacted through reading Arculf's account, to the process of textual exegesis that was the basis of the spiritual journey.<sup>36</sup> The ground-plans efface connection to the material make-up of the buildings and reveal instead a transcendent trace, in a hieroglyphic form closely related to the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem – a likeness that became explicit in Carolingian manuscripts, as we will see. The ground-plans of the churches as created by Adomnán do not point to material buildings in space, but instead to invisible archetypes, in the same way that the Image of Edessa captured an impression of Christ as a trace of something that was ultimately beyond visibility. The footprints, like the portrait of Christ, provided only a glimpse of heavenly things, just as the churches of the Holy Land – as characterized by Adomnán – constituted a series of symbols, pointing to the heavenly Jerusalem that would be revealed only at the end of time.

### HEAVENLY ARCHETYPES

In the text immediately preceding the plan of the Holy Sepulcher, Adomnán tells us that Arculf remembered numerous houses in the city of Jerusalem.

Although he implies that they are well built, he says nothing of their forms, materials, or situations, in order to focus on the primary sites of the circumscription of divine presence within the Holy Land. Arculf's act of inscribing the architectural forms onto the waxen tablet (*formulam in tabula cerata Arculfus ipse depinxit*), represented a drawing out of the essential forms from the complex reality of the city.<sup>37</sup> In the Christianized Platonism that dominated thinking in this period, such abstractions pertained to the archetypes, or patterns, of things that were understood to exist beyond visibility, thought to be more real and lasting than the changeable entities perceptible in the phenomenal realm.<sup>38</sup> In the *Enneads*, Plotinus (c. 204/5–70), whose treatises on Platonic philosophy were vastly influential for the development of Christian theology, employed the example of a house in order to demonstrate that underlying all of visible reality there are invisible patterns that generate the form and order of the universe:

How can the architect adjust the externally apparent house to the internal idea of the house and insist that it is beautiful? Only for this reason, that the external house, if the stones are imagined away, is the internal idea, divided of course with regard to the mass of matter, but indivisible in essence, even though appearing in multiple form.<sup>39</sup>

For Plotinus, the architect's plan of a building provided the primary metaphor for the invisible archetype.<sup>40</sup> The ground-plans drawn by Arculf similarly suggest an internal idea abstracted from phenomenal experience and imprinted into memory.

Adomnán's drawings present the Holy Land churches as symbols not only of themselves but also of the pilgrimage. The drawings simultaneously suggest the process and product of extracting signs of the heavenly Jerusalem from the real city. The textual descriptions may in some ways pertain to the classical tradition of *periegesis* (περιήγησις, "showing around"), in which an author describes the physical movement through a building or city, common in Greek and Roman rhetoric.<sup>41</sup> The intent for Adomnán, however, seems to be substantially different: to generate a non-discursive (or hieroglyphic)

distillation of the potency of the building, its site, and the sacred trace inscribed within.<sup>42</sup> The dual visual and textual concept of a *formula* or mold, and the notion of sealing invoked more than once by Adomnán and similar pilgrims, endowed the simple drawings with a potential to exteriorize in a reductive fashion something otherwise beyond visibility: the trace of Christ's corporeal presence, the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem, or both. The vicarious experience provided by Adomnán's illustrated account was not one of corporeal vision, but instead something closer to spiritual or even intellectual vision, which Augustine (354–430) distinguished from the normal sense experience of the physical world.<sup>43</sup> Like the prophet Ezekiel's vision, or John's of the heavenly Jerusalem in Revelation, the schema of a sacred building is revealed as a sign with complex exegetical meaning. For Adomnán and his contemporary monastic readers, the architecture of the Holy Land stood in an expanded temporality – an eternal present, most closely aligned with the Platonic notion of the world of ideas – inscribing the places where the prophecies concerning Christ were fulfilled in the past, and where they will be fulfilled again in the future, on Judgment Day.

## IMPRESSIONS AND SEALS

In Revelation, John is given a vision of the heavenly city, the memories of which he records in vivid detail. Arculf's experience of the real Jerusalem is similarly recounted for the benefit of those who would not see the city with their own eyes. Adomnán uniquely focuses attention on the visual method through which Arculf shared his memories, recalling the architectural forms in a way that implicitly connected his actions to the dominating theory of memory formation and storage in the period. Plato had first likened memory to a block of wax located in the mind, which would take the impression of perceptions and thoughts, and attributed the metaphor of the "wax tablet to the soul" to a parable of Homer.<sup>44</sup> In *Theaetetus* (c. 369 BC), Plato further relates the ability to remember to the quality of the block of wax, varying by size and softness, concluding that "[w]hatever is impressed upon the wax we remember and know



so long as the image remains in the wax; whatever is obliterated or cannot be impressed, we forget and do not know."<sup>45</sup> In relation to the body of Christ, these metaphors were expanded and exteriorized in a unique way in the Christian tradition: the earth of the Holy Land seemed to actively remember the presence of Christ's body, by taking on a wax-like malleability and receiving the impressions of his corporeal presence, as in the Garden of Gethsemane, where Arculf says the stone became like soft wax when he kneeled there.

The ability of pilgrims to find such traces suggests an exteriorization of the theory of the process of mnemonic impression – as if the earth itself remembered Christ's presence – and provided proof of both his human existence and his divinity, since the responsiveness of matter directly resulted from his divine character. The imprinting of matter with the ineffable spirit represented a metaphorical re-creation of the mysterious nature of the Incarnation, through which the divine character and human form were conjoined in Christ's body. The notion of the "character" is especially pertinent: in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Jesus is described as the "character" of God's essence, which in Greek (*χαρακτήρ*), means two things: a seal, and the impression that the seal leaves on wax.<sup>46</sup> This metaphor was often invoked in explanations of the Trinity, in descriptions of Christ's relation to God and the Spirit. For instance Peter Abelard (1079–1142), writing in the mid 1130s, explains that the impression of God in Christ is like an image impressed into wax, because this implies the presence of both the matrix that had generated the image, and the image carved onto that matrix.<sup>47</sup> Only the impression remains, but within Christ's person the other elements – although not visible – are continuously present.<sup>48</sup>

The rites of baptism and the reception of the Eucharist were consistently conceptualized in terms of a seal impressed into wax, in order to explain the invisible link between the faithful and God. The wearing of pilgrimage ampullae, imprinted with blessings like those impressed into the Eucharistic bread, as we have seen, presented an exteriorization of the process of marking of the elect. The cross, a symbol often impressed into these ampullae, was also referred to as a *sphragis* (a seal or stamp); in descriptions of baptism, the idea was likewise used to refer

to the Christian being interiorly sealed unto the Lord.<sup>49</sup> The memory of the forms of the Tomb, or the church around the footprints (also described as sealed, *signata*, into the earth, by Adomnán), impressed into the waxen tablet of memory, provided another form of sealing the pilgrim unto God.<sup>50</sup> The common theme of the activation of material into a waxen malleability also suggested a consecration and life-giving force, and engaged with a larger belief in the healing powers of the Holy Spirit. In the writings of the Neoplatonic philosopher Iamblichos (c. 300), the "character" also denotes a potent symbol, as an inscription that embeds divine power within itself.<sup>51</sup> This belief in the responsiveness of matter to Christ's corporeal presence is otherwise not accounted for in biblical theology, but instead seems to emerge from a broader perception of the animate potential of matter.

Adomnán's book suggests that the buildings around the sites of Christ's vestiges were becoming absorbed into a similar notion of symbols imprinted into matter. At the same time the idea of a seal suggests the potential to generate further impressions. The transcription of Arculf's drawings, first by Adomnán, then other monastic illuminators, from a certain perspective generated the re-creation of those buildings as a reinscription of sacred forms in real space, in a continuing expansion and activation of divine presence beyond the Holy Land. Images of Christ in the same period were understood as imprints of divine form onto matter; and it was the form of the prototype, stamped into the matter, that was said to be venerated, not the matter itself.<sup>52</sup> In both the copying of Arculf's exemplar and the creation of pictorial icons, the notion of an impression as a negative image implies the paradox of interlocking absence and presence; the inscription, or trace – as the key element that links the two – becomes the most potent (if tenuous) embodiment of the mystery of the interrelation of the divine and the corporeal, and the earthly and transcendent.<sup>53</sup>

## VESTIGIA

The Latin term for "trace," *vestigia*, was used equally for footprints, tracks, and other marks that indicate a past corporeal presence. The notion of *vestigia* carried

a profounder meaning in the period than a cursory reading of Adomnán's account of Arculf's journey (or earlier pilgrims who refer to the vestiges of Christ left in the Holy Land) would at first indicate. Augustine, in arguably the most important theorization of the nature of symbols, writing, and the perceptibility of God from the early Christian period, maintained that God, being transcendent, cannot be known directly, but instead must be seen through his *vestigia* in the world.<sup>54</sup> The Latin *vestigia* could mean traces or specifically a footprint or footprints (usually without the number being specified). For Augustine, writing was itself a kind of *vestigia*, providing a bridge between the sensible, physical world and the intelligible, or transcendent and divine.<sup>55</sup> Augustine specifically invokes Christ's footprint at one point, as the *vestigia* of Christ left when he ascended into heaven. He had never seen the footprints on the Mount of Olives himself, like his friend and correspondent Sulpicius Severus. Paulinus of Nola had also never seen them.<sup>56</sup> Augustine's allusion to the footprints on the Mount of Olives is found in his homilies on Gospel of John, in reference to the land of Israel: "The Lord himself was there, he chose a mother there, he wanted to be conceived there, to be born there, to pour out his blood there. His footprints are there (*ibi sunt vestigia eius*); they are adored now where he last stood, at the place from which he ascended into heaven."<sup>57</sup>

According to Augustine, writing, being composed of *vestigia*, like a footprint embodies an ambivalent state between the permanent, as something which outlasts the span of a human life and provides a conduit to the voice and eternal soul of an absent or deceased author, and the temporal and fleeting, as a memorial of a passing moment of facture, when a word is inscribed.<sup>58</sup> In the second book of *De Doctrina Christiana* (On Christian Doctrine), entitled *De Signis* (On Signs, written in 396), Augustine characterizes both *vestigia* and words as belonging to a larger category of signs (*signa*), as "a thing causing something to come to mind beyond the appearance the thing itself produces on the senses": the former are natural signs, like smoke which indicates fire, while the latter are given signs (*signa data*).<sup>59</sup> Both kinds of signs mediate between absence and presence: the footprint stands not just for a pair of feet,

but also for an absent body, just as a word is not only the vestige of the manual action of the person who first inscribed it, but also the generator of a whole world of ideas and experiences that are communicated through language.<sup>60</sup> In both cases, the sign presents an externalization of memory and a rendering permanent of the otherwise passing experiences of movement and thought. In *De Videndo Deo* (On Seeing God), Augustine characterizes visible signs (*signa*) of invisible things as necessary for men to have faith in the imperceptible, divine, and transcendent.<sup>61</sup> Within the context of the pilgrimage, the idea of the *vestigia* as signs has a similar function: the trace records the evidence of Christ's corporeal existence and divine nature, written upon the earth in a universal form of language, of which the footprint is the ultimate example, understood equally by speakers of Latin, Greek, or Arabic.

In *Confessiones* (Confessions, 397–8), Augustine characterizes the discursive and sequential nature of language, composed of a series of signs experienced in terms of spatial relations and differences, as the essential tool for knowledge of the divine.<sup>62</sup> By bestowing upon Christ's *vestigia* a primary status, pilgrim writers implicitly reframed their experience in terms of a larger idea of textual exegesis as the essential means of knowing the divine. The process of writing was also sometimes conceptualized as the journey that leaves *vestigia* as a track through a landscape. We find this concept for instance in a riddle figuring writing, composed by a contemporary of Arculf, Aldhelm (c. 639–709), the abbot of Malmesbury Abbey: "I move through whitened fields in a straight line and leave dark-colored traces on a glistening path, darkening the shining fields with my blackened meanderings."<sup>63</sup> The act of writing, like drawing – in the physical marking of the surface of the parchment – simulated the temporality of the journey in terms of the process of inscription.<sup>64</sup> In Arculf's account, we have the first evidence that the architecture inscribing these *vestigia* had itself become implicated in this process, and through description, had become an integral part of the textual process of memorializing and transmitting Christ's earthly presence.

The story of Arculf's inscriptions made from memory focuses attention on the material facture of the drawings. It will always remain possible that

Adomnán's story of Arculf's creation of the ground-plans of the Holy Land churches, or the very existence of a pilgrim named Arculf, washed up on Iona's shores, was a fiction.<sup>65</sup> If Arculf did not exist, Adomnán's motivation for creating the story of the pilgrim tracing the essential forms of the buildings into wax may have been an interest in elevating the status of the buildings to significant signs in the exegetical experience of pilgrimage provided by reading his book; this (if true) would further suggest that Adomnán conceived of the pilgrimage as exegesis, in which the forms of the buildings were to be perceived as playing an active role. The inspiration may have more directly come from Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, particularly its invocation of geography – that is, the study of the landscape of the life of Christ – as a necessary element of biblical exegesis.<sup>66</sup> Adomnán integrates the popular interest in contact with the traces of Christ's body with the monastic exegetical tradition, and by doing so implicitly endows the description of architectural forms with a theological rationale; in this way pilgrimage is assimilated to textual exegesis, and the architecture of the Holy Land emerges as significant vestiges latent with meaning, requiring interpretation. Viewed as a narrative device rather than a historical personage, Arculf represents the signifying process personified.

Yet another inspiration for Adomnán's focus upon symbolic architectural forms may have come from John's vision of the heavenly Temple in Revelation. Jerome directly compares the complexity of the labyrinthine Temple to textual exegesis, through which one is guided only by faith in the Holy Spirit.<sup>67</sup> Jerome's related interpretation of Ezekiel's vision of the Temple was influential for many monastic writers.<sup>68</sup> Both Ezekiel's and John's visions of the Temple of Jerusalem in the Bible provided a clear precedent for using the architecture of Jerusalem as a meaningful symbol for the related processes of the physical pilgrimage and movements through a text.<sup>69</sup> Adomnán's focus on the forms of the pilgrimage churches may have further inspired his successors to give renewed attention to the interpretation of the architecture of Jerusalem; Bede (672/3–735), who created his own popular version of the *De Locis Sanctis*, was also the author of one of

the most important accounts of the symbolic meaning of the Temple of Jerusalem and the Tabernacle.<sup>70</sup> The church on the Mount of Olives especially seems to have been regarded by Adomnán as foreshadowing the Temple that would be restored upon Christ's return.

#### EXEGESIS OF THE CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION

Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* provided those who had never been to Jerusalem with a means of internally visualizing the landscape and architecture associated with the life of Christ. Adomnán's detailed description of the round church encircling the footprints of Christ on the Mount of Olives provided rich material for those wishing to understand the significance of the Ascension and to imagine being witness to the event, much like the Apostles who had stood on the Mount of Olives.<sup>71</sup> For Augustine, the event of the Ascension was a key to understanding the mystery of the dual nature of Christ as both human and divine; Adomnán's description of the related architectural forms provided a symbol, the interpretation of which might lead to a fuller understanding of this duality. The open vault enshrines both the footprints and Christ's path to the sky, and promises a final and total visibility, when all things are revealed – not signs, or symbols, but the things to which signs point.

As the millennium approached and speculation about the Apocalypse occurring in the year 1000 intensified, interest grew in interpreting the signs associated with the site where Christ would return to earth; as indicated in Zechariah (14:4), the footprints left by the Ascension marked this site: "And his feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives." The fragmentary Blickling Homilies, whose origins are unknown, includes a lengthy sermon in Old English that sets the scene for the Ascension with architectural details taken directly from Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*.<sup>72</sup> In the homily on the Ascension, which includes reference to the year 971, the unknown author uses the specific forms of the Church of the Ascension as exegetical clues to expand upon the meaning of the event of the Ascension. By doing so, the author implies more explicitly than Adomnán

that the fourth-century church was present during the life of Christ, and that the forms resulted from divine intention:

We also know that the place is located on the top of Mount Olivet, and that there is a large and magnificent church built over the spot. Its circumference is basket-shaped in the most beautiful and sumptuous manner that men could devise. There are three porches built around the church, and these are very handsomely assembled from the top and roofed over. But the great church, which stands there in the center, is open and has no roof. This is because our Lord desired that to the eyes of those men who in faith have come there and visited the holy place, the path should always become familiar to look up to heaven, so that they may be aware from where the Lord had physically ascended.

The author of the homily also gives a detailed account of the miraculous nature of the footprints and the inexhaustible earth associated with them, as well as the special copper device enclosing them (again after Adomnán).<sup>73</sup>

Closer to the year 1000, English artists also developed an innovative way of visualizing the Ascension, in the form of the “Disappearing Christ.” Christ is shown vanishing into heaven, his body obscured by a cloud and the Mount of Olives left below.<sup>74</sup> This popular imagery seemed to offer a clear visualization of the unique qualities of Christ’s body as a bridge between human and divine, the visible and the invisible, and the earthly and the heavenly, recalling Augustine’s interpretation of Psalm 90:9: “He is far above all the heavens; but His feet rest upon the earth. His head is in heaven. His body on earth.”<sup>75</sup>

#### CAROLINGIAN VISIONS OF THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM

The ninth- and tenth-century copies of Adomnán’s ground-plans also significantly resemble contemporary

representations of the heavenly Jerusalem (Plate 5).<sup>76</sup> The heavenly city is rendered as a series of concentric circles of different colors intersected by the twelve gates, grouped into four groups of three, suggesting the form of the cross. John in Revelation describes twelve gates, but the Jerusalem of his vision is a square city, unlike the circular plans in the manuscripts.<sup>77</sup> The city walls are intersected by gates in the same way that the doors within the ground-plans of the Anastasis Rotunda and Church of the Ascension cut through and bind together the concentric circles.

Although it is difficult to establish the exact relation between the manufacture of Adomnán’s ground-plans and such visions of the Apocalyptic Jerusalem, it is important to note that the two buildings which present the closest formal similarities also conceptually relate to the Jerusalem of the Apocalypse: the site of the Ascension is the location of Christ’s return at the initiation of the Apocalypse, and the Holy Sepulcher was in this period closely related to the idea of the Temple that would be restored in the heavenly city. The Valenciennes manuscript is known to have been copied in the ninth century in the northwest part of the Carolingian empire, perhaps at Liège, while the Paris manuscript is probably a copy made at the beginning of the tenth century (perhaps in the monastery of Saint-Amand, where the Valenciennes manuscript was registered in a catalog edited 1150–68).<sup>78</sup> Another closely related vision of Jerusalem, found within the Apocalypse of Bamberg (Plate 6), is more directly connected to the manuscripts of Adomnán’s *De Locis Sanctis*. The manuscript was part of a larger group sponsored by Henry II (972–1024) around 1000, and probably executed at Reichenau, where an illustrated copy of Adomnán’s book was present.<sup>79</sup>

#### CHARLEMAGNE’S PALATINE CHAPEL

Throughout the Carolingian period, Jerusalem and the Holy Land remained in the hands of Muslims, but the hope for the restoration of the city to Christian rule easily elided with expectations for the return of Christ to Jerusalem and the



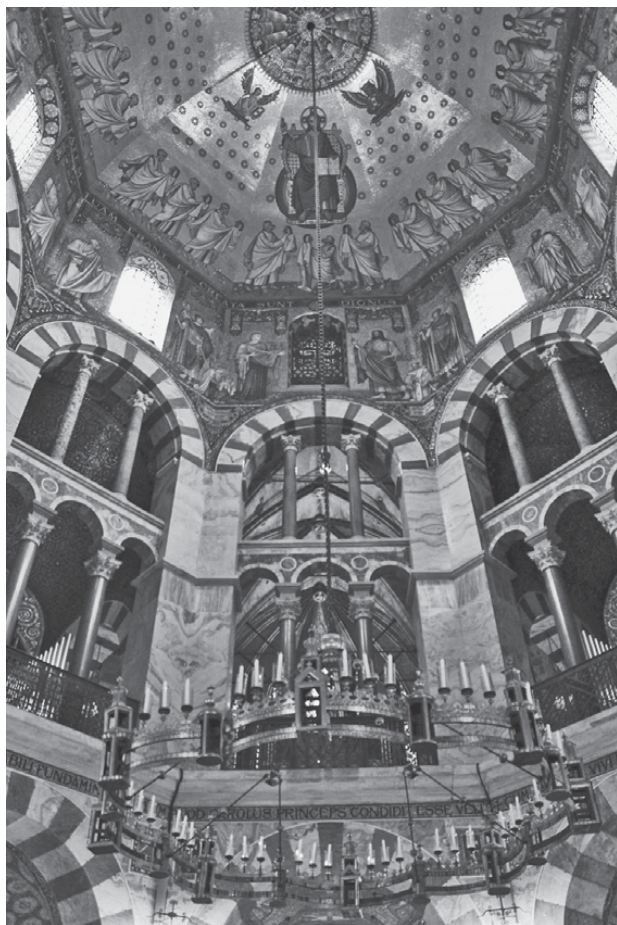


Fig. 28 Palatine Chapel, Aachen, c. 792 (Photo: author)

ultimate triumph of Christianity at the end of time. Charlemagne (r. 800–14) actively sought to take on the role of a new Constantine, crowned as emperor in 800 by Pope Leo III (r. 795–816) in St. Peter's, and was famously praised as both a new Solomon and new David by his contemporaries.<sup>80</sup> The Palatine Chapel constructed in Aachen (c. 792) now lacks some of the most important features that had originally expressed Charlemagne's ambitions, including the monumental lantern and Apocalyptic Lamb of God within the dome (Fig. 28). The octagonal ground-plan and the pattern of alternating black and white articulating the primary arches may have been allusions to the features of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.<sup>81</sup> When the Frankish monk Bernard traveled to Jerusalem shortly before 870, he refers to the Islamic building as the Temple of Solomon: "To the north is the Temple of Solomon,

which has a synagogue of the Saracens."<sup>82</sup> This is in fact the first surviving textual source that indicates the Islamic building constructed c. 691/2 had become associated with the ancient Jewish Temple of Solomon that had once stood on the site.<sup>83</sup> Charlemagne had reportedly sent an envoy to the Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid in 797 to request some form of official custodianship of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and perhaps the other Christian sanctuaries of Jerusalem. The results of this and related attempts of Charlemagne to assert his control over the sacred architecture of Jerusalem are still debated.<sup>84</sup> In the construction of his Palatine Chapel, an allusion to the architecture of the Islamic building associated with the site of the ancient Temple of Solomon may have been a competitive gesture, as Charlemagne sought to assert his status as a new Solomon.<sup>85</sup> The Palatine Chapel was almost certainly intended to call to mind other important precedents, as well, like San Vitale and the Lateran Baptistery, as part of Charlemagne's broader claims as an emperor whose authority depended upon traditions emanating from Ravenna and Rome.<sup>86</sup>

Charlemagne's relationship to the architecture of the Holy Land quickly became embellished, so that it has become difficult to untangle historical fact from legend. The Royal Annals record that on the eve of his coronation on December 25, 800, the envoy to the patriarch arrived from Jerusalem with gifts. The various versions of the Annals are conflicting regarding the precise nature of these gifts, one referring to the keys of the Holy Sepulcher, Calvary, the city, and a mountain (presumably Sion), along with a banner.<sup>87</sup> These accounts, whether exaggerated or entirely fabricated, highlight the symbolic role of Charlemagne as defender of the Holy Land.<sup>88</sup> Charlemagne did in fact finance the rebuilding of the dome of the Anastasis and the restoration of other Christian churches in Jerusalem, as well as the construction of a pilgrims' hospice, where the monk Bernard stayed.<sup>89</sup> The inventory of the Christian foundations (*Commematorium de Casis Dei vel Monasteriis*) in the Holy Land written in 808 is a testament to Charlemagne's protection of the region.<sup>90</sup> Although the legend of Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Jerusalem – formed by the second

half of the tenth century – was entirely fictional, the emperor made a pilgrimage to the abbey of Saint-Riquier at Easter of 800, where important relics relating to the Passion of Christ had been collected by Abbot Angilbert (d. 814).<sup>91</sup> Benedictine monasteries throughout the Carolingian period actively acquired relics of Christ's Passion, and some constructed special chapels to house them, dedicated

to Christ's Tomb.<sup>92</sup> These chapels were the first to be explicitly dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher and to re-create the related architectural forms of the Anastasis Rotunda. Their creation was closely tied to the contemporary manuscript culture, in which the symbolic forms of the most important buildings of the Holy Land merged with expectations for the heavenly Jerusalem.

## RE-CREATIONS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER AND BENEDICTINE MONASTICISM



### HOLY SEPULCHER CHURCHES IN BENEDICTINE MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS

The primary audience for Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* was monastic communities who would have been steeped in the writings of Augustine. Cloistered monks in general had an ambivalent relationship towards the idea of the earthly Jerusalem, and the material world more generally. Augustine's notion of material signs as providing the primary means for knowing a transcendent God correlated with the larger paradoxical relationship of the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem. The vestiges of Christ's corporeal presence written into the earth of the Holy Land manifested the tenuous link between the two. The footprints on the Mount of Olives were not only evidence of Christ's dual human and divine natures, but also indicated the role of Jerusalem at the end of time, when heaven and earth would merge into one and Christ would return to the same spot on earth, marked by the footprints on the Mount of Olives, to judge humanity. The other aspects of the real, historical Jerusalem were negative, from the Jewish Temple, whose ruination was widely regarded as a sign of God's condemnation for the persecution of Jesus, to the Muslim conquest of the city in 637 and the presence of Islamic worship that centered on a denial of Christ's divine nature.<sup>1</sup> Christian pilgrim-writers seem to have consciously ignored these aspects of Jerusalem's present and past, seeking instead the symbols miraculously embedded in the

matter of the city, as signs of the heavenly Jerusalem that would replace the current one. Adomnán apparently does not ask Arculf for his remembrances of the living city of Jerusalem, but instead exclusively focuses upon those places sanctified by Christ's past presence, given symbolic life through architectural forms. In Adomnán's telling, the physical architecture of the city plays a central role, but only inasmuch as certain key buildings are reduced to symbols, as the kind of *vestigia* that mediate between the visible and invisible; in this way, the story of Arculf's journey became part of a larger culture of textual exegesis, and a process of abstraction, from the physical world to the transcendent.

The cloister was to provide a context for monks like Adomnán to turn away from the physical world and engage in an inner journey towards the heavenly Jerusalem. At the same time, many clearly desired to make the physical journey, as Arculf was said to have done, and to encounter these *vestigia* in person. The repeated statements about the negative aspects of monks making the journey, intended to discourage such actions, and the eventual outright prohibitions, all suggest that the appeal of the physical journey was constant and great. St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), who founded the Cistercian order, most famously formulated the opposing position when he remarked, “the object of monks is to seek out not the earthly but the Heavenly Jerusalem.”<sup>2</sup> Physical re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher within monastic foundations provided a way of experiencing

the longed for Jerusalem, abstracted as a vision of Christ's Sepulcher, while at the same time removing the need for the actual journey; in this way, architectural re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher functioned analogously to textual accounts of the pilgrimage, which allowed monks to imagine the experience in Jerusalem without leaving the cloister. The first chapels dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher in Europe date to the ninth and tenth centuries, in the period when Arculf's story was being copied and transmitted in manuscripts throughout monastic communities in Europe. The first known chapels were constructed as part of a network of Benedictine monastic complexes that were all likely to have possessed copies of Adomnán's illustrated book. The center of that network was Fulda, where a round church enclosing earth from Golgotha and a high altar dedicated to Christ's Sepulcher was constructed in the ninth century.

## FULDA

The Benedictine abbey at Fulda had been founded by St. Boniface (c. 675–754) on the site of a deserted Merovingian fortress in a remote region of modern-day Germany.<sup>3</sup> St. Boniface had been given the task of converting the pagan peoples of the northern parts of the Carolingian Empire to Christianity. In the following decades, a great library was amassed at Fulda. Under the first abbot, Sturm (d. 779), the abbey scriptorium was famous for its production of illuminated manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> Some forty monks worked continuously to produce copies of books imported from England; the library accumulated more than 2,000 manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> Among those books imported from England was apparently a copy of Arculf's account, perhaps even both Adomnán's and Bede's versions.<sup>6</sup> The *De Locis Sanctis* is included in three sixteenth-century lists of books at the library of Fulda.<sup>7</sup> The exact manuscript or manuscript copies of the *De Locis Sanctis* that would have likely been present in the Fulda library have never been identified, and they may no longer exist. The presence of such a manuscript (or manuscripts) in Fulda's library is also suggested by Boniface's own request, recorded in his letters, for a copy of Bede's *De Locis Sanctis* to

be sent to him.<sup>8</sup> In the same period, when Boniface's companion missionary Willibald (700–87) created an account of his own journey to Jerusalem, made in the mid eighth century, the author of this new account specifically omits detailed description of the architecture of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the other buildings of Jerusalem, deferring to Bede's account, indicating that manuscripts of the *De Locis Sanctis* were easily available to Willibald's audience.<sup>9</sup>

Pope Gregory III (r. 731–41) summoned Willibald upon his return to Europe to join Boniface in the Anglo-Saxon mission in Germany. For over forty-five years, Willibald directed the missionary activities in the area of Eichstätt, and would later also write a life of the sainted Boniface.<sup>10</sup> Boniface, who would be buried at Fulda, apparently intended the abbey to function as the center of these missionary activities and to serve as the model for the many similar foundations established in the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>11</sup> Fulda became an integral part of a network of monastic libraries, the most important of which were at Reichenau and St. Gall. One of the earliest surviving copies of Adomnán's account of Arculf's journey was made at the abbey of Reichenau sometime in the ninth century (Plates 1 and 4).<sup>12</sup> Undoubtedly earlier copies of the illuminated manuscript existed, and we can hypothesize that the Reichenau manuscript may even have been a copy of an earlier one created at Fulda, perhaps based upon a manuscript sent from the British Isles. A number of ninth-century manuscripts produced at Reichenau were copies of manuscripts made at Fulda in the eighth century.<sup>13</sup>

The idea of creating a church with a dedication to the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem and forms connected to the well-known image of the building emerged – I believe – from the context of the dissemination of Adomnán's illustrated account of the pilgrimage. The chapel at Fulda (Fig. 5) was apparently first constructed around 820 (and rebuilt in the late eleventh century) as a circular building with an ambulatory, with eight columns describing a central space.<sup>14</sup> Brun Candidus, the votary of Abbot Hrabanus Maurus (822–42), wrote a biography of Hrabanus' predecessor (Egil) that included an account of the building program of the abbey's round church, described as dedicated equally to



Christ and St. Michael the Archangel.<sup>15</sup> The account includes metrical verse, in which Fulda's round church is likened to a figure of Christ.<sup>16</sup> The architect of the round church is identified by name as the monk Rachulf (d. 824), although Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856) seems to have been responsible for implementing its symbolic program.<sup>17</sup> Hrabanus created the *tituli* (explanatory titles) identifying the relics and their symbolic meaning.<sup>18</sup> The *tituli*, no longer extant but recorded in contemporary manuscripts, indicate that the main altar was dedicated to Christ; the related reference to a *tumulus* (tomb) suggests that a re-creation of the Jerusalemic Aedicule had also stood in the Rotunda<sup>19</sup>:

The altar's dedication is mainly to Christ,  
Whose tomb here will help our tombs,  
Part of Mount Sinai, worthy memorial  
of Moses,  
Here also is the native earth of our Lord  
Christ.<sup>20</sup>

The chapel contained relics brought back from Jerusalem, including – as indicated by the inscription – earth from Golgotha.<sup>21</sup>

Beyond the *tituli* created by Hrabanus Maurus, there are no indications of what form the *tumulus* of Christ may have taken at Fulda. The reference to the *tumulus* being *hic* (here), suggests that it was physically present, not just metaphorically. Contemporary visualizations of the Women at the Tomb demonstrate that artists of the period visualized the Sepulcher in imaginative ways, for instance as a multi-story tower carved in relief on a ninth-century ivory cover for the *Pericopes* (Selections) of Emperor Henry II (r. 1014–24) (Fig. 29).<sup>22</sup> Containers for the Eucharistic host were sometimes given the form of a tower and were likened to the Tomb of Christ, due to the similarity of their content: the body of Christ. This relationship is made explicit in the *Ordo Romanus* (Roman Rite), formulated c. 800, in which the vessels for the bread of the Eucharist are referred to as *turres* (towers), “because the Lord's Sepulcher (*monumentum*) was cut out of the rock like a tower, with a bed inside where the Lord's body rested.”<sup>23</sup> By the tenth century, extra-liturgical Easter ceremonies re-creating Christ's Entombment and Resurrection used the



Fig. 29 Crucifixion and Women at the Tomb, cover of BSB Ms. Lat. 4452 (detail), ninth century (Photo: BSB)

host to represent the body of Christ, and the receptacle into which the host was placed was referred to as the *sepulchrum* (sepulcher).<sup>24</sup> Because of the general association of Eucharistic containers with the Tomb of Christ, it is possible that the *tumulus* in Fulda took the form of a tower-like Eucharistic container, or it may have more closely resembled the Tomb Aedicule in Jerusalem, perhaps like the sculpted Aedicule in Narbonne (Fig. 16).<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately no reliquaries from the time of Hrabanus at Fulda survive. There are only descriptions of a reliquary that Hrabanus had made for the Church of St. Boniface at Fulda's abbey; this one – a golden casket with cherubim – was made to resemble the Ark of the Covenant and contained relics of numerous saints.<sup>26</sup>

Whatever shape the *tumulus* of Christ took at Fulda, it was certainly intended to aid in the salvation of the monks entombed there.<sup>27</sup> The Rotunda

served as the cemetery for the community of monks at Fulda; their tombs were located below the altar in a subterranean crypt.<sup>28</sup> Throughout his writings, Hrabanus Maurus characterized meditation upon the image of the crucified body of Christ as the highest form of contemplation, whose ultimate goal was the effacement of the self in a complete assimilation to Christ.<sup>29</sup> Hrabanus expressed this idea in a number of ways, including through an image of himself as Christ upon the Cross, in his widely celebrated and influential *In Honorem Sanctae Crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross), written 810–14.<sup>30</sup> The book was created while Hrabanus was head of Fulda's monastery school.<sup>31</sup> At the end of their lives, Hrabanus and his fellow monks at Fulda were offered the ultimate assimilation to the image of the Crucified Christ, through a metaphorical burial at his Tomb, enshrined in Fulda's version of the Sepulcher.<sup>32</sup>

The *tituli* in Fulda's Rotunda would have presented its monastic audience with an exegetical exercise of complexity comparable to Hrabanus' geometric grid-poems. In the treatise *In Honorem Sanctae Crucis*, words are to be deciphered within figures, and pictorial forms interplay with the message of the Latin poetry.<sup>33</sup> A similar effect would have been achieved in Fulda's Rotunda: architectural forms interplaying with Latin poetry as meaningful figures resonating in the minds of monks steeped in the writings of Augustine, Bede, and Adomnán. The Rotunda may have been conceived as a spatial meditation upon the figure of Christ's body and its abstract manifestation, calling upon the exegetical skills of the monks to decipher the possible meanings. The relic of the cross was present, as indicated by the corresponding *titulus*, although the True Cross – long since fragmented and disseminated throughout Christendom – could only be imagined. The circular form of the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem, likewise a symbol of the body of Christ, was inexactly but nonetheless potently present, in the forms of Fulda's Rotunda. The building in Fulda was no more a copy or complete re-creation than the fragmentary relic of the cross or bits of earth enshrined at its center; a contemplation of the various parts could nonetheless lead to some kind of proximity to a totalizing idea of Christ's body.

## REICHENAU

The characterization of the Tomb of Christ as possessing a saving efficacy in Hrabanus Maurus' *titulus* for Fulda's Rotunda echoes contemporary discussions of the potency of the blood of Christ.<sup>34</sup> In 923 or 925, a drop of Christ's blood was acquired by the Benedictine abbey on the island of Reichenau, originally founded in 724.<sup>35</sup> In the same period – the first half of the tenth century – a history of the transfer of the relic was written at the monastery, which attributed the acquisition of the blood and related relics from Jerusalem to Charlemagne.<sup>36</sup> A round chapel was constructed to house the relic under Abbot Alawich (934–58).<sup>37</sup> In a chronicle of Reichenau written at the end of the fifteenth century, the round chapel housing the relic of the True Cross was said to have been made in the form of the Holy Sepulcher, where the choir now stands.<sup>38</sup> The scriptorium where the related manuscript copy of Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* was created was immediately adjacent to this round chapel, although only traces of the original forms survive (Fig. 30).

The round chapel constructed adjacent to Reichenau's scriptorium may have been patterned on the one at Fulda, or upon the ground-plan of the Anastasis Rotunda in the copy of Adomnán's account made at Reichenau in the ninth-century (Plate 1), or some combination of the two. Such re-creations of the Anastasis Rotunda have been referred to as copies of the original in Jerusalem; in the context of the manuscript culture that transmitted and disseminated knowledge of the related architectural forms, the notion of an architectural copy might be reinterpreted.<sup>39</sup> The point of reference was not the original building in Jerusalem, but the *formula*, or pattern, as remembered by pilgrims, or as similarly described by Adomnán, for this remained the primary way that a monastic community would have known of the distant architecture of the Holy Land. The symbolic form represented in the ground-plan of the Anastasis Rotunda also retained a close connection to the textual description; features like the number of columns, shape of the vault, and oculus were only defined in the accompanying description. In this context, scale was lost, and the precise relation in space irrelevant. Salient features were instead



Fig. 30 Church of Sts. Peter and Paul, Reichenau, ninth to fifteenth centuries (Photo: author)

perceived in relation to the mediating descriptions, not eyewitness knowledge.

The copy of Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* made at Reichenau contains ground-plans of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Plate 1), the Church on Mount Zion – with the drawing of the Column of Flagellation already mentioned – the Church of the Ascension, and the church at Jacob's well – whose ground-plan, assimilated to the form of a cross, has also been mentioned (Plate 4).<sup>40</sup> The interest in Adomnán's account at Reichenau may have related to the particular popularity of the abbey with itinerant Irish monks. Among the manuscripts at the abbey was another authored by Adomnán, the *Life of St. Columba*, copied in Ireland in the seventh century by Dorbbéne (d. 714), who would have likely known Adomnán during his lifetime.<sup>41</sup>

## ST. GALL

The monastic foundation and library at Reichenau was closely tied to the nearby monastery at St. Gall, twenty-five miles away in modern-day Switzerland. The two monasteries had a shared manuscript culture, involving the exchange and copying of books and the movement of monks. Sometime in the same century when the illuminated copy of Adomnán's account was produced in Reichenau's scriptorium (that is, in the ninth century), a now famous annotated ground-plan was also produced, generally known as “the St.

Gall Plan” (Codex Sangallensis 1092) (Fig. 31). The plan shows forty structures of a monastery on five pieces of parchment sewn together, and the method of rendering is closely related to the Reichenau *De Locis Sanctis*, as had been observed by Walter Horn and Ernest Born in their study of the plan; lines in both manuscripts are drawn in clear vermillion ink and textual annotations are written in deep-brown ink.<sup>42</sup> Both manuscripts suggest that in the ninth century the idea of the architectural ground-plan took on a new importance in the monastic cultures of the Carolingian Empire.<sup>43</sup>

One of the inscriptions on the St. Gall plan refers to Gozbert, the abbot of St. Gall (816–37), as the intended recipient of the plan. The donor, who has been identified as Haito, the abbot of Reichenau (806–23), explains that the purpose of the plan is for Gozbert to “exercise your ingenuity and recognize my devotion.” The ground-plan perhaps had more of a devotional, meditative purpose, rather than serving as a functional blueprint for a real building; in the end, the function of the plan remains uncertain.<sup>44</sup> The plan does not appear to represent a specific monastery, but instead the archetype of a monastery, a mold – or *formula*. Moreover, by adopting a basic foursquare design, the St. Gall plan subtly links the earthly monastery to John's vision of the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>45</sup> The monastery was generally conceptualized as a reflection of the heavenly Jerusalem, and the setting for a contemplative life that could lead to an understanding of these things beyond the material



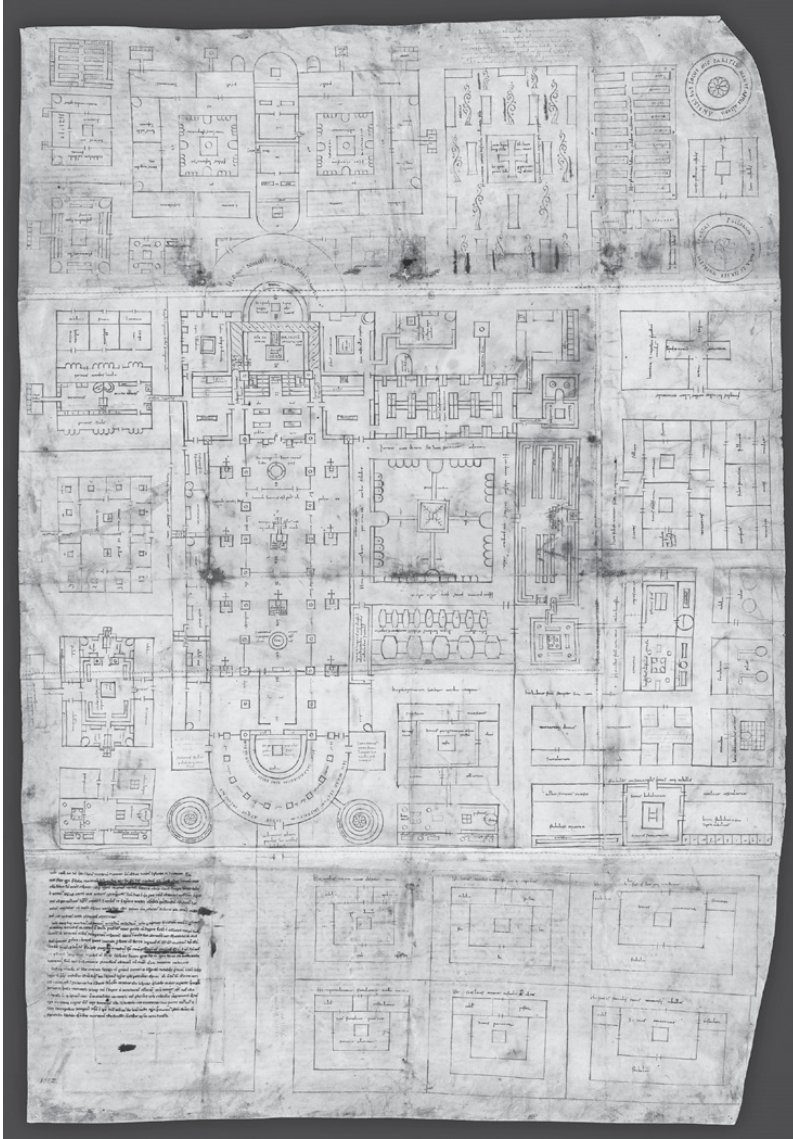


Fig. 31 St. Gall plan, SB Ms. 1092, ninth century (Photo: SB/e-codices)

world. The ground-plans in both the St. Gall Plan and the Reichenau copy of Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* gave visible form to the otherwise invisible archetypes. The architectural illustrations produced in the Reichenau abbey in the ninth century point to a new kind of valorization of architectural form as a mediation between the earthly and heavenly.

Under Abbot Ulrich (984–90), a Rotunda at St. Gall, sometimes referred to as the Chapel of the Sepulcher – only partially excavated – has been considered analogous to the circular church at Reichenau.<sup>46</sup> The chapel was consecrated in 990 and housed a relic of the cross.<sup>47</sup> In the same period a copy of Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* came

into the library of St. Gall. A later copy was produced in that scriptorium in the twelfth century.<sup>48</sup> A manuscript of the abbey of St. Gall, dated to the middle of the tenth century, includes a play for the Resurrection of Christ, which may have been set in the rotunda constructed in the same period.<sup>49</sup> A closely related play was documented in nearby Konstanz Cathedral.

#### KONSTANZ

About three or four miles directly east of the island of Reichenau is Konstanz, the seat of a powerful



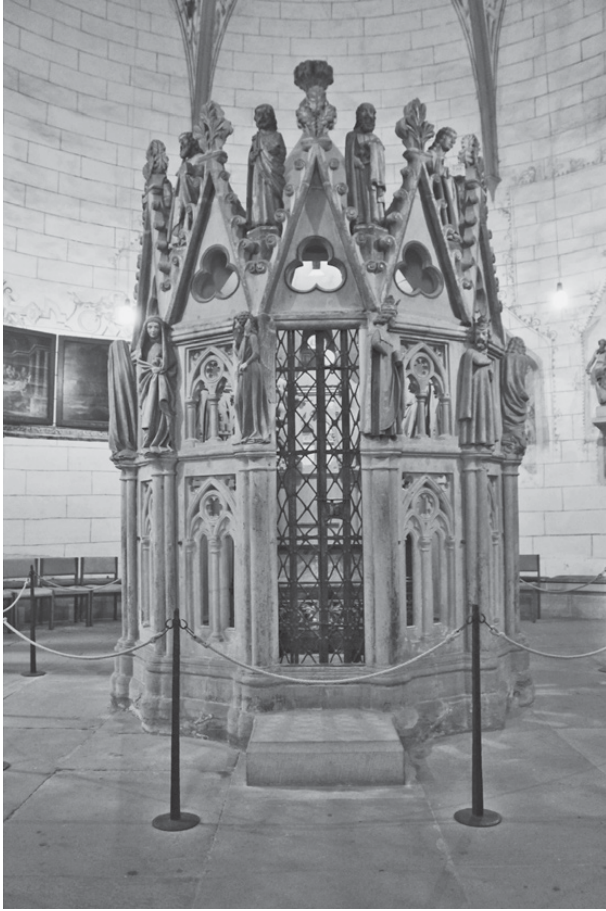


Fig. 32 Holy Sepulcher chapel, Konstanz, tenth century  
(Photo: author)

bishopric whose diocese would become the largest in medieval Germany.<sup>50</sup> Under Bishop Conrad of Konstanz (d. 975), the cathedral was furnished with a circular chapel, constructed adjacent to the cemetery and dedicated to St. Maurice, the patron saint of the Ottonian kings (Fig. 32).<sup>51</sup> The dedication related to a transfer of the saint's relics from Reichenau to Konstanz, sometime before 973.<sup>52</sup> The construction was reportedly inspired by the bishop's pilgrimages to Jerusalem.<sup>53</sup> In a life of Bishop Conrad written in the 1120s, the building is referred to as "a Sepulcher of the Lord in the likeness of that in Jerusalem."<sup>54</sup> The current Tomb Aedicule is a reconstruction of the thirteenth century, when a transept also was constructed to connect the rotunda to the cathedral.<sup>55</sup> Unlike the chapels at Reichenau, Fulda, and St. Gall, which seem to have primarily served their respective monastic communities, the Sepulcher at Konstanz had a more public role. Since at least the thirteenth century the chapel provided

the stage for theatrical rituals re-enacting the drama of Christ's Entombment and Resurrection. A re-creation of the Tomb Aedicule, constructed at the center of Konstanz's Sepulcher chapel, dates to the same period; there may have also been an earlier wooden re-creation of Christ's Tomb. The twelve-sided chapel is made of sandstone and has one entrance leading to the small space standing for Christ's empty Tomb. The drama of Christ's Entombment and Resurrection was enacted during Easter, when the consecrated host, together with a cross and a figure of the dead Christ on a bier, were placed within the chapel.<sup>56</sup> The abstract symbol of Christ's Sepulcher, as a subject of meditative contemplation within the context of the monastic cloister, in this way was deployed in the life of the lay community and incorporated into the calendar of the liturgical year.

Dramatic re-enactments of Christ's Entombment at Easter had probably become a more pervasive phenomenon by this point, as suggested by contemporary representations of the *Three Marys at the Tomb*.<sup>57</sup> The architectural reconstruction of the Tomb of Christ like those at St. Gall and Konstanz, together with theatrical rituals, could effect what previously had been accomplished by traveling to the Holy Land, or by vicariously experiencing the journey through the account of a pilgrim; the re-creations of the Tomb and the attendant rituals allowed worshippers, in the words of the fourth-century Egeria, to "see more completely what happened in these places."<sup>58</sup> The visionary experience also pointed with more insistence to the future and millennial expectations regarding the end of days. By the mid ninth century, Good Friday had become associated with the specific day of the Apocalypse, although predictions regarding the year varied.<sup>59</sup>

#### SIMILITUDE / INEXACTITUDE

The dedication of the Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher at Konstanz characterizes the relationship to the building in Jerusalem as one of similarity (*in similitudine*), rather than exact reproduction. The inexactitude may have had some significance in the context of debates on the role of images in

devotion. Like an image of the Cross, a likeness of the Holy Sepulcher was an abstract way of manifesting the idea of Christ's body as well as the related events of the Crucifixion, Entombment, and Resurrection.<sup>60</sup> The subject of devotion was not the re-creation of the Tomb Aedicule, or even the real Tomb in Jerusalem and its related architecture, but instead the absent body of Christ. The terms replica and copy, which have been applied to these buildings as a way of characterizing their relation to the original in Jerusalem, are misleading from this perspective.<sup>61</sup> The lack of perfect identity, and the connection to a generalized symbolic form, implies an infinite chain of signification leading to the absent body of Christ. An idol points only to itself; the architectural symbolization of Christ's body, like his true portraits or figuration in the form of the cross, instead points to an immaterial archetype beyond visibility.

The construction of the first significant re-creation of Christ's Sepulcher, occurring during Hrabanus Maurus' tenure at the monastery of Fulda, may more directly relate to the contemporary image debate, ultimately originating from iconoclastic controversies in Constantinople. The most significant Greek description of the Tomb of Christ written in the aftermath of the controversies, by Patriarch Photios, emphasized the Tomb's "life-giving" qualities.<sup>62</sup> Within Latin Christianity, responses to the controversy included the denial of the symbol of the cross, as at Turin, where all crosses and artistic images were removed from churches in 817. As a result, defenses of the cross were written in the 820s and 830s; it was *c.* 820 that the Rotunda at Fulda was constructed and its symbolic program first implemented.<sup>63</sup> The writings of Hrabanus Maurus do not overtly participate in the image debate relating to Byzantine iconoclastic controversies, but his treatise on the Cross – like the *tituli* once in Fulda's Rotunda – affirmed the "life-giving" nature of both the form of the Cross and the Tomb of Christ. There was also skepticism regarding the Eucharistic presence, which peaked in the 840s and 850s, prompting counter-arguments, like the treatise *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (On the Body and Blood of Christ).<sup>64</sup> If it had indeed been a Eucharistic tower standing on the high altar of Fulda's Rotunda as a representation

of Christ's Sepulcher, then this would have been a compelling confirmation of the presence of his body in the Eucharist. On the carved ivory cover of the *Pericopes* (Selections) of Henry II we are shown the blood of Christ running down from his body into a chalice, and the Tomb nearby resembles a Eucharistic container (Fig. 29); together, they affirm that the life-saving potency of the wine and bread comes directly from the body of Christ.<sup>65</sup>

## LIÈGE AND AACHEN

The notion of architectural copies or replicas of the Holy Sepulcher may also have conferred upon certain buildings a misleading sense of absolute and unchanging meaning. When originally constructed, Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen had no explicit relation to Christ's Sepulcher; instead, its significant features related to the idea of the throne and Temple of Solomon. The apocalyptic ideas associated with the year 1000 and legends regarding the role of Charlemagne in the related battles with the Antichrist may have affected how the Palatine Chapel in Aachen was perceived. Legends surrounding Charlemagne as the paradigmatic Christian king had come to include a fictitious journey to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the belief that he would come back to life and lead the army of Christians against the Antichrist. When his tomb was opened in the year 1000, it was reportedly covered by an aedicule, which may have been compared to Christ's in Jerusalem.<sup>66</sup> In this context, the entire Palatine Chapel may have been reinterpreted in relation to the architecture of Christ's Sepulcher in Jerusalem.

Viewing the Palatine Chapel in relation to the Holy Sepulcher in the years approaching the millennium may have had consequences for those who wished to re-create the latter, but had the former closer at hand. In Liège, approximately 55 kilometers southwest of Aachen, an octagonal church was constructed under Bishop Notger (r. 972–1008), previously a monk of St. Gall, as part of the transformation of Liège into the capital of an ecclesiastical principality within the Holy Roman Empire. The church, which would also house the tomb of

Notger, incorporated key aspects of the Palatine Chapel, articulating the political relations of Liège to Aachen and the prince-bishop to Charlemagne.<sup>67</sup> At the same time, the Church of St. John the Evangelist (whose present forms result from a complete reconstruction in 1784) was part of a larger building project that incorporated significant engagements with the idea of Jerusalem.<sup>68</sup> The octagonal church was constructed opposite Liège Cathedral, which in the same period acquired the Holy Lance, with one of the nails of the Crucifixion embedded into its blade. A third church in Liège, dedicated to the Holy Cross and also constructed under Bishop Notger, contained an altar dedicated to St. Helena with a large crucifix and a fragment of the True Cross.<sup>69</sup> All three churches incorporated aspects of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher as it would have been known through ground-plans of the complex in Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*. At least two manuscripts with Adomnán's account were present in the diocese of Liège: a ninth-century copy was at Stavelot (BRB Ms. 3921–2) and an eleventh-century copy – Bede's version – is still kept at Namur (BSN Ms. 37).<sup>70</sup> And it was perhaps at Liège that the image of the apocalyptic Jerusalem so closely related to Adomnán's symbolization of the Anastasis Rotunda had been created, in the ninth-century manuscript now in Valenciennes (Plate 5).

## CONCLUSION

Writing about the pilgrimage brought the architecture of the Holy Land into existence for a broader Christian – and specifically monastic – audience. Before Arculf's account, knowledge of the forms of the buildings of Jerusalem would have been limited to pilgrims and their immediate audience, and the earliest surviving accounts – those that predate Adomnán's – suggest that the forms of the buildings were not perceived as a defining feature of the pilgrimage. The buildings came to be a significant part of the pilgrimage experience when they were seen in relation to the idea of inscription, and the related process of tracing or drawing out symbolic forms in order to extract the marks of divine presence. Beyond this, we can only hypothesize that in

their original conception the architectural forms of the pilgrimage churches of the Holy Land implied a circumscription of Christ's bodily presence. This only becomes explicit in Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*.

The idea of abstracting, or drawing out the essential forms of the Anastasis Rotunda, for example, as Arculf does when he inscribes a series of concentric circles into a waxen tablet representing that building's ground-plan, also connects to Christ's own acts of inscription, as he drew his form into the material of the Holy Land. The trace embodied the tenuous link and the interchange of drawing out and inscription and of interiority and exteriority, similar to the way in which the metaphor of the inner waxen tablet of memory at times seemed to become the written page, on which this process of abstraction was manifested. The earth of the Holy Land was itself an exteriorized kind of waxen tablet of memory, an eternal document testifying to the truth of the Incarnation, Resurrection, and Ascension, in the various permanent symbols conceptualized as being inscribed into its stones and earth. The buildings marked out their own footprints onto the earth of the Holy Land. The status of the related buildings as traces, rather than as mundane architecture, was indicated for instance by the inversion of the normal function of a building: the vault of the Church of the Ascension remained permanently open above the footprints, like the vault of the Anastasis Rotunda above Christ's Tomb, in a way that drew attention to the circumscribing function of the building, rather than a sheltering one, which would instead connect the building to the everyday and transient. These open vaults also clearly manifested that the walls of the Anastasis Rotunda or on the Mount of Olives marked out hallowed ground where the earthly and the heavenly met.

By being characterized as inscriptions or traces, rather than material entities, the primary churches of the Holy Land designated a relationship with absence, rather than presence, or perhaps most aptly, a "present-absence," that is, a partial or ambiguous presence that implies a related if invisible presence, beyond perceptibility.<sup>71</sup> The footprint of Christ in particular seemed to present itself as an ideogram that both transcended history and implied an originary, absolute language. The related inscriptions

in the Column of Flagellation and elsewhere in Jerusalem were characterized as having been drawn by Christ himself, “formed indeed by God’s own finger.”<sup>72</sup> These *vestigia* presented in a sensible form a partial embodiment of an otherwise absent body, and suggested that the trace is the meeting point between sensible and intelligible. In the same way the inscription manifested the relation of Christ’s invisible form to his true portraits, recapitulating the mystery of the Incarnation – the Logos made flesh. The intelligibility of these various signs depended upon their exteriority. In other words, writing, transcription, drawing, and other forms of exteriorization did not passively record the existence of such signs, but instead continuously brought them into being.<sup>73</sup> Underlying the significance of the signs of Christ’s past corporeal presence on earth is the belief in the potential for the signified to be manifested at the end of time as an absolute presence.

The rotundas at Fulda, Reichenau, St. Gall, and Konstanz, and the many later versions that will

be examined in the context of the crusades, suggested a possibility for the archetype – envisioned in Adomnán’s *De Locis Sanctis* – to become real, and for the heavenly Jerusalem to be realized on earth. In the lead-up to the crusades, and in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the creation of centralized churches explicitly dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher would dramatically expand Europe, and these churches were not as closely tied to the manuscript culture of imagined pilgrimage and the exegetical culture of monastic communities. They were instead more directly linked to the reality of a Jerusalem repossessed by Christianity and inspired by the vivid memories of crusaders and pilgrims returned to Europe. The crusades in many ways emerged from a collective impatience regarding the revelation of the heavenly Jerusalem and Christ at the end of time. In this context, the architecture of the Holy Land took on a new life within a vision of the entire city of Jerusalem, celebrated as the material embodiment of the heavenly Jerusalem realized on earth.



## PART II

# TRIUMPHAL RESTORATION AND RE-CREATION IN THE CRUSADES



### INTRODUCTION

In 1009, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was destroyed by order of the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim (r. 996–1021).<sup>1</sup> Reconstruction was largely completed in 1048 under the patronage of the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (r. 1042–55). The destruction and reconstruction of the Holy Sepulcher was widely viewed within Christianity as part of a larger eschatological drama, centering upon the idea of the Apocalypse and return of Christ to Jerusalem, an event widely expected to occur at the end of the millennium, then on the millennial anniversary of Christ's death (in 1033), and – as each year failed to produce the expected cataclysmic results – in various select years thereafter.<sup>2</sup> Prophecies regarding the coming of the Antichrist had long been popular in Christianity, especially after the eighth-century translation of the writings of Pseudo-Methodius into Latin.<sup>3</sup> In the tenth century these prophecies became linked to a vision of a Frankish king who would restore

Jerusalem to Christianity and enact the final events immediately preceding Christ's return.<sup>4</sup> This vision seemed to become a reality when Jerusalem was taken by Frankish crusaders in 1099, and a Christian king was crowned in Jerusalem. In the context of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which ruled the city until Islamic reconquest in 1187, the architecture of the Holy Land became a stage for the triumphal restoration of Christianity to the city – with many self-conscious evocations of both Constantinian and Solomonic construction – always tinged with expectations about the imminent return of Christ.

A number of re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher constructed in Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were connected to cemeteries. They provided a burial place metaphorically sanctified by Christ's Tomb. Such simulated proximity to the body of Christ was desired in relation to the events of the imminent resurrection and judgment of humanity. For the first time, other elements of the architecture of the Holy Land, like the Golden Gate, closely linked to the image of Jerusalem as a total city, were

explicitly re-created in European, and particularly Italian, cities. Some of the churches dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher constructed in Europe incorporated frescoes or sculpture inspired by the new ornamentation in the restored church in Jerusalem. Whereas before the traces of Christ's life had been interpreted as abstract signs pointing to a transcendent Jerusalem, those returning from the Christian city of Jerusalem inspired a new kind of physical realization of the heavenly city in the here and now. Pilgrims and chroniclers of Christianity's triumph in the First Crusade produced detailed accounts of the architecture of the Holy Land as real churches, ornamented with mosaics and frescoes, activated by rituals, and altogether comprising a living city – an idea given visual form in numerous pictorial images of Jerusalem.

New means were also found of activating divine presence beyond the Holy Land, especially in the form of true portraits imitating the Image of

Edessa, like Veronica's veil in Rome. In the experience of pilgrims, these new embodiments of Christ's living form continued to be theorized in relation to the primary traces of his "incarnate sojourn" on earth – the footprints left on the Mount of Olives.<sup>5</sup> And yet these portraits had a more insistent materiality than the original vestiges of Jesus in the Holy Land, much like the new emphasis on the fully material experience of the architectural relics of his life, whether experienced in person or vicariously. Whereas before the architecture of the Holy Land was described in terms of essential forms, pilgrims in the period of the triumph of the crusades celebrated the total bodies of these buildings, as if envisioning the living presence of Christ similarly imagined in his true portraits. The celebration of the materiality of the sacred buildings of the Holy Land carried a new resonance, as the fulfillment of the promise of the realization of the heavenly Jerusalem on earth.

## THE CRUSADER CONQUEST AND TRIUMPHAL RE-CREATION



### THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER IN 1009

The exact motivations for the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 1009, as ordered by the Caliph al-Hakim from the Fatimid capital in Cairo, are unknown.<sup>1</sup> Historical explanations range from the madness of the caliph to a growing discomfort with the attraction of Muslim worshippers to the Miracle of the Holy Fire that was celebrated on Easter.<sup>2</sup> The ritual, celebrated at least since the ninth century, involved a streak of fire appearing to descend into the Tomb of Christ.<sup>3</sup> Such historical explanations for the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher only emerged in the modern period; at the time many Europeans viewed the destructive act as a sign of the general persecution of Christians under an inherently evil ruler, sometimes directly identified with the Antichrist. For instance, Ademar of Chabannes (c. 988–1034), in his chronicle produced in the 1020s, characterizes the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher as indicative of the beginning of the last days. He ascribed the destruction to the combined machinations of Jews and Saracens, which culminated with al-Hakim – “the Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon” (Babylon being the seat of the Antichrist) – ordering both the forced conversions of Christians and the attack on the Holy Sepulcher. Only the stones of the Tomb of Christ, according to Ademar, resisted destruction.<sup>4</sup>

Ademar’s contemporary, Raoul Glaber (985–1047), provided a similar account in his *Histories*, likewise incorporating a reference to the failure of the Saracens to destroy the stone Tomb.<sup>5</sup> Both Glaber and Ademar elaborate the image of al-Hakim as the Antichrist, claiming that his mother was a Christian named Maria. For Ademar, it was a resurrected Charlemagne who would take the place of the Last Emperor and challenge al-Hakim in the events of the final days. In 1033 – the millennial anniversary of Christ’s death – Ademar left for Jerusalem to become a pilgrim-monk on the Mount of Olives, where the Last Emperor would return to place his scepter and crown; Ademar died there in 1034.<sup>6</sup> For Ademar and his contemporaries, the sites of Christ’s Ascension and Resurrection were not only relics of 1000 years of Christian history, but also the setting for the imminent Apocalypse.

Despite the exaggerations of these stories, there appears to have been some reflection of historical fact regarding the state of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The basilica and atrium of the Constantinian basilica were evidently ruined beyond repair in 1009, for the buildings were never restored, but the lower portions of the Tomb Aedicule and the Anastasis Rotunda did apparently resist destruction.<sup>7</sup> Pilgrims to Jerusalem after 1009 would have encountered a ruinous vestige of the Tomb and its circular enclosure. In this context, the idea of re-creating the Tomb and Rotunda in Europe took on a new kind of meaning: a resistance to the persecutions of the

agents of the Antichrist and a triumphal restoration signaling Christianity's eventual victory over Islam in the struggles associated with the end of days.

#### RE-CREATIONS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER IN THE PERIOD OF ITS RUINATION

Although the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was destroyed in 1009, pilgrimage to Jerusalem in fact increased in the eleventh century, due to the opening of an overland route through newly Christian Hungary.<sup>8</sup> Returning pilgrims were sometimes credited with the idea of re-creating the Church of the Holy Sepulcher following its destruction. Christ himself was said to have appeared in a vision to certain pilgrims from a Tuscan town, instructing them to build a new home for his Tomb.<sup>9</sup> Residents also claimed that Christ had founded the town, resulting in its name: "Village of the Holy Sepulcher," or Borgo Sansepulcro.<sup>10</sup> Other surviving dedications are similarly only suggestive of architectural forms that have since been lost. The abbey at Noceto also in Tuscany was dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher by 1013.<sup>11</sup> In the Piedmontese town of Fruttvaria (or Fruttuaria) excavations of the foundations of the transept in the abbey have revealed a round chapel re-creating the Anastasis Rotunda, constructed as part of a monastic foundation.<sup>12</sup> The foundation of the abbey originated under William of Volpiano (990–1031), a native of the Piedmont town and a prominent reformer of Benedictine monasticism associated with Cluny.<sup>13</sup> The chapel was apparently created to complement the relics of the Holy Sepulcher donated by William, with particular instructions for their incorporation into liturgical re-enactments of the Three Marys discovering the empty Tomb at Easter (known as the *Visitatio*, or Visitation).<sup>14</sup> In the 1020s, chapels dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher were constructed at Châteaudun and Chauvigny, neither of which survives.<sup>15</sup> The latter was founded by Isembart, bishop of Poitiers (1021–47), after his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, who possibly made the voyage in the company of Ademar of Chabannes.<sup>16</sup>

In the German town of Paderborn, a round church was constructed under Bishop Meinwerk (1009–36), who reportedly dispatched Abbot Wyno

(or Wino) of Helmarshausen in 1033 to Jerusalem to procure measures of the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>17</sup> The church was given an unusual ground-plan that merged a round form with a cross.<sup>18</sup> The events are recounted in the *Vita Meinweri* (Life of Meinwerk) of the following century (c. 1155–65), in an entry for the year 1033:

The bishop therefore in order to obtain the celestial Jerusalem [and] disposed to make the church in the likeness of the church of holy Jerusalem (*ad similitudinem sancte Ierosolimitane ecclesie facere disponens*), he summoned Abbot Wyno of Helwardeshusun [Helmarshausen] ... and sending him forth he commissioned measures of that church and holy sepulcher (*mensuras eiusdem ecclesie et sancti sepulchri*) to be produced.<sup>19</sup>

Once Wyno returned with both the measures and relics, work began on the church in 1036, constructed "in the likeness of that church" (*ad similitudinem eius ecclesiam*) in Jerusalem.<sup>20</sup> The church was consecrated in 1068. The reconstructed ground-plans of churches dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher in Villeneuve d'Aveyron (c. 1053) and at the Benedictine abbey of Quimperlé, founded in 1038, both exhibit a similar merging of a cross plan and rotunda, and as a result became associated with Abbot Wyno's lost drawing of the Anastasis Rotunda.<sup>21</sup> It is more certain that Abbot Wyno's journey would have inspired a later church constructed at Helmarshausen. The Benedictine monastery had been founded in 997 at Krukenburg, under the control of the diocese of Bishop Meinwerk since 1017. A round chapel dedicated to St. John – now ruined – was constructed at the monastery in 1126 under Bishop Heinrich II von Werl of Paderborn (1084–1127) and had contained a re-creation of Christ's Sepulcher.<sup>22</sup>

In the context of the Byzantine Empire, Greek-speaking pilgrims were provided with a new substitute for pilgrimage to the sites of Christ's Resurrection and Entombment, on Mount Galesion, near Ephesus in western Turkey. The monk Lazaros Galesiotes, born c. 966/7, resided in the Holy Land for several years, often at the hermetic monastery of St. Stabas. He would have witnessed the destruction



of the Anastasis Rotunda before he moved to Mount Galesion, where he founded a monastic community, including a monastery which he called the Anastasis. According to his biography, the nucleus of the complex was three pillars, one of which he resided upon, inhabiting a small cell. Other accounts describe pilgrims encountering the saint perpetually standing upon his pillar with no protection from the elements, as he became a living icon.<sup>23</sup> After the death of the sainted Lazaros in 1053, his tomb came to effectively stand in for that of Christ in Jerusalem.<sup>24</sup> The monastery was sacked by the Seljuk Turks in the thirteenth century, by which point the community had transferred to a monastery in Constantinople also dedicated to the Anastasis.<sup>25</sup>

#### THE ABBEY OF BEAULIEU-LÈS-LOCHES

Certain re-creations of the Anastasis constructed in the period of its ruination suggest the emerging significance of the architecture associated with Christ's Tomb for the European nobility who theoretically would lead the armies to liberate Jerusalem from the agents of the Antichrist. The most important example is the abbey of Beaulieu-lès-Loches, which became the setting for a re-creation of Christ's Sepulcher, likely to house relics of the cross and the Sepulcher acquired by Foulque Nerra (972–1040), count of Anjou.<sup>26</sup> His first pilgrimage to Jerusalem had reportedly been made in 1003–4 as expiation for his slaughter of numerous Christians at the battle of Conquereuil in 992; the original name of the abbey was *Belli Locus* (Place of Battle).<sup>27</sup> Foulque reportedly went on a second pilgrimage to Jerusalem by way of Rome in 1009–11, this time to expiate his treasonous crime of orchestrating the assassination of a political enemy (Hugh of Beauvais) in 1008, carried out in the presence of the king.<sup>28</sup> When consecrated in 1012, the church at *Belli Locus* was originally dedicated to the Trinity and the Cherubim and Seraphim, and a dedication to the Holy Sepulcher was added shortly thereafter.<sup>29</sup> Sometime before his death in 1040, Fulque also had constructed an octagonal monument with a pyramidal roof located within the cloister; although like Foulque's tomb this structure was eventually destroyed, probably in the

French Revolution, it can be clearly seen in a view of the abbey made in 1699 (Fig. 33).<sup>30</sup>

Foulque reportedly completed two additional pilgrimages to Jerusalem before being buried in the church of Beaulieu-lès-Loches.<sup>31</sup> His devotion to the Holy Sepulcher had been well advertised before this point through the donation of relics and the issuing of coinage, which incorporated a depiction of Christ's Sepulcher from 1011 or shortly thereafter.<sup>32</sup> Count Foulque's use of the image of the Holy Sepulcher for a combination of political propaganda, religious justification of warfare, and personal salvation anticipated the actions of the Latin kings of Jerusalem in the following century. Sources from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries state that the entire abbey of Beaulieu-lès-Loches was originally dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher. Legends originating in the same period surrounding Foulque's acquisition of the relics reimagined his role in relation to a struggle against the tyranny of al-Hakim. When arriving in Jerusalem immediately before the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in September of 1009, Count Foulque was, like other Christian pilgrims, denied entry into the Church; in order to have the doors opened, he agreed – as the legends held – with the Muslim guards to urinate on the Sepulcher of Christ. He filled a sheep's bladder with white wine and placed it in his tunic, so fooling the Muslims, and seized the chance to take a piece of Christ's Sepulcher, using his teeth to secretly bite of a piece of rock.<sup>33</sup> In this way Foulque's penitential journey was reimagined as a struggle between a Christian hero and the despotic al-Hakim. Foulque emerged as an apt predecessor for subsequent counts of Anjou, who included Foulque V, king of Jerusalem (r. 1131–43).

#### RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER IN 1048 AND RE-CREATIONS IN EUROPE

The Church of the Holy Sepulcher remained in a state of ruination for over thirty years, reconstruction only commencing in 1042. The Anastasis Rotunda was rebuilt using surviving elements of the Constantinian structure, while the courtyard and basilica of the ancient church were not



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 33 Louis Boudan, *View of the Abbey of Beaulieu near Loches*, 1699 (Photo: Gallica / BNF – Public Domain)

reconstructed.<sup>34</sup> A no longer extant mosaic added in the outer chamber of the Aedicule included scenes of the Burial of Christ and the Women at the Tomb, although some of the ornament may have not been

added until the twelfth century.<sup>35</sup> At the same time that the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was being restored in Jerusalem, a number of re-creations of the Anastasis Rotunda were constructed in Europe,





Fig. 34 Holy Sepulcher chapel, Aquileia, c. 1050  
(Photo: author)

which closely related to the growing fervor of the crusader movement. On the Adriatic coast of Italy, the creation of a chapel conflating the Tomb Aedicule and the Anastasis Rotunda in Aquileia (Fig. 34) was completed c. 1050, contemporaneous with the restoration of the same buildings in Jerusalem.<sup>36</sup> Documents confirm that the chapel in Aquileia was the setting of Easter ceremonies re-creating the Entombment and Resurrection of Christ.<sup>37</sup> The crusader movement was particularly strong in northern Italy and France. In Cambrai, a Rotunda and Tomb Aedicule furnished with relics of Christ were constructed in the eleventh century outside the city walls and adjacent to a cemetery. The project, initiated by Bishop Gerard, was expanded by his successor, Bishop Leitbert, who built a Benedictine monastery there in 1064.<sup>38</sup> According to a certain monk of the Holy Sepulcher

in Cambrai named Rodolf, Bishop Leitbert “constructed a Sepulchre for the Lord in the middle of the same basilica, round in design, that is after the pattern of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem” (*rotundo schemate in modum scilicet sepulchri quod est Ierosolomis*), following a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>39</sup> The church was destroyed in the French Revolution.

In Sélestat, a church founded c. 1087 was constructed *ad similitudinem sanctae Iherosolimitanae ecclesiae* (in the likeness of the holy Jerusalem church); the Rotunda, no longer extant, stood above a crypt where remnants of a tomb chamber have been found.<sup>40</sup> At the Benedictine abbey of Beauvais, a nineteenth-century reconstruction of a church is suggestive of its original forms, as founded in 1060.<sup>41</sup> In Aubeterre-sur-Dronne, a church formed out of a subterranean grotto became the setting for a small polygonal structure, made in either the eleventh or twelfth century, re-creating the Tomb of Christ.<sup>42</sup> A church dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher in the Catalan town of Palera was consecrated in 1085, with the special privilege that those who visited would receive the same indulgence as pilgrims to Jerusalem.<sup>43</sup> The monastery was later abandoned and the original church is not conserved.

#### HOLY SEPULCHERS IN EUROPE AND THE FIRST CRUSADE

In the latter part of the eleventh century, a number of re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher in France and northern Italy served as the stage for the dramatic events leading up to the First Crusade, in which the idea of protecting the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem became a rallying cry. At Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre (Figs. 35–6), established in 1042, a Rotunda re-creating the Holy Sepulcher – described in 1079 as *ecclesiam Sancti Sepulcri de Novo Vico* – was the setting for Peter the Hermit to preach the crusade.<sup>44</sup> In his chronicle, Guillaume Godel (d. 1173), a priest in Berry, referred to the church as having been constructed in the form of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem (*ad formam Sancti Sepulcri Jerosolimitani*).<sup>45</sup> The circular church is composed of eleven columns



Fig. 35 Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre, eleventh century (Photo: author)

supporting an arcade of rounded arches and an outer ambulatory of eleven groin-vaulted bays. The architectural details, including the foliate capitals of the arcade, suggest that the Rotunda was substantially reconstructed in the twelfth century.<sup>46</sup> At the center had stood a Tomb Aedicule, in place by the thirteenth century but destroyed in the nineteenth century, when the entire structure underwent substantial restorations and a dome replaced a conical roof; the current conical roof is a restoration of the original.<sup>47</sup> The Rotunda was later furnished with a relic of stones from the Holy Sepulcher and the blood of Christ, donated to the church by a returning crusader.<sup>48</sup> The construction of the Rotunda, begun around 1045, also coincided with the post-1009 reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.<sup>49</sup>

Later in the eleventh century, a basilica was constructed adjacent to the Rotunda at Neuvy, perhaps to imitate the new relation of the Anastasis Rotunda to the crusader basilica in Jerusalem; the two structures are now conjoined by an opening cut into the eastern wall of the rotunda.<sup>50</sup> The church at Neuvy was located on a pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela and had a secondary dedication to St. James. Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela was an integral part of the growing fervor of the crusader movement, as the construction of the new cathedral for the body of St. James, consecrated in 1128, was closely linked to the struggle against Islam on

the Iberian Peninsula. For many Europeans, the pilgrimage to the northwest corner of Spain provided a journey of equal distance and difficulty, if not danger, as that to Jerusalem.<sup>51</sup> By the twelfth century the indulgences that could be earned in Santiago rendered the journey a potential substitute for the Jerusalem pilgrimage, just as those who fought against Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula would be considered fellow soldiers of the Holy Land crusaders.<sup>52</sup> The possibility of encountering a re-creation of Christ's Sepulcher along one of the routes to Compostela, at Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre, provided a fitting architectural articulation of the conceptual and geographical intersection of these two ideas of pilgrimage.

A chapel in Piacenza, dedicated in 1094 to the Sepulcher and forming a part of a Benedictine monastic complex, itself dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher since the mid tenth century, was apparently the setting for meetings held between the Pope and Greek ambassadors, in which a potential crusade was discussed.<sup>53</sup> The original chapel is no longer extant. In 1095, Pope Urban II preached the crusade at the Council of Clermont, regarded by many as the official initiation of the First Crusade.<sup>54</sup> In 1095–6, the pope toured through France, consecrating churches and altars, preaching and gaining followers who would ultimately form the army of the First Crusade.<sup>55</sup> Among them was the now ruined church at Charroux





Fig. 36 Interior, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre (Photo: author)



Fig. 37 Rotunda, abbey of Charroux, eleventh century (Photo: author)

(Fig. 37), about 60 kilometers north of Clermont, whose main altar was consecrated by Pope Urban II in 1096.<sup>56</sup> An earlier church was destroyed in

a fire of 1047, so that the initiation of construction of the new church at Charroux paralleled the destruction and restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. The rotunda was constructed with eight pillars encircled by three ambulatories, and in the 1070s and 1080s a narthex was added.<sup>57</sup>

The rotunda at Charroux also housed fragments of the Cross, said to have been given to the related royal abbey by Charlemagne – an act cited in Ademar's *Chronicle* as evidence of Charlemagne's dedication to Jerusalem and potential role in the end of days.<sup>58</sup> By the late eleventh century, a relic of Christ's Holy Foreskin acquired by the same church in Charroux also had become associated with Charlemagne. During a fictitious journey to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, the emperor received the flesh from the baby Christ himself, still freshly soaked in blood (which it continued to miraculously ooze on occasion once in Charroux).<sup>59</sup> Charroux's piece of the True Cross came to be known as *Bellator*, or warrior, and was reportedly used by Charlemagne during his battles.<sup>60</sup> In this way Charlemagne lived on as the paradigmatic Christian king in the imagined battle against the forces of the Antichrist. When Pope Urban II exhorted the faithful to liberate the holy places from the desecrating hands of Muslims in his speech at Clermont in 1095, he invoked the figure of Charlemagne as the quintessential Christian knight, a champion who fights on behalf of Christ. By this point, legends had expanded surrounding

the figure of the Holy Roman Emperor, so that it was widely believed he had not only gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but also had led a crusade.<sup>61</sup> The imaginary crusade became real when Christian armies sieged and took Jerusalem in 1099, in a triumph which for many spelled out the beginning of the end of days.

### THE THREAT OF ISLAMIC DESECRATION

The story of the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 1099, mixed with apocalyptic fervor and tales of the harassment of Christian pilgrims by Muslims – many likely exaggerated – galvanized the first crusaders. In his sermon at Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II affirmed the Muslim desecration of Christian sacred sites, especially the Temple of Jerusalem. According to Fulcher of Chartres, Urban II described Muslims as devil-worshippers who defiled Christian lands.<sup>62</sup> The struggle between the Antichrist and the Frankish emperor was the central drama in the prophecies regarding the end of time. Christian theologians actively promoted the perception of Muhammad as the Antichrist, worshipped by his idolatrous followers, who engaged in various perverse acts.<sup>63</sup> As a result Islam came to be generally regarded as a pollution that had to be purged to save the sanctity of the Christian Holy Land. Any crusader who died in defense of the Holy Land was promised salvation by Pope Urban II, later described as a plenary indulgence.<sup>64</sup>

Anti-Islamic propaganda inspired a collective conviction among Christians in Europe that the architecture of the Holy Land, so closely connected to the body of Christ, had to be taken back from Islam and protected from defilement. The motivations for Raimond of St. Gilles (c. 1041–1105), count of Toulouse, in joining the First Crusade were described as preventing the further desecration of the Holy Sepulcher. Gerald of Cahors similarly recounted that he went “on pilgrimage to wage war on foreign peoples and defeat barbaric nations, lest the Holy City of Jerusalem be held captive and the Holy Sepulcher be contaminated any longer.”<sup>65</sup> This conviction remained a

primary justification for ongoing warfare against Islam in the Holy Land throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Peter Comestor, for instance, writing in the 1150s and 60s to Amalric of Nesle, the patriarch of Jerusalem (1157–80), expresses the need to protect the “visible reminiscences” of Christ’s life from defilement or complete obliteration:

[Y]our land embodies the visible reminiscences of the life and death of our Lord Christ and the most Holy Places. God chose it as His house (Psalms 26:8) and His temple, which He cleansed of its impurities (Matthew 21:12). Therefore, the pagans are now attempting to sow their impurity in the Holy Places and to obliterate from there the memory of Christ and the name of Christianity, [places] which belong not to them but to Christ (Philippians 2:21).<sup>66</sup>

Peter Comestor was echoing the sentiments expressed by Peter the Venerable of Cluny (r. 1122–56), who delivered a sermon in Paris c. 1147, “In Praise of the Holy Sepulcher,” to rouse support for the Second Crusade. The “task” of the crusaders was defined as freeing Christ’s Sepulcher from the infidels.<sup>67</sup> The Church of the Holy Sepulcher had come to stand for the crusader movement, and – more generally – the inherent and rightfully Christian character of the Holy Land, purchased by the blood of Jesus Christ.<sup>68</sup>

### THE CRUSADER CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER

After the conquest of Jerusalem of 1099, the crusaders quickly turned their attention to expanding and further monumentalizing the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. This expansion of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher signaled the larger triumph of Christianity over a city that had previously spurned the religion, from Hadrian’s construction of a Temple over the sites of the Resurrection and Crucifixion, to the Islamic conquest and takeover of the Temple Mount and more recent destruction of the Church





Fig. 38 Crusader façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem, twelfth century (Photo: author)

of the Holy Sepulcher in 1009. The church's triumphal expansion in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem also prefigured the materialization of the heavenly Temple on earth and the return of Christ to Jerusalem. Special focus was given to a new southern façade with a double portal framed by intricate sculptural ornamentation, surmounted by mosaics (Fig. 38). The mosaics, which included a Virgin and Child in the tympanum of one of the portals, no longer survive, while the sculpted lintels have been installed in the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem.<sup>69</sup> The marble lintels, carved mostly in the second half of the twelfth century, incorporate

scenes from the life of Christ and a vine scroll motif, perhaps alluding to the idea of the True Cross as the Tree of Life.<sup>70</sup>

The Anastasis Rotunda was restored with its distinctive conical vault and oculus above the Tomb.<sup>71</sup> A new chapel was constructed on Mount Calvary (Fig. 39), enclosing the site of the Crucifixion; in front of the new southern façade a small stairway led up to the entrance to the upper-level chapel. Of the crusader mosaics within the Calvary chapel, only a fragment of the Ascension in the vault survives.<sup>72</sup> An inscription above the new elevated portal includes the date 1149, the year in which the church





Fig. 39 Crusader chapel of Mount Calvary, Jerusalem, twelfth century (Photo: author)

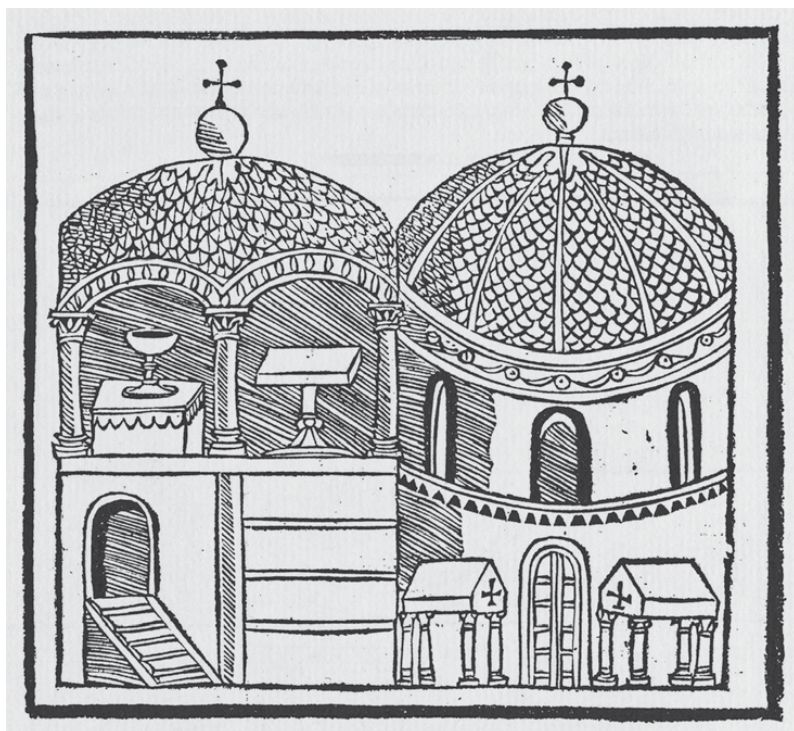


Fig. 40 Calvary chapel and tombs of the Latin kings, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem*, Bologna, 1500 (Photo: Petrucci and Petrucci, 1972)



was officially consecrated.<sup>73</sup> The day of the consecration – July 15 – was that of the crusader conquest of Jerusalem fifty years earlier, emphasizing the triumphal symbolism of the reconstruction of the architecture of Christ’s Sepulcher.<sup>74</sup> Tombs for the Latin kings were placed below the Calvary chapel and near the Unction Stone.<sup>75</sup> The tombs were made for Godfrey of Bouillon (r. 1099–1100), his brother Baudouin I (r. 1100–18), Baudouin II (r. 1118–31), and Foulque d’Anjou (r. 1131–43), and were dismantled by the nineteenth century.<sup>76</sup> The first surviving illustrations are found in versions of the Franciscan Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi’s pilgrimage account (Fig. 40), first written in the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>77</sup>

In the place of the destroyed atrium and Constantinian basilica, a new church was constructed with a hemispherical dome rising above the high altar, encircled by an ambulatory and radiating chapels. A new Chapel of St. Helena was constructed underground, near the grotto of the Finding of the Holy Cross in a space that had been a Roman cistern, connected directly to the ambulatory behind the new church.<sup>78</sup> Throughout the crusader church, the original stones of the Constantinian basilica were reused, suggesting that the materials of the building had become regarded as relics of great antiquity.<sup>79</sup> Today one can still observe the many pilgrims’ inscriptions (Fig. 4) – predominantly crosses – embedded into the stones of the building dating to the various centuries, manifesting the special auratic potency of the material encircling the sites of the True Cross, Crucifixion, and Entombment.<sup>80</sup>

#### TRIUMPHAL RE-CREATIONS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER AFTER 1099

After the triumph of the First Crusade, a number of the “pilgrims” – as the crusaders were also known – who had breached the walls of Jerusalem in 1099, slaughtering the idolatrous Muslims and justly expelling those that remained from the city (in the opinion of contemporary chroniclers), returned to Europe, where their triumph was celebrated by new re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher. The Bishop Landulf of Asti returned from the Holy Land in

1103/4 and had a church dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher constructed in his native Lombard city (Fig. 41). It is a circular, brick building with a cupola on an arcade of eight arches, creating a covered ambulatory, now incorporated into the Baptistry of San Pietro in Consavia.<sup>81</sup> Urban II had reportedly visited Asti in 1096 when he was preaching the crusade. By 1113 the town had become the setting for a hospital of the fraternity of St. John, better known as the Hospitallers, to whom the church was ceded in 1169.<sup>82</sup> At Northampton, Earl Simon of Senlis (d. 1111) founded a parish church known as St. Sepulchre (Fig. 42) after returning from the First Crusade. The Northampton church has a similar circular ground-plan, eight pillars, ambulatory, and a space in the center where a re-creation of the Tomb Aedicule may have been installed.<sup>83</sup> In Milan, a church dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher was consecrated in 1100, on which occasion the archbishop of Milan decreed that a penitent who could not travel to Jerusalem would receive a third of the indulgences by coming to pray at the church in Milan.<sup>84</sup>

Peter the Hermit, who had preached the crusade at Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre and elsewhere before 1099, also participated in the crusade in 1101, returning to Europe with relics of the Holy Sepulcher. He reportedly participated in the foundation of the Augustinian priory of Neufmoustier, near Liège, in 1101, demolished in the eighteenth century.<sup>85</sup> Peter persuaded the bishop of Liège to allow crusaders prevented from fulfilling their vow due to poverty or illness to gain the benefits of the indulgence granted crusaders by visiting the foundation of Neufmoustier.<sup>86</sup> Other foundations were more closely linked to the new confraternities that arose in Europe relating to the crusader movement. In Brindisi, the round Church of San Giovanni al Sepolcro (St. John at the Sepulcher), constructed in the first half of the twelfth century, was associated with the Hospitallers; the church was largely in ruins by the latter part of the nineteenth century, when it was reconstructed.<sup>87</sup> In Eichstätt, the round church housing a re-creation of the Tomb Aedicule (Fig. 43) was dedicated *in honorem S. Crucis et S. Sepulchri* (in honor of the holy Cross and holy Sepulcher) by Bishop Otto in 1194. The church was connected to a community dedicated to pilgrimage



Fig. 41 Baptistery, San Pietro in Consavia, Asti, twelfth century (Photo: author)



Fig. 43 Tomb Aedicule, Church of the Holy Cross and Holy Sepulcher, Eichstätt, twelfth century (Photo: author)

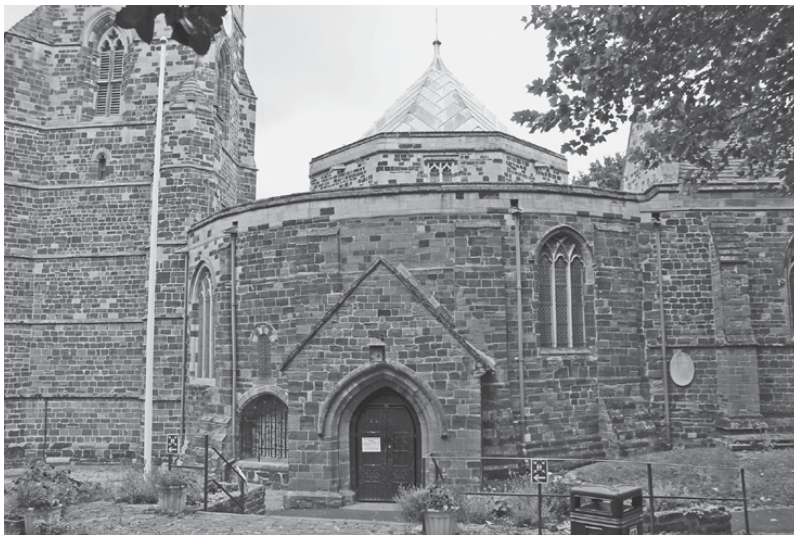


Fig. 42 Holy Sepulcher, Northampton, twelfth century (Photo: author)



Fig. 44 Interior, Tomb Aedicule, Church of the Holy Cross and Holy Sepulcher, Eichstätt (Photo: author)

who cared for returning injured crusaders.<sup>88</sup> The community was formed of Irish Benedictines who were committed to the ideal of *peregrinatio* or pilgrimage, and who were known sometimes as *monachi peregrini*, or pilgrim monks.<sup>89</sup> The monastery at Eichstätt was founded sometime in the 1150s, and its relic of the True Cross and other Jerusalemic features may relate to the pilgrimage of its founder, Walbrun, dean of Eichstätt Cathedral.<sup>90</sup> The interior of the Tomb Aedicule (Fig. 44) includes three holes cut into the side of the stone, a distinctive feature of the Sepulcher in Jerusalem as it was restored by the early twelfth century.<sup>91</sup>

Eichstätt's first bishop was the by now sainted Willibald, the Benedictine missionary who with Boniface was integral in establishing the network of Benedictine libraries and foundations in the ninth century.<sup>92</sup> The community in Eichstätt was closely connected to a similar foundation of Irish Benedictines outside of Regensburg (founded 1112), where references to a round chapel and Sepulcher of Christ suggest the possibility of similar architectural constructions there and in contemporary

Benedictine monasteries.<sup>93</sup> The round chapel at Eichstätt is also no longer extant; it was destroyed along with the related monastic buildings in 1552.<sup>94</sup> At Cambridge, a church dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher was constructed around 1130 and was substantially reconstructed in the nineteenth century.<sup>95</sup> The church became associated with the Austin Friars connected to the Hospital of St. John.<sup>96</sup> In Augsburg, a round chapel dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher was begun c. 1128, but entirely demolished in 1611.<sup>97</sup>

#### DECORATED HOLY SEPULCHER CHAPELS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

In contrast to the period before the crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, some of the churches constructed as re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem became the setting for painted or sculpted decoration envisioning the Crucifixion, Entombment, and Resurrection. The decorative programs may have been directly inspired by the new mosaics in the restored Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, particularly the *Burial of Christ* and the *Holy Women at the Tomb* above the entrance of the Sepulcher.<sup>98</sup> The mosaics and related decoration were probably made as part of the reconstruction of the church completed in 1048, although an earthquake in 1105 may have necessitated restoration.<sup>99</sup> At Le Liget (Fig. 45), frescoes adorn the round church dedicated to St. John with the *Nativity*, *Presentation*, *Descent from the Cross*, *Holy Women at the Tomb*, *Dormition*, and *Tree of Jesse*.<sup>100</sup> Scenes relating to Christ's burial and Resurrection, including the Crucifixion (Fig. 46), could have been directly inspired by the mosaics in Jerusalem, while the additional scenes at Le Liget expand upon the themes of death and resurrection. Additionally, frescoes of the prophets at Le Liget may have been inspired by similar representations recorded on the drum of the dome of the Anastasis (features, like the mosaics, described by pilgrims in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, as we will see).<sup>101</sup>

In Winchester Cathedral, a series of frescoes dating to the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem were found





Fig. 45 Chapel of St. John, Le Liget, twelfth century (Photo: author)



Fig. 46 Interior, Chapel of St. John, Le Liget (Photo: author)

underneath thirteenth-century frescoes similarly envisioning events related to Christ's Passion (figs. 47–8).<sup>102</sup> The frescoes cover the walls of a small chapel in the choir of the cathedral, specifically in the crossing of the north transept, wherein the altar stands for the Tomb of Christ. Like the crusader mosaics added to the Tomb Aedicule in Jerusalem, the scenes focus on the events associated with Christ's Sepulcher in Jerusalem: the *Burial of Christ*, *Holy Women at the Tomb*, and the *Harrowing of Hell* are combined immediately above the altar, and the *Crucifixion* and *Deposition* are in the upper tier. Other scenes that have been recovered from the twelfth-century program include the *Resurrection of the Dead* and *Christ Questioned by Annas*. In the thirteenth-century the frescoes were covered with new paintings of the same or similar scenes, when the shape of the chapel – particularly its vaulting – was modified.<sup>103</sup>

The Winchester chapel is also known to have served as the setting for the staging of the Easter Sepulcher play.<sup>104</sup> The text of the play, dating to the second half of the tenth century, exists in two versions: one specific to Winchester Cathedral and another acted out by Benedictine monks throughout England.<sup>105</sup> The plays were performed by the clergy in the choir; monks took the place of the angel and the Marys, while a cross and burial shroud stood for Christ's body.<sup>106</sup> In Barletta, in the Apulian region of southern Italy, a thirteenth-century manuscript connected to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher





Fig. 47 Holy Sepulcher chapel,  
Winchester Cathedral, twelfth century  
(Photo: author)



Fig. 48 Interior, Holy Sepulcher chapel, Winchester Cathedral (Photo: author)

indicates that such plays were performed in Europe as well. The manuscript records the play of the *Women*

at the Tomb, which may have been directly inspired by similar plays performed in Jerusalem in the period of Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>107</sup> The church in Barletta was dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher and may have had a re-creation of the Tomb Aedicule, although any traces of such a structure have been lost.<sup>108</sup> It has been suggested that crusaders imported the play from Europe when they arrived in Jerusalem in 1099. The play in Jerusalem was itself so popular that it was reportedly discontinued in 1160 because of unruly crowds.<sup>109</sup>

Others chapels had sculptural representations of similar scenes, as survive in Germany.<sup>110</sup> A chapel in Gernrode, re-creating the burial chamber in the south aisle of the Church of St. Cyriacus, contains a relief with the Holy Women at the Tomb and at the entrance another with Peter and John going to the Tomb. A third relief on the exterior of the burial chamber represents the risen Christ appearing before Mary Magdalene.<sup>111</sup> Remnants of a sarcophagus have been found and the chapel perhaps originally had a conical roof.<sup>112</sup> A series of pre-existing grottos in Externsteine, near Paderborn, were refashioned to become the setting for similar liturgical rites under Bishop Henry II of Paderborn.<sup>113</sup> The grottos had once been used for pagan worship; under Bishop Henry II – the same patron responsible for the construction of a Holy Sepulcher at Helmarshausen – they were dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher, the Invention of the Cross, and Mount Calvary, the latter



Fig. 49 Deposition, Externsteine, twelfth century  
(Photo: author)

thought to relate to a monumental sculpted relief of the Deposition (Fig. 49).<sup>114</sup>

In twelfth-century Constantinople, the crusader reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was paralleled by the construction of a new monastic church dedicated to Christos Pantokrator (All-powerful Christ) in the years 1118–36 under Emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118–43).<sup>115</sup> An adjacent mausoleum for the imperial rulers of the Komnenian dynasty (1081–1185) was decorated with mural mosaics of the *Crucifixion*, *Entombment*, and *Resurrection of Christ*, today known only through the church's *typikon*, or liturgical book.<sup>116</sup> The relationship to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was made explicit with the installation of the Unction Stone in 1169, said to be the marble slab upon which Christ's body was laid out in preparation for burial.<sup>117</sup> The Unction Stone – distinct from the one described by pilgrims in Jerusalem – was placed next to the black marble tomb of John's son, Emperor Manuel (r. 1143–80).<sup>118</sup> An inscription – known from a description by Meletios of Ioannina (d. 1714) – compared the mourning empress to the holy women at the Tomb of Christ.<sup>119</sup> The forms of the entire chapel, with its apsed hall and two elliptical domes, may have been

inspired by the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem as it was being reconstructed in the same years, with its own four tombs, these for the Latin kings of Jerusalem, placed near the Unction Stone.<sup>120</sup> The Komnenian emperors had provided crucial financial and political support to the crusader states. Their resting place in Constantinople – before it was stripped of its marble tombs and mosaics – would have been a fitting testament to their support of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as the particular role of Alexios Komnenos (r. 1081–1118) in initiating the crusade.<sup>121</sup>

#### PILGRIMAGE ACCOUNTS IN THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

The crusaders and pilgrims who returned from Jerusalem brought with them both relics and memories of the newly reconstructed Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and their stories of the building's spectacular ornamentation and vaults. The new kind of written descriptions of this and other churches in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem form the basis of our knowledge of the specific subjects of the mosaics from this period, the majority of which have been lost. The crusader conquest of Jerusalem and environs opened up the possibility for numerous Christian pilgrims from Europe to visit the holy places with unprecedented ease. The production of accounts of the pilgrimage expanded in terms of both quantity and descriptiveness. Saewulf, perhaps from Britain, wrote an account of his pilgrimage of 1101–3 that incorporated the previous writings of Bede together with his own experiences.<sup>122</sup> The historian Fulcher of Chartres, who lived in Jerusalem for several years and wrote in the first two decades of the twelfth century, created a history of the city into which he incorporated an account of the pilgrimage sites.<sup>123</sup> The Russian Abbot Daniel, who wrote an account of his pilgrimage c. 1106–8 in Old Church Slavonic, incorporated a detailed description of the Holy Sepulcher, including the crusader mosaic of Christ above Calvary.<sup>124</sup> There are also a number of anonymous guides, including those written as far afield as Iceland.<sup>125</sup> A certain monk named Belard



from Ascoli wrote an account of his pilgrimage in c. 1155.<sup>126</sup> A Portuguese monk made the journey sometime not long after 1100, as did Benjamin of Tudela from 1166 to 1171, whose account includes rare details about the life of the Jewish population in both Jerusalem and Rome.<sup>127</sup>

Towards the end of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, two German pilgrims wrote the most detailed accounts yet, drawing on previous sources and their own experiences in Jerusalem: John of Würzburg, a priest writing about his visit for another holy man named Dietrich, composed his book around 1170; and Theoderich, also a monk, who may have been this same Dietrich, composed his own book immediately thereafter, drawing on John of Würzburg's. Very little is known about these monks beyond what is found in their books, and it is still unknown if Theoderich was also based in Würzburg, or if he was at another monastery, such as the abbey in Hirsau.<sup>128</sup> There were four Benedictine abbeys in Würzburg, where John (and perhaps Theoderich) could have read widely on the architecture of the Holy Land before making their journey, as for instance from a copy of Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* already recorded there in the ninth century.<sup>129</sup> In fact, it is possible that Theoderich himself never made the journey, but instead based his manuscript upon John of Würzburg's account, in the same way that Adomnán – writing at the end of the seventh century – had utilized Arculf's experiences to create a book for others in a monastic context who could not make the journey.

In Theoderich's account, we find the most detailed descriptions of the major pilgrimage buildings from the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, with the greatest attention given to the recently expanded Church of the Holy Sepulcher. At the beginning of his work, Theoderich tells his reader that he has created the book with painstaking detail for those who cannot make the journey.<sup>130</sup> The description of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher surpasses all of its predecessors in terms of detail. Attention is paid to both the forms and materials of architectural structures, the composition and subject of ornamentation, the relative locations and arrangements of different parts of the church, and the inscriptions found throughout. Theoderich describes

the mosaic of *The Holy Women at the Tomb* above the entrance into the Tomb and a related inscription. It was perhaps this specific mosaic that artists in Le Liget and Winchester re-created in fresco, in their respective chapels dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher. A description of the interior enumerates the marble, gold, and precious stones, and the three round holes through which pilgrims kiss the place where Christ's body was placed.<sup>131</sup>

Theoderich's narrative suggests a clear course through the church, in a way that can allow his readers to imagine visiting the sites in sequence, and proceeding – as his book continues – through the rest of the places and buildings of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. Theoderich leads his readers through the various chapels in the church, including where the relic of the True Cross was kept and one where Christ was kept in prison. Theoderich describes the descent down a long series of steps into the subterranean Chapel of Helena, where a cross marked the place where the empress discovered the True Cross. On the other side of the church behind the choir, a column located on an altar is said to be that where Christ was scourged. Fifteen steps lead up to a landing, and another three steps take one up to the Calvary chapel. Theoderich then describes leaving the church through the southern façade, where one goes out into a “square court made of squared stones.”<sup>132</sup>

The overall contrast with the pre-crusades accounts of the architecture of the Holy Land is striking. Theoderich – like many of his contemporaries – seems to have implicitly felt that the description of the pilgrimage buildings was essential to vicariously experiencing the places where Christ “revealed his corporeal presence.”<sup>133</sup> Theoderich's account also demonstrates a new emphasis on the use of inscriptions throughout the pilgrimage churches of Jerusalem. The role of the buildings as inscribing the sites of major biblical events was in this way given a more literal visual manifestation in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>134</sup> At the same time, the profusion of figural imagery allowed the pilgrim to be witness to these events not only through internal meditation, but also externally, in dazzling mosaics which we now can only imagine.<sup>135</sup>



## THE RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON



## THE GOLDEN GATE AND CRUSADER TRIUMPH

The elaboration of the southern façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, described in detail by Theoderich and others, was part of larger reorientation of the crusader idea of Jerusalem towards the Temple of Solomon and Jerusalem as the heavenly city of Revelation. The double portal created an important symbolic link to the Golden Gate (Fig. 50), the monumental entranceway to the Temple Mount dating back to the early Islamic period (and perhaps earlier), facing the Mount of Olives.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the dedication ceremony for the new Church of the Holy Sepulcher on July 15, 1149, a procession made its way to the Dome of the Rock (Fig. 51), where the following prayers were said at the southern entrance: “Grant that we, who rejoice in the liberation of your city of Jerusalem, will be worthy of inheriting the heavenly Jerusalem,” followed by an eastward procession ending outside the Golden Gate.<sup>2</sup> The Golden Gate had become identified with Christ’s triumphal entry into the city on Palm Sunday, which initiated the sequence of events culminating in the Crucifixion.<sup>3</sup> Through the Golden Gate – the crusaders believed – Christ had approached the Temple of Jerusalem, the Jewish Temple where he had originally been presented as an infant to be circumcised. The gate also faced east towards the Mount of Olives, where Christ had ascended into heaven and where he would return at the end of time, to once again enter the city in triumph.<sup>4</sup>

In the context of the crusader possession of Jerusalem, the Golden Gate was reimagined as a symbol of Christianity’s past and future triumphs. The Golden Gate, closed since the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem in the seventh century, was reopened on Palm Sunday during the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem to celebrate Christ’s entry into the city. That the Gate otherwise remained shut offered implicit confirmation of its identity with the eastern gate of the heavenly Temple, as revealed to the prophet Ezekiel: “Then He brought me back to the outer gate of the sanctuary which faces toward the east, but it was shut. And the Lord said to me, ‘This gate shall be shut; it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter by it, because the Lord God of Israel has entered by it; therefore it shall be shut.’”<sup>5</sup>

The particular symbolic significance of the Golden Gate as a link between the historical city of Christ’s life and the future heavenly city is suggested by an illustrated commentary on Ezekiel, written by Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173). The author was a canon of the Augustinian community and center of learning in Paris established in 1108 on the left bank of the Seine. Richard’s description of the gatehouse of the heavenly Temple is illustrated in terms of the double portal in Jerusalem, situated along the eastern perimeter of the Temple.<sup>6</sup> The illustrations include a ground-plan, section, and façade of the gatehouse, preserved in multiple copies of the book produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including a manuscript in Paris.<sup>7</sup> A manuscript of the twelfth century includes the illustrated commentary with

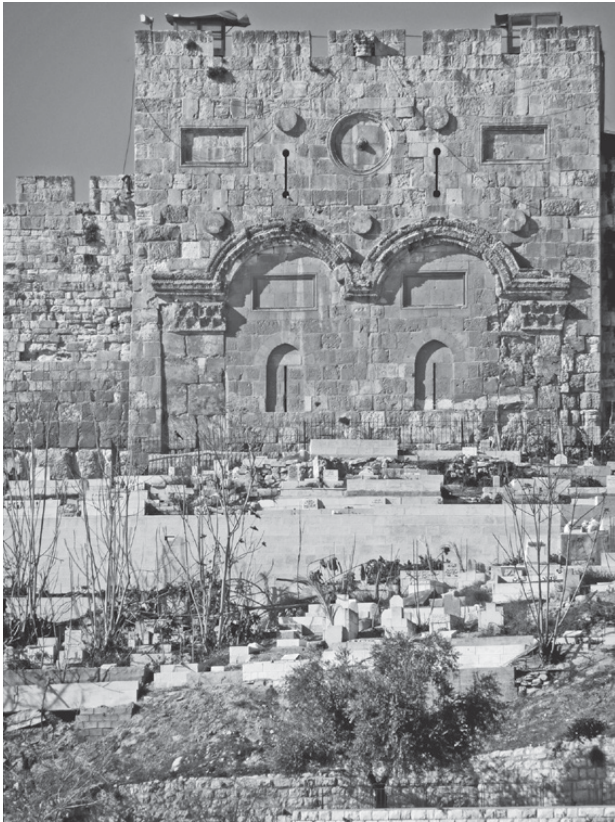


Fig. 50 Golden Gate, Jerusalem, seventh century  
(Photo: author)

an elevation of the Temple's eastern gate (Plate 7), compiled with a work by Baldricus, abbot of Bourgueil (1079–1106), on the Christian capture of Jerusalem (*Historiae Hierosolymitanae libri IV*).<sup>8</sup> The combination of the two works in a single manuscript suggests how Richard's allusion to the real architecture of the Golden Gate in his textual and visual exegesis of the heavenly Temple as revealed to Ezekiel may have been read in conjunction with the account of the First Crusade, and the triumphal entry of the crusaders into the city through the Temple's eastern gate.

#### IMAGINATIVE HISTORIES OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK

In the accounts of the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, the crusaders are described as cleansing the ancient site of the Jewish Temple with the blood of Muslims, as for instance by Raymond of Aguilers:

It is sufficient to relate that in the Temple of Solomon and the portico crusaders rode in blood to the knees and bridles of their horses... In my opinion this was poetic justice that the Temple of Solomon should receive the blood of pagans who blasphemed God there for many years.<sup>9</sup>

Raymond, like many other Christian historians of the period, revises history by characterizing the Islamic places of worship on the Temple Mount, built in the decades following the Islamic conquest of 637 – including the Dome of the Rock (c. 691/2) and the Aqsa Mosque (c. 705) – as Christian holy sites of great antiquity that had been transgressed by Muslims. The Arabic names of the Islamic buildings were effaced, becoming known in Latin as the *Templum Domini* (Temple of the Lord) and *Templum Salomonis* (Temple or Palace of Solomon), respectively.<sup>10</sup> *Templum Domini* rendered in Latin the Hebrew notion of *Bethel*, the “House of God.”<sup>11</sup> From the crusaders' perspective, the setting for the circumcision of Jesus in the *Templum Domini* had been perversely violated by Muslims who worshipped their idol of Muhammad there.<sup>12</sup> Several writers recounted how the Norman crusader Tancred discovered and destroyed an idol of Muhammad on the Temple Mount in 1099 – an invention which confirmed the accounts of the idolatrous nature of Islam.<sup>13</sup> William of Malmesbury, among those who referred to the statue of Muhammad, described the conquest of Jerusalem as an act of liberation and purification of God's sacred places from Muslims in his account written around 1125.<sup>14</sup> Fulcher of Chartres similarly recounted that Muslims had erected an idol in the name of Muhammad and practiced rites that polluted the sanctity of the *Templum Domini*.<sup>15</sup> Fulcher characterizes the Rock (Fig. 52) – believed to be the ancient Mount Moriah at the center of the Jewish Temple, enshrined within the Dome of the Rock – as an idol worshipped by Muslims in perverse practices that disfigured the holy place. Underlying these accounts would have been the deeper memory of the cleansing of the area of the Crucifixion and Entombment by Constantine and Helena, and its “shrine of life-less idols dedicated to the impure demon Aphrodite,” as Eusebius





Fig. 51 Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, c. 691–692 (Photo: author)

(c. 260–339/40) had written.<sup>16</sup> In other accounts, the *Templum Domini* was directly integrated into the Constantinian history of the city by presenting the building as having been constructed by Helena and only later converted to a mosque.<sup>17</sup>

The idol of Muhammad was most often said to have been erected in the *Templum Domini*. Although originally constructed around 691/2 by the Islamic Umayyad caliphate, and known as the *Qubbat al-Saqa* (Arabic: Dome of the Rock), the location of the building at the center of the vast platform associated with the ancient Jewish Temple allowed for crusaders to imagine that the building represented the ancient Temple described in both the Old and New Testaments. The adjacent *Aqsa Mosque* (Fig. 53), located on the southern edge of the Temple esplanade and first constructed in the early eighth century as the primary congregational mosque for Jerusalem,

became identified as the palatial residence of King Solomon and consistently referred to as the *Templum Salomonis*. The Latin term *templum* had a broader meaning in this period than the modern English cognate “temple,” and could imply a palatial residence as well as a place of worship, as several accounts indicate.<sup>18</sup> The location of the Tabernacle constructed by Moses and enshrined in Jerusalem by Solomon was consistently identified with Mount Moriah in the center of the Dome of the Rock, with no evidence of an association with the *Aqsa Mosque*.

#### THE DOME OF THE ROCK AS THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON

Within the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, rituals also transformed the significance of its primary buildings





Fig. 52 Interior, Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem (Photo: Art Resource)

in the overall religious and political order of the Christian city. Before the First Crusade all of the major Christian ritual activity in Jerusalem tended to be focused on the Sepulcher of Christ. After the restoration of the Dome of the Rock, annual rituals

connected the Sepulcher and the Temple in unprecedented ways. Most important among the new rituals of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem were the closely related coronation ceremony for the king of Jerusalem and the celebration of Christ's entry into





Fig. 53 Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem, c. 705 (Photo: author)

Jerusalem. The coronation occurred in the Holy Sepulcher and was followed by a procession to the *Templum Domini*, where the king placed his crown on the altar above the Rock, echoing Christ's presentation to the high priest Simeon, believed to have occurred at the same altar.<sup>19</sup>

The incorporation of the formerly Islamic buildings on the Temple Mount into the Christian city of Jerusalem represented a major change in opinion regarding the sanctity and significance of the site associated with the Jewish Temple: from the second through the seventh century, the ruined state of the Temple had been preserved as a testament to God's condemnation of the Jewish community, serving as a potent symbol of Christianity's ascendancy over Judaism.<sup>20</sup> After the conquest in 637, the Umayyads had initiated a cleansing and reconstruction of the ruined site in their own version of the restoration of the ancient Temple of Solomon.<sup>21</sup> The Dome of the Rock's profusion of paradisaical plants rendered in mosaics against a gold ground on the exterior and interior of the building may have originally been intended to offer a vision of both the legendary Temple of Solomon and the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>22</sup>

Up until the crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, Christian pilgrims could not enter the buildings on the Temple Mount or even put foot on the surrounding esplanade. When Christians

wrote about the pilgrimage before 1099, they either ignored the buildings on the Temple Mount or noted in passing that the *Sancta Sanctorum* had been located within the Temple of Solomon there, as for instance in the account of Photius (c. 810–93), who refers to “[t]he Court of Solomon, itself the ancient *Sancta Sanctorum*, but now occupied by the godless Saracens.”<sup>23</sup> All of this changed when the building was appropriated by the crusaders and physically transformed into a Christian church, where the Latin king of Jerusalem was crowned and other rituals reasserted the centrality of the Temple to the idea of Jerusalem. While the Church of the Holy Sepulcher continued to possess chief importance as the primary conglomeration of the material traces of Christ's Crucifixion, Entombment, and Resurrection, the Dome of the Rock presented a more complex layering of historical events spanning from the ancient stories of the Old Testament through the lives of Jesus and Mary. There seems to have been an interest in asserting that the building itself had not changed, and that its forms were a locus of memory in which this impressive sweep of biblical history could be envisioned in a single continuum. As stated by Achard of Arrouaise, prior of the *Templum Domini* (1118–31): “Whoever builds the Holy Temple of the Lord, as it is at present so it will remain until the end of days.”<sup>24</sup> The crusaders

wished to see their triumph as part of a seamless vision of Christian history, from the Old Testament to Revelation, and their actions as an essential part of the realization of the heavenly Jerusalem.

The easy way in which crusaders and pilgrims appropriated the Dome of the Rock as the biblical Temple in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem can be explained not only by the building's site and golden mosaic decoration, but also by its fundamental architectural elements. The Corinthian columns, ambulatory, nearly hemispherical dome (it is in fact slightly bulbous), and porticos closely aligned the building with other Constantinian structures, such as the tomb made for his daughter, Santa Costanza, outside of Rome, or more recent Byzantine churches, like the sixth-century Church of San Vitale, in Ravenna. The basic format of the building may have originally been inspired by the Constantinian Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem, as it existed in the seventh century.<sup>25</sup> The Arabic inscriptions found within the mosaic decoration of the Dome of the Rock were the only obvious signs of Islamic identity. There is no evidence that Christian crusaders or pilgrims were aware of the contents of the Arabic inscriptions, although if any were, they would have found that they presented Qur'anic passages refuting the divinity of Christ and asserting the supremacy of the one God.<sup>26</sup> Undoubtedly some recognized the inscriptions as relating to Islam, as indicated by an anonymous writer who created an account of Jerusalem around 1130. After a brief explanation of the significance of the Templum Domini as the Temple where Christ was presented as a child and where the Sancta Sanctorum had been housed, the unknown author explains how the current building relates to the history of the Temple of Solomon:

Of the current Temple they say that it was rebuilt by Saint Helena in the time of the Emperor Constantine; others say that Emperor Justinian [rebuilt it], while others say [it was rebuilt] by a certain sultan of Memphis, in Egypt, in honor of Allah Akbar (*Alachiber*), that is of the supreme God, as is clearly demonstrated by the inscription in the Saracen language (*quod superscriptio Sarracena manifeste declarat*). In fact at the arrival of the Franks, nothing depicted of the

Mosaic Law or Greek was evident. The current Temple can be said to be the fourth. In the second to last Jesus was circumcised.<sup>27</sup>

If some of the crusaders did in fact understand that the inscriptions were in honor of *Alachiber*, as suggested here, then there may have been interest in covering them, as the Latin inscriptions added later in the century may have done, as we will see.

Because of the ruined state of the Temple Mount and then the inaccessibility of the Dome of the Rock after the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem in 637, many Christian pilgrims had come to identify events previously associated with Mount Moriah, particularly the sacrifice of Isaac and Jacob's vision, with Mount Calvary in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The reassertion of the Rock inside the Templum Domini as the site of these events, especially Jacob's vision of the ladder, confirmed that the location marked out by the Templum Domini was indeed the place of the ancient Temple of Solomon and the location of the future heavenly Temple.<sup>28</sup> Jacob's vision of a ladder climbing to heaven revealed the "house of God and the gate of heaven" (Genesis 28:17). Jacob's vision was an important prophetic indicator of the construction of the final Temple in the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>29</sup>

Despite a pervasive interest in seeing the Dome of the Rock as a part of biblical history, the octagonal ground-plan and hemispherical dome quite obviously did not accord with the Old Testament accounts of the Temple of Solomon. According to the Old Testament, Solomon, whose reign is conventionally dated 970–931 BC, had constructed the Jewish Temple on Mount Moriah as a rectangular building with an innermost chamber for the Tabernacle, known in Latin as the Sancta Sanctorum, or Holy of Holies. The Solomonic buildings were destroyed by the Babylonians in 587 BC.<sup>30</sup> The Temple was restored in the first century by Herod (37–4 BC), to be destroyed again in AD 70 during the siege of Jerusalem by the Roman emperor Titus (when some believed the contents of the Tabernacle were taken to Rome and installed in the Lateran).<sup>31</sup> In the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, pilgrims and historians variously ascribed the construction of the Dome of the Rock to Solomon, or described it as another reconstruction of the Temple



in a long series of destructions and reconstructions. Those who viewed the building as Solomonic mostly related its forms to the Sancta Sanctorum, containing the Ark. As a result the building was also sometimes referred to as the Temple of the Holy of Holies.<sup>32</sup> In the Old Testament, the Tabernacle is described as a container whose proportions were dictated by God to Moses, covered by a slab of gold and adorned by a pair of sculpted angels.<sup>33</sup> Christian pilgrims may have interpreted the original gold-ground mosaics on the exterior of the Dome of the Rock, replaced in the mid sixteenth century with the current Ottoman tiles, as evocations of the paradisaical and angelic imagery associated with the Tabernacle.<sup>34</sup>

Some pilgrims in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem asserted that the Ark still existed and was hidden within the Rock inside the Templum Domini. As a result, the Dome of the Rock was also sometimes referred to as the “modern tabernacle” (*moderno tabernaculo*) as it was by Albert of Aachen (*fl. c. 1100*).<sup>35</sup> Albert first notes that the current building cannot be that constructed by Solomon, given its recorded destruction by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus. He attributes the current building to “Christian worshippers”:

Moreover, in the middle of this modern tabernacle a stone mountain of natural rock sticks up (*in medio autem hoc moderno tabernaculo mons lapideus natura fundatus prominet*), comprising almost the third part of an acre in area, two cubits in height, on one side of which there are positioned steps leading down to cavernous places; on another side, indeed, there is something which in truth those who observed it call a little door of stone, but always sealed. And in that place certain holies of holies are said still to be kept in the opinion of some people. In the middle of the arched roof of this same modern temple (*templi moderni*), which now with wonderful carpentry of timbers encloses overhead a round shape all around the verticals of the walls, they declare a chain is fixed on which a vessel of shining gold and craftsmanship, weighing about two hundred marks, is always accustomed to hang. Some declare it is the golden pot, some say the

blood of the Lord is concealed in it, others manna, and in this way they are encouraged by different ideas to varying opinions.<sup>36</sup>

Albert had – it seems – never traveled to the Holy Land, but instead based his account on interviews with returning crusaders.<sup>37</sup> Other writers in the same period denied that the contents of the Ark were still located within the Dome of the Rock, not because they disagreed with the identification of the site, but because they understood that the contents had either been lost centuries before or transferred to Rome by Emperor Titus.<sup>38</sup>

#### THE DOME OF THE ROCK IN PILGRIMAGE ACCOUNTS

Pre-crusades references to the Solomonic buildings on the Temple Mount never specified the architectural forms of the Dome of the Rock, and in this respect the forms of the building only became a central part of how Christians envisioned the city of Jerusalem through the lens of the crusader triumph. Peter the Deacon, the librarian of the Benedictine abbey at Monte Cassino, created an account of the Holy Land around 1137, in which we find one of the first surviving descriptions of the architectural forms of the Dome of the Rock as the Templum Domini.<sup>39</sup> Peter the Deacon never journeyed to Jerusalem, but instead based his book on the many manuscripts that were at his disposal, among which were apparently a number of recently written accounts of the events of the First Crusade and conquest of Jerusalem, including some that otherwise do not survive. Information from these more recent books was integrated with the by now classic description of the architecture of Jerusalem offered in Bede’s *De Locis Sanctis* as well as Egeria’s account.<sup>40</sup> Peter says that he has written the book for his abbot, who was about to go on pilgrimage. The expansion in pilgrimage accounts in the period of the Latin kingdom suggests that it was more and more common for the Holy Land pilgrimage to be informed by a previous vicarious experience provided by reading such books. Two centuries later, when Petrarch (1304–74) wrote a similar account for a friend about to go on pilgrimage, he noted that his

friend would be encountering things “already seen in your mind.”<sup>41</sup>

Petrarch felt that he could know something through texts better than through eyewitness experience, and Peter the Deacon similarly experienced the city, its architecture, and sacred sites solely in the context of the library of the Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino. His description of the Dome of the Rock, or *Templum Domini*, is part of a larger account of the architecture associated with the life of Christ in Jerusalem:

Below Mount Calvary to the east is the *Templum Domini*, in another part of the city, which Solomon built. It has four doors, the first on the east, the second on the west, the third on the south, the fourth on the north, which signify the four quarters of the world: on the outside it has eight corners (*octo angulos habet*); each turns a corner of twelve paces. In the middle of the temple is a large mount encircled by walls, in which is the Tabernacle; there also was the Ark of the Covenant, which was taken by the Emperor Vespasian to Rome, the temple having been destroyed. On the left side of the Tabernacle above the rock the Lord Jesus put his foot, when Symeon took him into his arms, and so his footprint remains as if it had been made in wax (*et ita remansit pes scultus ibidem, ac si in cera positus esset*). On the other side of the rock the Tabernacle is open, into which one descends by twenty-two steps: there the Lord prayed, there Zechariah offered sacrifice ... Above the rock in the middle of the temple hangs a golden lamp, in which is the blood of Christ, which fell down through the cleft rock. And to the south not far away the Temple of Solomon has been built, in which he lived, which has twenty-five doors.<sup>42</sup>

Peter focuses on the association of the Rock with the Tabernacle and identifies a nearby footprint, left in the Rock when he was presented to the High Priest as a child. He says that the Rock acquired a waxen quality and received the imprint of the foot as if it were sculpted into the Rock. Peter was

undoubtedly responding to accounts of similar imprints of Christ’s form, including the footprints on the Mount of Olives in earlier works, especially the *De Locis Sanctis*. Peter’s account demonstrates how Christians in the period of the crusader possession of Jerusalem actively rewrote history in order to integrate the Islamic building into the existing ideas about the sanctity of the architecture associated with the life of Christ, here given a status akin to that of the Church of the Ascension by reference to Christ’s footprint. The crusaders may have also been inspired by an Islamic tradition, recorded in the *Safarnama* (Book of Travels) of Nasir-i Khusraw (1004–88), according to which the Rock contained the imprint of Isaac’s feet, left at the moment Abraham almost sacrificed his son.<sup>43</sup> Peter the Deacon also refers to the Rock as a receptacle for the blood of Jesus, shed during the circumcision. In this way the Rock provided a conceptual parallel for Golgotha, which was also typically characterized as a receptacle for the blood of Christ.

#### THE PHYSICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK

In the forty or so years between Peter the Deacon’s composition of his *Book on the Holy Places* c. 1137 and the journey of Theoderich in the 1170s, a number of significant changes were made to the Dome of the Rock as part of the Christianization of the Temple Mount. These transformations had been initiated at the beginning of the twelfth century, when Augustinian canons were first installed in the *Templum Domini* and construction commenced on a related abbey.<sup>44</sup> Like all new buildings constructed on the Temple Mount during the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the abbey was demolished in 1187 after Saladin’s reconquest of Jerusalem. Around 1114–15 an altar was placed over the Rock and the area was enclosed to form a choir. When the order of the Knights Templar was founded in 1120, the canons gave them a place to conduct their services in the *Templum Domini*.<sup>45</sup>

In the 1130s and 40s, the Dome of the Rock was elaborately fitted out with painted panels and other accoutrements typical of a Christian church.

The official consecration of the building as a church occurred in 1141.<sup>46</sup> The intricate ironwork grille installed around the Rock – in the Haram Museum since the 1960s – dates to this period.<sup>47</sup> The golden cross on the Dome, offensive to the Muslims who returned to the city, seems to not have been installed until the 1150s.<sup>48</sup> As with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Theoderich provides a detailed account of these new features. He first describes the situation of the building, allowing one to imagine the architectural forms inserted into the topography of Jerusalem, comparable to maps produced in the same period, as we will see.<sup>49</sup> Having described the situation of the building, Theoderich begins his detailed account of the architecture of the *Templum Domini*:

The temple itself is evidently of an octagonal shape in its lower part (*inferius octogonum esse manifestum est*). Its lower part is ornamented as far as the middle with most glorious marbles, and from the middle up to the topmost border, on which the roof rests, is most beautifully adorned with mosaic work. Now, this border, which reaches round the entire circuit of the Temple, contains the following inscription, which, starting from the front, or west door, must be read according to the way of the sun as follows: On the front, “Peace be unto this house for ever, from the Father Eternal.” On the second side, “The Temple of the Lord is holy; God careth for it; God halloweth it.” On the third side, “This is the house of the Lord, firmly built.” On the fourth side, “In the house of the Lord all men shall tell of His glory.” On the fifth, “Blessed by the glory of the Lord out of His holy place.” On the sixth, “Blessed are they which dwell in Thy house, O Lord.” On the seventh, “Of a truth the Lord is in His holy place, and I knew it not.” On the eighth, “The house of the Lord is well built upon a firm rock.”<sup>50</sup>

These main inscriptions, which emphasized the fundamental idea of the building as God’s residence on earth, are listed by the faces of the octagon. They

were perhaps affixed on the upper part of the inner faces of the outer octagonal wall. Similar inscriptions were affixed to the upper part of the circular ambulatory.<sup>51</sup> The exact form of the Latin inscriptions affixed to the Dome of the Rock in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem can only be hypothesized, since their material make-up is not described. They may have been painted onto wood, inscribed into stone, or composed of mosaic – whatever their material, they were thoroughly destroyed in 1187. The placement of Latin inscriptions taken from the Bible over or near Arabic inscriptions from the Qur’an presented the most literal physical enactment of the larger process of the Christianization of the Dome of the Rock.

#### MARY AS THE *TEMPLUM DOMINI*

In his account of the features of the Dome of the Rock, John of Würzburg describes an inscription marking the site where the Virgin Mary had been presented as a child inside the Dome of the Rock:

It is said that the blessed Virgin Mary was given over to the *Templum Domini* on XI Kalends of December, as these inscriptions show in the very place: “The Virgin in her company of seven virgins / Was here, as a handmaid of God, given over at three years old.” This is also indeed where she often received consolation from the angels. Hence the verse: “The Virgin was by angels fed the bread of life.”<sup>52</sup>

This particular inscription connects the idea of Mary’s residence in the Temple to the Proto-Gospel of James, the primary account of the early life of Mary composed in Syria or Egypt by 150, which was officially declared “apocryphal” (hidden, or non-canonical) in the sixth century. In the Proto-Gospel of James, Mary is said to weave the veil of the Temple along with seven other virgins and to receive angelic sustenance, details to which John alludes in his account of the inscription in the Dome of the Rock.<sup>53</sup> The record of the inscription made by the Germanic pilgrim c. 1170 provides the



first surviving evidence that a specific location in Jerusalem had become associated with Mary's life in the Temple.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to his identification of the *Templum Domini* as the place of Mary's residence, Theoderich also describes a building in the court of the *Templum Domini* as the school of the Virgin Mary. Other pilgrims beginning in the period of the Latin kingdom refer to the nearby Aqsa Mosque (or *Templum Salomonis*) as the actual place of residence for the Virgin, perhaps understanding the building to have been equivalent to a convent attached to the Temple represented by the Dome of the Rock.<sup>55</sup> The subterranean chambers below the Aqsa Mosque in the southwest corner of the Temple Mount, previously identified in Islamic traditions by the tenth century as the room of Mary with the crib of Jesus (*Mihrab Maryam* and *Mahd 'Isa*), were also appropriated in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>56</sup> John of Würzburg states that the wooden cradle of Christ was shown there and above this the tomb of Simeon.<sup>57</sup> The Marian associations of this chamber would be forgotten by Christian pilgrims after 1187, when their access was no longer permitted. In contrast, the associations of the Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock with the life of the Virgin would persist well into the sixteenth century. Although those buildings could not be entered by Christian pilgrims after 1187, they were easily viewed from the Mount of Olives.

#### THE TEMPLARS AND SOLOMON'S PORTICO

In the twelfth century, the Dome of the Rock became renowned both as the original location for the Tabernacle and the place where Mary had resided from the age of three until her marriage to Joseph. The image of the *Templum Domini* also became a symbol of the powerful Templar order and its own associations with the Temple of Solomon and the Tabernacle. When the Templars were given a place to worship in the *Templum Domini* in 1120, their order had just been given formal approval. The earliest title for the order, "fellow soldiers of Christ" (*commilitones Christi*) is first found in a bull of 1139, which granted its members almost



Fig. 54 Crusader portico, Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem, twelfth century (Photo: author)

complete freedom from episcopal authority. The order came to be known by their association with the Solomonic Temple as the Templars.<sup>58</sup> Templars first made significant additions to the architecture of the Temple Mount, specifically the Aqsa Mosque, as part of the ongoing reinterpretation of its Islamic architecture in terms of both Solomonic and apostolic history.

The Templars lodged in the Aqsa Mosque and used its lower levels as stables, known as Solomon's Stables.<sup>59</sup> A portico facing the Dome of the Rock was added in this period, composed of three pointed arches flanking each side of a larger central arch (Fig. 54).<sup>60</sup> The Templars may have created this to recall the porch of Solomon, said to have been the place where the Apostles met after the Crucifixion.<sup>61</sup> Additionally, an extension built to the west of the Aqsa Mosque, largely destroyed after 1187, may have also incorporated a portico. The formation of a cloister is suggested by maps of Jerusalem (to be discussed in greater detail below) that indicate a "Cloister of the

Palace of Solomon” (Claustrum Templi Salomonis) (Plate 8).<sup>62</sup>

Cloisters formed of porticos had long been essential architectural components of European monasteries. The association of the expanded Aqsa Mosque with the ancient portico of Solomon offered an origin point for this architectural tradition. Monastic authors, who likely never traveled to Jerusalem but instead read about it in accounts of the crusader triumph, sometimes referred to the portico of Solomon as the basis of this essential element of monastic architecture. The first known example is in a treatise by Honorius of Autun (*fl. c. 1095–c. 1135*), who explains that construction of the cloister next to a monastery originated in the similar proximity of the Temple of Solomon and the portico where the Apostles met.<sup>63</sup> In this way, a fundamental aspect of the architecture of European monasticism was imagined as originating in Jerusalem and the history of the apostolic mission.

Other modifications made to the Aqsa Mosque enhanced its association with King Solomon. Knotted columns now framing a mihrab were most likely part of the Templar additions.<sup>64</sup> Spiral columns composed of twisted or interlaced shafts were generally understood to be a distinctive feature of the ancient Temple of Solomon.<sup>65</sup> Knotted columns are preserved in other parts of the Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock, where they were re-employed after the Islamic reconquest of 1187.<sup>66</sup> Some of these columns may have also been part of architectural additions in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem patronized by the Templar or Latin kings, to emphasize their own Solomonian lineage, as in the tombs once in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>67</sup> The knotted columns on the Temple Mount, which would have been most directly associated with the ancient Temple of Solomon, may have inspired a pair originally installed on the western portal of the Würzburg Cathedral (Fig. 55).<sup>68</sup> Each is composed of multiple interlacing shafts with two distinctive knots; one is inscribed along the abacus as *Iachim* and the other as *Booz*, referring to the Old Testament names of the pillars in front of the Temple of Solomon. They were most likely installed sometime in the first half of the thirteenth century and may have directly related to the impact of the return

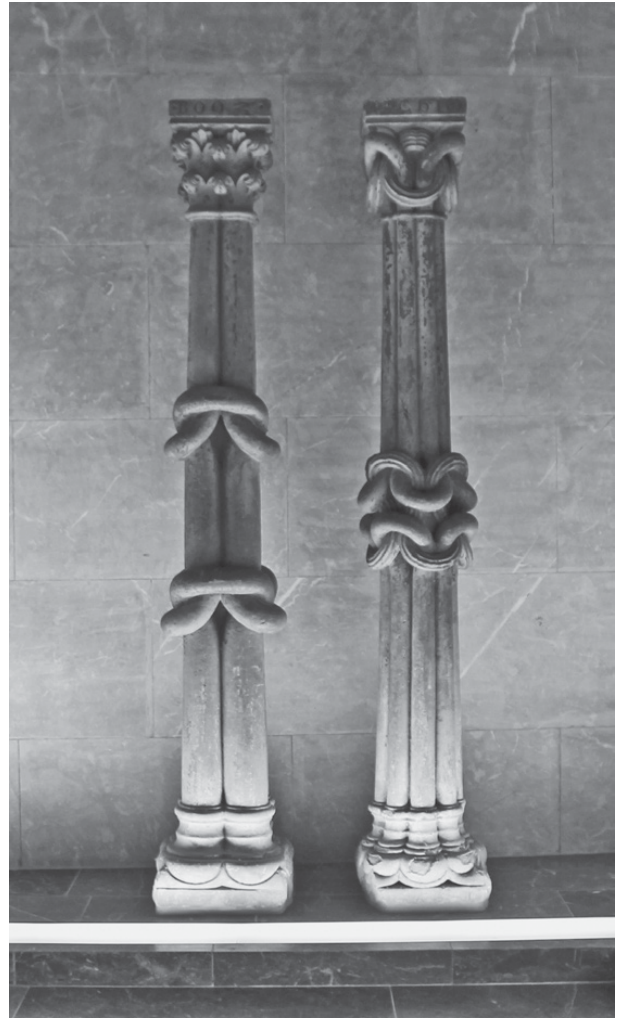


Fig. 55 Solomonic columns, Würzburg Cathedral, twelfth century (Photo: author)

of John of Würzburg to his native town after his stay in Jerusalem.<sup>69</sup>

#### ARCHITECTURAL SYMBOLISM OF TEMPLAR SEALS

The Templar order rapidly acquired great wealth befitting their association with King Solomon and his palace.<sup>70</sup> Their seals, which adopted the symbolic forms of the *Templum Domini*, were visual testaments to the order's growing power and influence. The seals present the profile of the Dome of the Rock, exaggerated to suggest a more prominent bulbous dome. An important precedent for



Fig. 56 Seal of King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem, Staatliche-Münzsammlung, Munich, 1174–1225 (Photo: Staatliche-Münzsammlung, Munich)

the Templar seals was provided by the royal seals of the kings of Jerusalem, such as one related to King Baldwin IV (1174–85), in which the Holy Sepulcher and *Templum Domini* are joined by the Tower of David (Fig. 56). These seals indicate how thoroughly the image of the octagonal building formerly known as the *Qubbat al-Saqra* had been transformed into a symbol of Christian Jerusalem and the authority of the prophet-kings David and Solomon.<sup>71</sup>

The visual pairing of the Dome of the Rock and the Anastasis Rotunda had its counterpart in pilgrimage accounts, where their formal similarities were sometimes noted. For example, Fulcher of Chartres drew attention to the shared features of the Anastasis Rotunda and the Dome of the Rock, but also emphasized the differences in their vaulting systems:

In the same city [as the Holy Sepulcher], one finds the *Templum Domini*, built in a round form (*opere rotundo compositum*) ... The church of the Sepulcher of the Lord is similarly of round form (*forma rotunda similiter*), but it is not covered; instead, it is always open.<sup>72</sup>

On the Templar seals, the pairing of the two buildings likewise drew attention to their general formal similarities.<sup>73</sup> The bulbousness of the Dome of the Rock's vault may have been exaggerated to make the building distinct from the Holy Sepulcher, with its conical, open vault. The emphatically bulbous dome would continue to be a distinguishing feature of pictorial representations of the Temple of Solomon inspired by the Dome of the Rock, particularly in the fifteenth-century art of France and the Burgundian Netherlands. The context, as will be discussed in Part IV, was the renewed calls for a crusade to retake Jerusalem and its Temple, and the revival of chivalric orders modeled on the Templar Order.

#### TEMPLAR CHURCHES

When the Templars returned to Europe, they also founded a number of churches, whose centralized forms imply a parallel effort to celebrate the ancient Solomonic origins of the order.<sup>74</sup> Unlike the churches built in Europe with dedications to the Holy Sepulcher and a relatively clear intent to re-create the Anastasis Rotunda and its Tomb in Jerusalem, the Templar churches most often lack such a dedication and clear intent. With the exception of a church at Segovia, whose attribution to the Templar Order is conjectural, there is no evidence that the Templar churches constructed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries housed any recreations of Christ's Tomb. Contemporary accounts likewise do not refer to an intent to construct a building "in the likeness" of the Holy Sepulcher. The predominance of polygonal ground-plans and the particular emphasis on the Solomonic origins of the order suggest a possible intent to re-create the *Templum Domini* – i.e., Dome of the Rock.<sup>75</sup> At the same time, the pairing of the images of the Anastasis Rotunda and the *Templum Domini* on the order's seals, and the perception of the formal similarities of the two most important buildings in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, attested by Fulcher of Chartres for example, open up the possibility that the Templar churches in Europe were intended to evoke a syncretistic image of Jerusalem's most sacred architecture.



Templar churches most often took on the form of a centralized chapel encircled by a multi-sided ambulatory. They were constructed in Portugal, Spain, France, and England. In Tomar, El Convento de Christo (The Convent of Christ) has a sixteen-sided exterior around an octagonal center, all begun around 1150–62.<sup>76</sup> Churches with octagonal ground-plans were constructed in Eunate, Laon (c. 1160) (Fig. 57), and Torres del Rio, all in the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>77</sup> Just as the Templar order itself was independent of typical ecclesiastical authority, these churches tended not to be connected to monastic or episcopal foundations.<sup>78</sup> The church constructed in Segovia, the Iglesia de la Vera Cruz (Church of the True Cross) (Fig. 58), has a sixteen-sided ambulatory and is associated with the date 1208.<sup>79</sup> Inside, a dodecagonal aedicule stands for the Tomb of Christ and exhibits an inscription that has been interpreted as alluding to the Templar order as the church's founders. The church in Segovia also came to house a relic of the Cross, said to be donated by Pope Honorius III (1216–27). The most famous churches more clearly associated with the Templar order were built in London (consecrated 1185) and Paris (c. 1250), the latter destroyed in the French Revolution.<sup>80</sup> Much of the difficulty in evaluating the symbolic significance of the central-plan Templar churches comes from the historical fortunes of the order, which became the subject of brutal investigations and confiscation of property, culminating in its disbandment in 1312.<sup>81</sup>



Fig. 57 Templar Church, Laon, c. 1160 (Photo: author)



Fig. 58 Iglesia de la Vera Cruz, Segovia, c. 1208 (Photo: Julia Perratore)

## RE-CREATING THE CITY OF JERUSALEM



## CRUSADER MAPS OF JERUSALEM

In the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, new maps of the entire city were produced, whose most important precedents were the pre-crusades representations of the idealized Jerusalem of Revelation, in which the city was rendered as a series of concentric circular walls intersected by gates (Plates 5 and 6). The crusader maps – as they are generally referred to – perpetuated the basic formula of a circular city, but fleshed out the apocalyptic vision with details of the contemporary city, filled with references to specific buildings connected by streets and populated with human figures. One type shows the city bisected by two main roads, forming a cross within a circle, while another type has the two main roads intersecting to form a “T,” with the top half of the city dominated by the *Templum Domini* and related buildings, as in an example dating to the thirteenth century (Plate 7).<sup>1</sup> This type implies a structural connection to a macrocosmic order, as represented in world maps found in Latin manuscripts since the seventh century.<sup>2</sup> In these maps – generally referred to as T-O maps – the circle of the world is cut across by a horizontal line delineating the continents of Asia and below this a vertical line divides Europe and Africa, together suggesting the Cross.<sup>3</sup> Within the crusader maps of Jerusalem, the structural division suggests the shared primacy of two centric points: the Tomb of Christ and the Rock – identified with the Tabernacle – indicated by an inscription (*lapis*: stone).<sup>4</sup>

Some of the crusader maps were produced as illustrations of the accounts of the Holy Land created during the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Three closely related maps are associated with various versions of the *Chronicle* of Fulcher of Chartres.<sup>5</sup> Like a related map (Plate 9), found at the beginning of a Collector, all four maps present Jerusalem as a round city, divided into quadrants by the main streets (the Roman *Cardo Maximus* and *Decumanus Maximus*), intersecting to form a cross.<sup>6</sup> Rather than an abstracted vision of a heavenly city, these maps are densely filled with topographic information, and images of praying pilgrims and crusaders defending its walls. On the map now in The Hague (Plate 9), the names of the main streets are inscribed, including the “way of the *Templum Domini*” (corresponding to the *Cardo*), the “way of the Gate of St. Stephen,” and the “Way of the Gate of Mount Sion” (together corresponding to the *Decumanus*). In addition to inscriptions identifying buildings, some identify locations of specific events in the life of Christ, most importantly the “place of Calvary” and above the small mound of earth of the Mount of Olives, the “Ascension of Christ.” Other sites outside of the walls of Jerusalem include Jericho and Bethlehem, as well as Mount Sion and the Tomb of Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The latter two became the setting for new rituals celebrating the life of Mary in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, including the Feast of the Assumption, celebrated by a procession on August 15 re-creating the apostles’ route carrying Mary’s body from her final residence on Sion to her

tomb just east of the walls of Jerusalem.<sup>7</sup> The crusader maps gave visual form to the many churches of the Holy Land associated with the lives of Christ and Mary, most of which had never before been pictorially represented, while also envisioning the network of roads through which rituals interconnected the sites and traced out the original movements of Christ, Mary, and the Apostles within the city.

#### TOPOGRAPHIC REALISM IN PICTORIAL DEPICTIONS OF BIBLICAL EVENTS

The crusader maps of Jerusalem adopted an established format for representing the heavenly city of Revelation, but filled its round walls with references to real buildings and streets. In a similar way, depictions of events from the life of Christ made during the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem often infused typical biblical scenes, for which there were well-established precedents, with a new emphasis on topographic realism that confirmed the identifications of the sacred buildings of the contemporary city with the historical city of Christ. For example, in the *Entry into Jerusalem* in the Melisende Psalter (Plate 10) dated c. 1135, Christ approaches the Golden Gate, above which rises the Templum Domini, exhibiting the same distinctive profile – with an exaggeratedly bulbous dome – as on the Templar seals.<sup>8</sup> These scenes provided the visual counterpart to the detailed accounts of the Dome of the Rock and Golden Gate given by contemporaries like Theoderich, John of Würzburg, and Fulcher of Chartres, while also confirming the association with specific events in the life of Christ. On Palm Sunday, a procession re-creating Christ's Entry into Jerusalem traced a path from the Holy Sepulcher to the Templum Domini, proceeding via Bethany (where the resurrection of Lazarus was celebrated) to the Golden Gate.<sup>9</sup> The lost paintings which had once adorned the interior of the Dome of the Rock likely included similar depictions of events from the lives of Christ and Mary that visualized the biblical city in reference to the contemporary city.

The majority of the pictorial representations of Jerusalem that survive from the period of the

Latin kingdom of Jerusalem are found in manuscripts. Outside of the Holy Land, a rare twelfth-century fresco cycle created for the Pfarrkirche in Schwarzhof (Fig. 59) provides a vision of the apocalyptic city that draws upon the real features of the Latin city. The patrons of the fresco cycle were the crusaders Arnold of Wied (c. 1098–1156), archbishop of Cologne, and Conrad III (1093–1152), the first Hohenstaufen king of Germany (r. 1138–52), both of whom participated in the failed Second Crusade (1145–9).<sup>10</sup> The cycle, composed of twenty scenes, covers the walls of the lower church nave; an inscription in the choir of the lower church identifies the date of consecration as 1151.<sup>11</sup> Sixteen scenes depict Ezekiel's vision of the destruction of the Temple, while a final four scenes envision the restoration of the Temple at the end of time.<sup>12</sup> In the latter, Ezekiel points to his eyes, indicating that the picture is a representation of his vision; we are shown the forms of the polygonal Templum Domini in Jerusalem, enclosed by a wall with gates. To the left, a man holds a line of flax and a measuring rod. In Ezekiel, the measurements are described as tracing out a rectangular building, but the image of the octagonal Templum Domini has superseded the biblical description of a rectangular building.<sup>13</sup> Other scenes emphasize the pagan defilement of the sacred sites, with images of the worship of an idol, reptiles, and rodents, presented in contrast to the righteous who restore the sanctity of Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup> Although the Second Crusade had failed to restore Jerusalem to Christianity, the frescoes envision the final restoration of the city to Christians at the end of time.

The many images of Jerusalem surviving from the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem suggest that an image of the city crystallized in the imaginations of Europeans, as the city of Jesus and at the same time the ideal city that had been imagined for centuries before the crusades.<sup>15</sup> Where once only a blood-stained mound of earth, an empty tomb, and a pair of footprints had served as the primary physical testaments to the life and divinity of Christ, in the period of the crusader triumph the entire city of Jerusalem seemed to present an everlasting image of Christ. The actions of Christians in Europe, and Italians in particular, in the period of the crusades and after, suggest a desire to infuse entire cities with



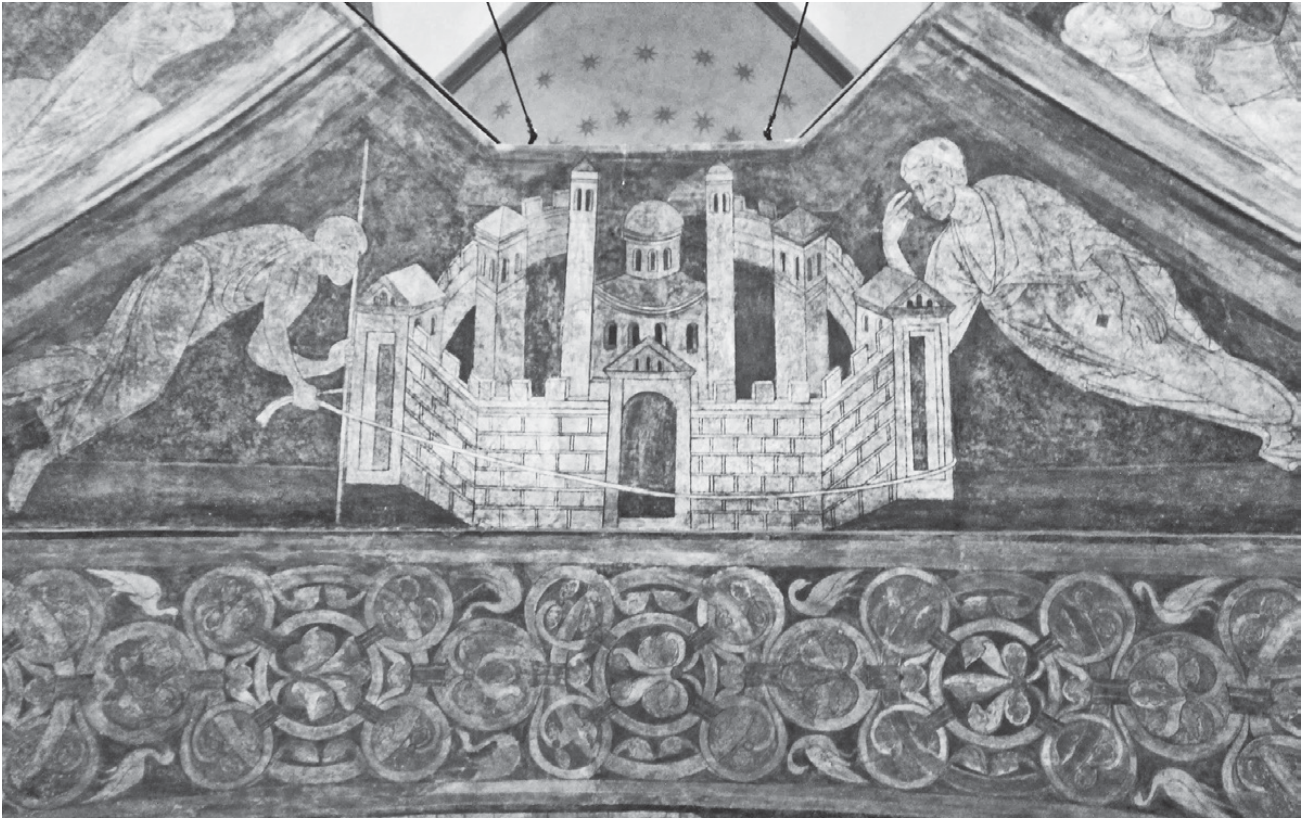


Fig. 59 *Ezekiel Envisioning the Temple*, fresco in the lower church nave of the Pfarrkirche, Schwarzheldorf, third quarter of the twelfth century (Photo: author)

the idea of Christ's Jerusalem, whose living presence was similarly affirmed through rituals, many directly inspired by those originally developed in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

#### SIENA AS THE NEW JERUSALEM

The crusader maps of Jerusalem suggested that the earthly city as repossessed by Christians was an earthly embodiment of the city of Revelation. Like the architecture of Christ's Sepulcher, the general forms of Jerusalem – simultaneously an entity on earth and an idea pertaining to heaven – could be re-created beyond the Holy Land. In Italy, in particular, the forms given to a number of newly constructed cities reflect an ambition to create an earthly embodiment of the heavenly city, in imitation of the crusader transformations of Jerusalem. Cittadella is one of the best-studied examples, laid out in 1220 as a cross-within-a-circle.<sup>16</sup> Another is the Siennese

port town of Talamone, built in 1306. A circle of walls encompasses streets with an orthogonal layout, forming a distinct cross-plan.<sup>17</sup> Talamone had been purchased by the Siennese government in 1303 and its heavenly forms may have also reflected Siena's own self-fashioning as a New Jerusalem.<sup>18</sup>

In Siena, the city's main gate – the Porta Solaria – was known as the Golden Gate by the thirteenth century. The Siennese Palm Sunday re-creation of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem was one of the most elaborate and spectacular, proceeding from the Golden Gate to the cathedral, with an effigy of Christ on a donkey wheeled through the city.<sup>19</sup> Depictions of the same event in Siennese painting envisioned the real architecture of Jerusalem with a specificity that paralleled the insistent realism of the city's Palm Sunday celebrations. The most important example is Duccio di Buoninsegna's depiction of the Golden Gate and Temple in the *Entry into Jerusalem* (Plate II), included among the many scenes in the lives of Christ and Mary framing the *Maestà* (Majesty),

on the high altar of Siena's cathedral from 1311 to 1506.<sup>20</sup> Rising above the Golden Gate, an octagonal, vaulted *Templum Domini* gives distinctive form to the cityscape of Jerusalem, according with the many descriptions of pilgrims who linked both buildings to Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. In the mid fourteenth century, the cathedral received a group of relics from Jerusalem, including wood of the True Cross, a piece of the Column of the Flagellation, the Crown of Thorns, some of Jesus' clothes, and some of Mary's hair and clothes – all eventually placed in a new sacristy, completed in 1409.<sup>21</sup> The perception of Siena as Jerusalem and its cathedral as the Temple was manifested in numerous other Sienese paintings of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, as artists incorporated distinctive features of their own city's architecture within depictions of events from the life of Christ.<sup>22</sup>

#### PISA'S GOLDEN GATE AND HOLY SEPULCHERS

In Italy, the crusading zeal – focused on the idea of the possession of Jerusalem – seems to have easily elided with a competitive spirit typical of the emerging Italian communes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>23</sup> In the Holy Land, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice vied for supremacy in maritime trade and concessions granted through the establishment of merchant colonies; this economic and political competitiveness was reflected in the ambitious attempts to assert the primacy of each city as uniquely chosen by God to be the New Jerusalem.<sup>24</sup> In Genoa, the identification with Jerusalem was asserted through its claim to possess the Image of Edessa (Fig. 23), discussed in Part I. In Pisa two buildings were constructed to resemble the Anastasis Rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem: the Chiesa di San Sepolcro (Church of the Holy Sepulcher) (Fig. 60), on the southern banks of the Arno River, and the Baptistery of Pisa (Fig. 7) founded in 1153 on the northern edge of the city, opposite the cathedral (which had been consecrated in 1117).<sup>25</sup> Both centralized buildings were apparently designed by one architect, known as Diotisalvi. Extant inscriptions on the exterior of the unfinished bell tower of the



Fig. 60 San Sepolcro, Pisa, founded 1153 (Photo: author)

Pisan Church of the Holy Sepulcher and on the inside of the Baptistery attest to the name of the architect. The first church is a simple brick building with an octagonal ground-plan, ambulatory, and pyramidal vault rising above eight central pillars and a small drum. The church became associated with the Hospitallers, who had a foundation in Pisa by the end of the twelfth century.<sup>26</sup>

The Baptistery of Pisa, on a larger scale and much more richly ornamented with marble facing, was given a circular ground-plan and ambulatory. Before modifications made c. 1278–1374, when the current hemispherical dome was constructed, Pisa's Baptistery had possessed a conical vault like the one which then covered the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem.<sup>27</sup> This unusual configuration, together with the pattern of alternating piers and columns forming the ambulatory, recalls the major features of the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem.<sup>28</sup> The symbolic



incorporation of the architecture of Christ's life into the fabric of the city of Pisa may have been especially aimed at celebrating the role of the city in the crusades. The construction of a new cathedral in Pisa, opposite the site of the Baptistery, was financed by the Pisan sack of Islamic-controlled Palermo in 1063, a triumph which many viewed within the framework of a Holy War.<sup>29</sup> A Pisan archbishop Daimbert (or Dagobert) had led the Pisan fleet in the First Crusade and served as the second Latin patriarch before he died in 1105.<sup>30</sup>

The construction of two buildings in imitation of the Holy Sepulcher in Pisa suggests that the Pisans were searching for a new kind of assimilation to the idea of Jerusalem, surpassing prior attempts to connect to the sacred architecture of the life of Christ.<sup>31</sup> The first building, Pisa's San Sepolcro, closely related to the previous re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher by adopting a dedication to that building in Jerusalem; in the project for the Baptistery, on the other hand, the fundamental idea of imitating Jerusalem's architecture was transformed. The recreation of the Jerusalemic architecture in the forms of Pisa's Baptistery became the centerpiece of Pisa's own sacred topography. Pisa also possessed a Golden Gate in the period, suggesting the overall intent of equating the entire city with Jerusalem.<sup>32</sup> It is possible that the central cupola of Pisa's cathedral was part of this overall scheme, inspired by the Solomonic architecture of the *Templum Domini*. This association is most directly suggested by the distinctive black-and-white striping along the interior arches and piers (Fig. 61), which echoes the similar striping of the arcades inside the Dome of the Rock (Fig. 52).<sup>33</sup>

After the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin's armies in 1187, further efforts were made to celebrate Pisa's ongoing role in the struggle against Islam. Another archbishop of Pisa, Ubaldo Lanfranchi (d. 1207), led Pisa's navy to liberate Jerusalem in 1189; although unsuccessful, he returned to Pisa with earth from Mount Calvary (reportedly enough to fill fifty-three galleys).<sup>34</sup> This earth formed the basis of the Camposanto, or Holy Field, which served as the city's main cemetery, adjacent to the city's baptistery and cathedral (Fig. 62). In the following century, Federico Visconti (archbishop of Pisa, 1257–77) initiated a



Fig. 61 Interior, Pisa Cathedral, consecrated 1117  
(Photo: author)

monumental structure to enclose the cemetery – a large cloister surrounded by colonnades, punctuated by a three-aisled church – all begun in 1278.<sup>35</sup> A series of frescoes on the walls of the cloister, painted from 1330 until the late fifteenth century and heavily damaged during bombardment in 1944, celebrated the origin of the holy earth taken from Calvary. Depictions of the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension, among other scenes, illustrated in vivid detail the themes of penance, death, judgment, and hell, all pertaining to Jerusalem's sacred landscape.<sup>36</sup>

An inscription on the façade of the Camposanto indicated the potential spiritual benefits to the Pisans buried therein, claiming that for those placed in the holy earth their flesh would be miraculously consumed in three days and the penitent would receive eternal life.<sup>37</sup> Visconti also reportedly referred to the Baptistery as the “mirror of the city and the Gate of Paradise.”<sup>38</sup> As Pisa's own version of the Anastasis Rotunda, the Baptistery offered the promise of





Fig. 62 Camposanto, Pisa, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Photo: author)

salvation at birth through the ritual of baptism, paralleling Christ's Resurrection at the same site in Jerusalem; the holy earth from Calvary at the Camposanto offered Pisans at the end of their life the triumph over death made possible by Christ's Crucifixion. The Camposanto and its holy earth became a pilgrimage site in its own right, attracting visitors through the sixteenth century.<sup>39</sup> Two pilgrim hostels were constructed on the Piazza dei Miracoli (Piazza of Miracles), as the area surrounding the cathedral came to be known, to accommodate the large number of visitors, one for women founded between 1261 and 1264 and one for men founded in 1338.<sup>40</sup>

#### ST. STEPHEN'S IN BOLOGNA

Pisa's re-creation of the topography of Jerusalem was rivaled by the equally ambitious complex of Santo Stefano (St. Stephen) in Bologna (Fig. 63).<sup>41</sup> In addition to the Tomb of Christ and Anastasis Rotunda (Fig. 8), an adjacent courtyard (Fig. 64) – eventually referred to as the Cortile di Pilato (courtyard of Pilate) – connected to a re-creation of the Calvary chapel.<sup>42</sup> Although the main fabric of the Holy Sepulcher at Bologna was constructed after 1141, the biography of St. Petronius written at the same time (and completed in 1162–80) attributed its foundations to this fifth-century Bolognese saint.<sup>43</sup>

Petronius had been a Benedictine monk and bishop of Bologna and did apparently found a monastic complex on the outskirts of the city, reportedly after returning from a journey in the Holy Land, but many relics installed in the twelfth-century complex were probably only brought to the city by later pilgrims and crusaders.<sup>44</sup> A reference to the Bolognese Tomb Aedicule (attributed to St. Stephen) in an account of the 1141 search for relics suggests that the Tomb may have already been in existence before the reconstruction of the complex commenced in the same year.<sup>45</sup> The tomb of St. Petronius was also “rediscovered” and installed opposite Bologna's version of Christ's Tomb.<sup>46</sup> Before the twelfth-century renovations, an early eleventh-century life of another Bolognese saint, Bononius, recounts a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, said to be inspired by his time in the monastery of St. Stephen in Bologna, “which St. Petronius had constructed in his country in the image of Palestine” (*quae ad imaginem Palaestinae beatissimus Petronius in patria constituerat*).<sup>47</sup>

The oldest surviving suggestion that the Bolognese complex was regarded as a re-creation of the architecture of the Holy Land is found in a diploma of 887, which refers to the monastic complex as “Saint Stephen's which they call holy Jerusalem.”<sup>48</sup> It is possible that an earlier round chapel in Bologna was intended to re-create the Anastasis Rotunda, much like contemporary chapels in Fulda and Konstanz discussed in Part I.<sup>49</sup> The complex in



Fig. 63 Santo Stefano, Bologna, founded fifth century (Photo: author)



Fig. 64 Courtyard of Pilate, Santo Stefano, Bologna, eleventh and twelfth centuries (Photo: author)

Bologna, as it was constructed (or reconstructed) in the twelfth century, centered upon the octagonal church known as San Sepolcro (Holy Sepulcher), housing the Tomb Aedicule (Fig. 65). Inside, there are twelve supports, as in the Anastasis Rotunda.<sup>50</sup> The current Tomb Aedicule dates to the fourteenth century, and was heavily restored in the nineteenth; it is off-center, like the Tomb in Jerusalem. The relics discovered in 1141, said to have inspired the reconstruction of the complex, included the garments of Christ, the cord and column of the Flagellation, the wood of the Cross, the Crown of Thorns, the key with which he was confined, and his Sepulcher

(i.e., the Bolognese Tomb Aedicule).<sup>51</sup> The column (Fig. 66) – identified by a painted inscription as the one to which Christ was bound during the Flagellation – is still found in the ambulatory of the Bolognese Sepulcher. A courtyard connects to a series of chapels dedicated to the Holy Cross, called Calvary in the twelfth century; the central chapel in this group incorporated a re-creation of Golgotha and a cross imitating the True Cross in Jerusalem. The Calvary chapels have been found to date to the sixth century and were most likely originally constructed as funerary chapels, perhaps including a mausoleum for St. Petronius.<sup>52</sup>





Fig. 65 Tomb Aedicule, Santo Stefano, Bologna, eleventh or twelfth century and reconstructed in the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries (Photo: author)



Fig. 66 Column of the Flagellation, Santo Stefano, Bologna, thirteenth century (Photo: author)

These early histories of the structures of Bologna are not discussed in the twelfth-century sources, which instead emphasize that the features and dimensions that rendered the buildings “in the image of Jerusalem” were the result of the original construction of St. Petronius in the fifth century. The anonymous author of the *Life of Saint Petronius* particularly emphasizes the role of measures taken by St. Petronius used in the fifth-century foundation. We are told that “in the place which is called Golgotha he placed the wooden cross, which had been made in length and width on all sides in the likeness of the Cross” (*in eodem vero loco, qui Golgotha dicitur, posuit ligneam crucem, quae in longitudine et latitudine undique per totum facta fuerat instar crucis Christi*).<sup>53</sup> The same biography of St. Petronius relates that while in Jerusalem he also measured the distance of Golgotha from the Mount of Olives, and that the distance from the Sepulcher



in Bologna to the monastic church of San Giovanni in Monte Oliveti (St. John on the Mount of Olives) is equivalent. More than this, the biographer claims that Petronius created an artificial mount – “with great sweat and toil” (*cum magno sudore et exercitio*) – as the basis of this church dedicated to Christ’s Ascension.<sup>54</sup> In reality the distances vary by almost a kilometer, and the foundations of San Giovanni in Monte Oliveti rest upon a natural promontory. In the twelfth century, the church was cruciform in plan and may have had a partially open roof, like the Church of the Ascension in Jerusalem.<sup>55</sup>

A fourteenth-century text also mentions a church dedicated to St. Tecla as a re-creation of the Valley of Jehoshaphat – probably containing a commemoration of the Tomb of Mary – and the Field of Acedama, as well as a Pool of Siloam. A church bearing this name is shown in a map of Bologna dating to 1575, but otherwise little is known of the lost building.<sup>56</sup> After the twelfth century, new dedications of various parts of the monastic complex expanded the references to the Holy Land beyond the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. By the fourteenth century the basin in the center of the courtyard (Fig. 64) was associated with the one in which Pilate washed his hands.<sup>57</sup> A marker commemorated the site of the denial of Peter, probably adjacent to a chapel identified as the Prison of Christ.<sup>58</sup> A Casa di Pilato (House of Pilate) in the upper church of San Giovanni had a connecting stairway called the Scala Santa (Holy Stair).<sup>59</sup> A stone seat indicated where Pilate sat when he passed judgment. And finally a marker showed where Christ had stood at that moment.<sup>60</sup> By the Renaissance period, Santo Stefano in Bologna provided a comprehensive substitute for visiting the Holy Land.<sup>61</sup>

## HOLY BLOOD IN MANTUA

In Mantua, there may have been a similar ambition to create a series of interconnected buildings recalling the architecture of the Holy Land, but unlike those in Bologna, most of the buildings do not survive and their overall function and significance remain relatively unknown. The construction of the new churches, including one dedicated

to the Holy Sepulcher, was initially inspired by the discovery of a relic of the Holy Blood in 1048, found in Mantua as the result of a vision of a certain Adilbert.<sup>62</sup> Blind since birth, Adilbert purportedly discovered a treasure of gold and silver with an inscription identifying the sacred contents as the blood of Christ, brought to Italy by Longinus, the blind soldier who had plunged his lance into the side of Christ on the Cross.<sup>63</sup> Adilbert’s sight, like Longinus’, was also said to be miraculously restored by contact with the blood of Christ. The Church of Sant’Andrea was rebuilt as the setting for the sacred relic, eventually placed under the altar in the crypt.<sup>64</sup> A total of four small, centralized brick churches were constructed in the second half of the eleventh century or early twelfth century (the precise dates are unknown), serving apparently as the setting for ritual displays of the Holy Blood and related relics.<sup>65</sup> Three of the churches were constructed along the road that runs at right angles to the façade of Sant’Andrea: Sant’Ambrogio to the west, San Lorenzo (Fig. 67) with an altar dedicated to Christ’s Sepulcher, and San Salvatore to the east.<sup>66</sup> Santo Sepolcro was constructed in the suburb of Belfiore, connected to the city by a main route from the west that ran through the Porta Pradella (perhaps symbolically functioning as Mantua’s Golden Gate).<sup>67</sup> The Church of San Lorenzo housed the bones of Longinus, and it, like the other three churches, were probably stopping points for pilgrims on their way to see the Holy Blood at Sant’Andrea.<sup>68</sup>

By the fifteenth century the churches in Mantua required significant repair. Plans for restoration were made by Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) under the patronage of the Gonzaga family; however, only Sant’Andrea was restored.<sup>69</sup> Sant’Ambrogio and San Salvatore fell into complete disrepair and disappeared by the modern period, while remnants of San Lorenzo were the basis of a restoration of that church in the early twentieth century.<sup>70</sup> When Leon Battista Alberti established the design for the restoration of the Church of Sant’Andrea immediately before his death in 1472, he adopted the form of an ancient basilica whose proportions were based upon the biblical account of the ancient Temple of Jerusalem, suggesting that well into the Renaissance the relic of the Holy Blood in Mantua inspired architectural



Fig. 67 San Lorenzo, Mantua, second half of the eleventh or early twelfth century (Photo: author)

construction intended to affirm Mantua's status as a New Jerusalem.<sup>71</sup>

### HOLY BLOOD IN VENICE

A relic of Christ's blood likewise inspired the renovations of Venice's most sacred architecture. As a result of the Venetian sack of Constantinople in 1204, innumerable relics were brought to Venice. The most important were given a monumental setting in the newly constructed Piazza and Basilica of San Marco (Fig. 68). The Holy Blood, reportedly sent to Venice in 1204, was installed in the Basilica of San Marco (consecrated 1094), the Palatine Chapel of the Doge of Venice.<sup>72</sup> Although originally built to house the body of St. Mark, the acquisition of the Holy Blood and related relics of the Column of the Flagellation and True Cross

more closely aligned the Venetian church with the sacred significance of the great Constantinopolitan churches that housed precious relics of the Passion of Christ. These included the twelfth-century Church of the Pantokrator – used as the headquarters of the Latin Empire – and the sixth-century Church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>73</sup> Venetian “crusaders” took precious marbles from these and other sacred Constantinopolitan churches, with which they sheathed the exterior of San Marco.<sup>74</sup> The relic of the Column of the Flagellation installed in the same church was probably taken from the Church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>75</sup>

The new significance of the reconstructed San Marco as a reliquary for the blood of Christ is also suggested by the creation of reliquary to house the newly acquired relic. A small silver container (Fig. 69), of uncertain origin and function, was refashioned to contain Venice's holy blood by 1283. The miniature building, with its own five bulbous domes, echoed the forms of Constantinople's churches that had a reliquary status in relation to the body of Christ – the Church of the Holy Apostles and the Church of the Pantokrator – now superseded by San Marco. It has even been suggested that the monumental bulbous domes raised over the lower existing domes of San Marco in the 1260s were directly inspired by the reliquary. The doge of Venice at the time, Raniero Zeno (r. 1253–68), claimed that Christ had wished for his relics to be translated from Jerusalem to San Marco, just as in the past they had been translated to Constantinople by Helena.<sup>76</sup>

Contemporary accounts indicate that the Doge's Palace adjacent to San Marco came to be perceived as a new Palace of Solomon. The siting of the ducal palace adjacent to the basilica already accorded with the arrangement of both the *Templum Domini* and *Templum Salomonis*, located in close proximity on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. The ground-floor loggia may have been intended to re-create the *Portico of Solomon*, especially as recently rebuilt by the Templars at the *Aqsa Mosque*.<sup>77</sup> As emperor of three-eighths of the Byzantine Empire from 1204 to 1261, the Venetian doge could rightly claim to challenge the pope in Rome as the new Solomon. A map of Jerusalem made in the image of Venice's





Fig. 68 Erhard Reuwich, View of Venice, Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, Mainz, 1486, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 19.49.3, Rogers Fund, 1919 (Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



Fig. 69 Holy Blood reliquary, Procuratoria della Basilica di San Marco, Venice, twelfth or thirteenth century (Photo: Cameraphoto Arte, Venezia)

sacred architecture suggests how the association of Venice's architecture with Jerusalem's may have affected the Venetian perception of the architecture of both cities. The map is found in the *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione* (Secrets for True Crusaders to Help Them to Recover the Holy Land) by Marino Sanuto (1260–1338), which, as the title indicates, was to serve as a guide to retaking Jerusalem after the failure of the crusades.<sup>78</sup> An illustration of Jerusalem omits the idealized round walls of the heavenly city (Plate 12).<sup>79</sup> Within the irregular, rectilinear walls, details of the images of both the Templum Domini and Templum Salomonis have been replaced with what appear to be representations of Venice's own Temple and Palace of Solomon: the Basilica of San Marco and the Doge's Palace.<sup>80</sup> This transformation of the cityscape, replacing the two most iconic buildings of Islamic worship in Jerusalem, may also express an ambition to conquer the city and refashion the Temple Mount in the image of the city of Venice.<sup>81</sup>



## TRUE PORTRAITS / TRUE JERUSALEMS



## THE HOLY FACE OF LUCCA

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the desire of Italian communes to assert their independence and their own unique individual status as a city specially chosen and blessed by God – as a New Jerusalem – motivated a new kind of topographic imitation of the city of Jerusalem. The mechanisms of transfer most often depended upon a local hero of sorts, a crusader or pilgrim-saint, who initiated the symbolic transfer from Palestine to Italy by means of a relic, whether blood, earth, or measure. In Lucca, as in Mantua and Venice, the miraculous apparition of a relic purported to be a living trace of Christ's person most challenged the unique nature of the more ancient papal relics in Rome – the Lateran Acheropita and related objects in the Sancta Sanctorum. The movement of vast numbers of pilgrims in the crusades opened up new possibilities for the circulation of relics manifesting Christ's presence. By the twelfth century, Luccans claimed that an existing sculpted portrait of the Crucified Christ was in fact a true portrait of great antiquity acquired in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The fame of this *Volto Santo* (Italian: Holy Face), as it came to be known, spread throughout Italy and Europe, generating new versions, including one in Paris, enshrined in a church dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher. The Luccan *Volto Santo* may have initially been inspired by similar figured crucifixes in France first recorded at the end of the eleventh century, which no longer survive. One was in the round church of Charroux, where

famous relics of Christ had been enshrined since the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup>

Until the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, there were only two widely recognized true portraits of Christ, one in Rome and one in Constantinople. The Luccan *Volto Santo* is first recorded at Lucca Cathedral in a papal grant of 1107 (referred to as a *vultum sacrarium*), suggesting that the new claims regarding its antiquity were directly related to the general enthusiasm of the crusader movement.<sup>3</sup> The Luccan *Volto Santo* acquired its exceptional fame because of the legend of its creation in the time of Christ. Luccans claimed that the carved wooden portrait had been revealed to a Jerusalem pilgrim in 742 as an original portrait of Christ made by Nicodemus, a Pharisee who – according to the Gospel of John (3:1–21) – met Jesus on more than one occasion.<sup>4</sup> The cross on which the sculpted portrait is mounted has been dated to the late twelfth century, although there was likely an earlier version that no longer survives.<sup>5</sup> The cross and portrait were mounted in a special chapel in Lucca Cathedral constructed in the twelfth century and entirely reconstructed as an octagonal *tempietto* (Fig. 70) in the 1480s.<sup>6</sup>

## THE HOLY FACE IN PARIS

Lucca was an international city because of its silk trade, and communities of Luccan merchants were found throughout Europe, where they sometimes

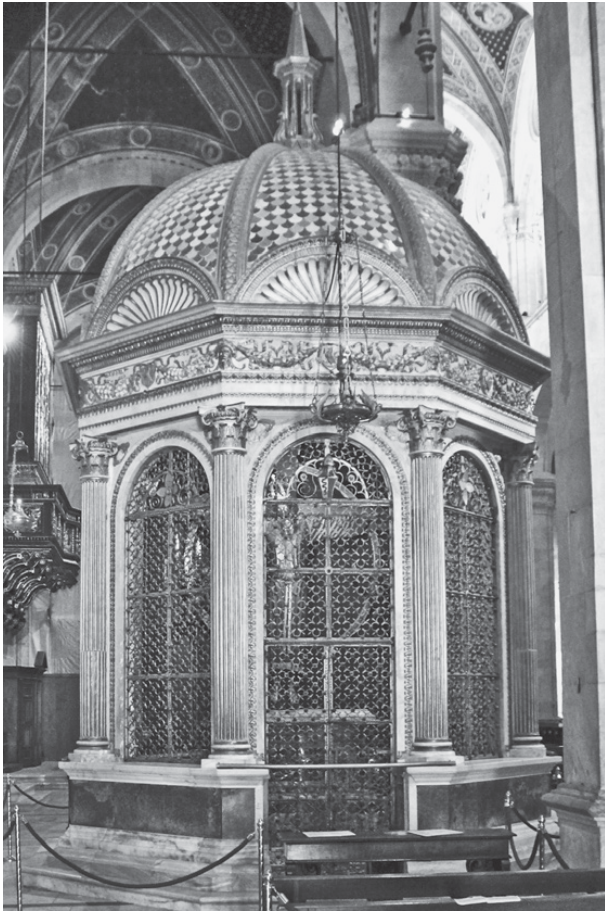


Fig. 70 *Tempietto* of the Volto Santo, Lucca, 1480s  
(Photo: author)

founded confraternities dedicated to their home city's Volto Santo. The two most important examples were in Bruges and Paris, both established in the fourteenth century; the Paris confraternity, founded in 1343 was located in the new church dedicated as the *Église du Saint-Sépulcre* (Church the Holy Sepulcher), constructed in 1325.<sup>7</sup> An inventory dated 1379 indicates that a special chapel in the Parisian Holy Sepulcher had a replica of the Holy Face. A number of manuscripts about the Luccan original were created in Paris in the fourteenth century, and continued to be produced in a French and Flemish context in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Among the most remarkable is a group created in Paris *c.* 1400, possibly commissioned by Jacques Rapondi, a Luccan expatriate living in Paris.<sup>9</sup> Nicodemus, who fails to produce a normal portrait of Christ's sacred visage, is assisted by angels in carving the impression of Christ's body imprinted into his burial shroud. Nicodemus'

creation is hidden and only found centuries later by an Italian on pilgrimage in Jerusalem, to whom the image is revealed by angels. One miniature depicts the discovery of the Volto Santo in Jerusalem (Plate 13), picturing the empty sepulcher of Christ, alluding perhaps to both the Tomb in Jerusalem and the dedication of the church in Paris.<sup>10</sup>

The manuscript locates the origin of the image's sanctity in the territory of the Holy Land, while also establishing the historical trajectory that allowed for that sanctity to be imaginatively extended to new territories. The Parisian Church of the Holy Sepulcher that housed the local version of the Luccan Volto Santo was destroyed in 1791, and little is known about the appearance of the building or its pictorial decoration, which included – according to an inventory of 1790 – ten paintings illustrating the history of the *Saint Voul* (as it was known in French) of unknown date.<sup>11</sup> The foundation of the church in 1325 was attributed to Louis de Bourbon (1279–1342), a grandson of King Louis IX (r. 1226–70). Both pilgrims and foreigners traditionally made devotions at the Parisian church when they returned from the Holy Land. The chapel for the Volto Santo was founded by the expatriate Luccan merchant Huguelin Bellon (Hugo Belloni) in 1348 (in an act of devotion perhaps relating to the recent outbreak of the plague, which would eventually claim the lives of around half of all Parisians). The precise day chosen was July 15, the anniversary of both the crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 and the reconsecration of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 1149. Dino Rapondi, a member of the same Luccan family who would likely commission the illustrated history of the Luccan Volto Santo, was a member of the confraternity associated with the Parisian chapel.<sup>12</sup>

The installation of a true portrait within a re-creation of the Holy Sepulcher represents an important and rare example of a direct intersection of two of the primary material means of figuring Christ's presence.<sup>13</sup> The arrangement in Paris may have been created throughout France. A number of chapels were dedicated to the Volto Santo – in Provence, Marseilles, Avignon, Lyon, Amiens, and Bruges – and it has been hypothesized that they were furnished with their own copies of the Volto Santo statue.<sup>14</sup>

## SAINTE-CHAPELLE

When the replica of the Luccan Volto Santo was created for the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Paris, another Holy Face had already taken up residence in the Palatine Chapel of the king of France, Sainte-Chapelle (Holy Chapel). In 1247 King Louis received the true portrait of Christ from Constantinople – perhaps the same portrait identified as the Image of Edessa (although the Genoese would disagree) – along with a number of other relics associated with the Passion of Christ until that point housed in the Palatine Chapel of the Byzantine emperor.<sup>15</sup> The most famous of the relics was the Crown of Thorns, for which Sainte-Chapelle was constructed as a large-scale reliquary and consecrated just one year later, in 1248. Another reliquary, now at the Louvre, contained a stone from Christ's Sepulcher and exhorted its viewer to, "[c]ome see the place where the Lord lay ... How splendid is the angel ... his innate quality and his immaterial purity shine from afar: through his beauty he reveals the glory of the Resurrection."<sup>16</sup>

King Louis IX was a key participant in the Seventh and Eighth Crusades; the Palatine Chapel materialized in spectacular fashion the ultimate goal of restoring Jerusalem to Christianity under the aegis of King Louis as the new Solomon. The Palatine Chapel's jewel-toned stained-glass windows evoke John's vision of the city in Revelation.<sup>17</sup> The east end of the chapel once incorporated a canopied reliquary (destroyed in the French Revolution), whose forms were inspired by the biblical account of the Throne of Solomon and perhaps also the crusader portico of the Aqsa Mosque, known as the Portico of Solomon.<sup>18</sup> The construction of the chapel marked the definitive end of Constantinople's centuries-old primacy as a New Jerusalem, succeeding the imperial chapel.<sup>19</sup> The king's chapel also challenged Rome's own status as a New Jerusalem, in a way that would prompt response in the competitive aggrandizement of the papacy's equivalent sacred chapel, the Sancta Sanctorum.

## THE TRUE PORTRAIT OF CHRIST IN ROME

The true portraits of Christ in Paris and Lucca, like the Holy Blood relics in Mantua and Venice,

implicitly challenged the primacy of Rome in Western Christendom.<sup>20</sup> In the twelfth century the accounts of the true portrait of Christ kept in Rome were more explicitly linked to the significance of the ancient treasures of the Jewish Temple also protected by the pope. Nicholas Maniacutius described the Lateran Acheropita as having been taken from Jerusalem by Emperor Titus with the treasure from the Temple.<sup>21</sup> Maniacutius' history of the portrait also expands upon its miraculous origins: immediately following the death of Christ, the Apostles and Mary decided to preserve the memory of Christ's appearance; Luke began a portrait that was miraculously completed when he paused to rest.<sup>22</sup> According to Maniacutius, it was as if the spirit was impressed as a living presence into the portrait.<sup>23</sup>

A gilded cover was added to the Acheropita around this time, which cloaked Christ's body and manifested a shimmering light as a sign of divine presence and left only the dark shadow of the face visible. Christ's body was present, but his form essentially invisible, recapitulating the fundamental theology of Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharistic host, enacted at the altar below.<sup>24</sup> The living presence of Christ's flesh and blood was also manifested in the relic of the Holy Foreskin, recorded by the thirteenth century and said to have been the same as that originally acquired by Charlemagne (transferred from Charroux).<sup>25</sup> Following an earthquake, the architecture of the papal chapel was reconstructed in the *opus francigenum* style of contemporary French architecture, most likely in competitive emulation of Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.<sup>26</sup> The reconstruction was completed under Nicholas III (1277–80).

## SANTA CROCE IN GERUSALEMME REBUILT

Renovations to the Lateran basilica made in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem emphasized the role of that church as the new Temple of Jerusalem and the pope as the High Priest of the Temple.<sup>27</sup> Renovations made in the same period to the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme instead emphasized that that Constantinian basilica was Rome's own Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Considering that it had been Pope Urban II who



had led the rallying call for all Christians to defend the sanctity of Jerusalem from the pollution of Islam (as it was characterized), it was especially fitting that the most sacred architecture associated with Christ's Crucifixion and Entombment in Rome should be given its own triumphal renewal after the success of the First Crusade. The expansion of the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in the twelfth century paralleled the celebratory reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Surely the general culture of *renovatio* (renovation, or rebirth) which typified Rome in the twelfth century must have related to a larger celebration of Christianity's repossession of Jerusalem, and the crusaders' restoration of pilgrimage churches in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth that dated back to the times of Constantine and Helena.<sup>28</sup>

In the 1140s, in the midst of the reconstruction of "Jerusalem in Rome" – as the basilica was also known – a new relic of the Crucifixion, the *Titulus Crucis* (inscription of the Cross), was found (i.e., fabricated) and installed above the triumphal arch in the new apse of the church. The inscribed plaque was described in the Gospels as a superscription which identified Christ as "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews," written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The plaque in Rome exhibits poorly carved Hebrew script, whose text is almost completely missing, and incomplete lines of Greek and Latin written in mirror script.<sup>29</sup> The forgery, together with the reconstruction of the basilica, enhanced the prestige of the church's most important relic, the earth and piece of the True Cross said to have been transported from Golgotha by Helena in the fourth century. A new series of apse mosaics were probably a part of the twelfth-century renovation of the church, but nothing survives due to the addition of frescoes in the fifteenth century by Melozzo da Forlì (c. 1438–94) visualizing the history of the True Cross.

#### THE CAPITOLINE AS TEMPLE MOUNT

With the exception of Constantinople, whose own relics were carted away by opportunistic crusaders in the Fourth Crusade (1204), no other city could

equal the sheer amount of Jerusalemic relics contained in Rome.<sup>30</sup> In addition to the portrait of Christ in the Lateran, the Holy Cross and *Titulus Crucis* in the "Jerusalem in Rome," and the crib of Christ – "Bethlehem in Rome" – in Santa Maria Maggiore, pilgrims to Rome encountered ossified remnants of a civilization of great antiquity. Like Jerusalem, the city had itself taken on the characteristics of a relic, and its ancient remains had become sanctified through the development of various legends, best recorded in the twelfth-century *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* (Marvels of the City of Rome).<sup>31</sup> The manuscript has been compared to a pilgrimage guide, but also relates to the genre of *laus civis* or *eoncomium civis* (praise of the city).<sup>32</sup> The *Mirabilia* suggests the ways in which legends had accrued around pre-Christian sites, as part of a larger transformation of the relics of the pagan city into materials revealing the presence of Christ and Mary.<sup>33</sup> For example, the author of the *Mirabilia* records the widely held belief that a Sibyl on the Capitoline hill, adjacent to the site of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, had revealed the coming birth of Jesus to the Roman emperor Augustus. An altar in the Benedictine church was reportedly constructed by Augustus at the location, and was known as the *ara coeli* (altar of heaven).<sup>34</sup> The author of the *Mirabilia* also connects the sanctity of the Lateran basilica, as Rome's own renewed Temple of Jerusalem, to the Temple on the Capitoline hill at the pagan center of Rome. Four ancient gilded brass pillars – now in the crossing of the Basilica of St. Peter's – were identified as being among the spoils of the Jewish Temple installed in the Lateran Baptistery. The author of the *Mirabilia* explains that they had been placed in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline before being installed in the Lateran by Constantine. In 1291, Pope Nicholas IV would confirm that the bronze columns had been taken directly from Solomon's Temple, and that each contained earth from Golgotha.<sup>35</sup>

Despite its changing forms and names, the Capitoline remained known as Rome's holy mountain, a place in antiquity regarded as the "earthly home of Jupiter" (in Cicero's words). The platform was made out of the Tarpeian Rock, an ancient

formation associated with events of great antiquity, stretching back to the origins of Rome.<sup>36</sup> Overall, the parallels with Mount Moriah in Jerusalem are subtle and never explicit, but nonetheless significant. The ruined state of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter – as Rome’s own Temple Mount – also paralleled the idea of the absence of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, as well as the destroyed Hadrianic Temple dedicated to Capitoline Jupiter (founded in 135) that had stood on the same site in Jerusalem.<sup>37</sup> The memory of the Temple of Jupiter in Rome is manifested in the *Mirabilia*, where it is known as the Temple of Jupiter and Moneta – an invention combining the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Temple of Juno Moneta, both of which had stood on the Capitoline hill.<sup>38</sup> The author of the *Mirabilia* also refers to the Capitoline as the *caput mundi* (head of the world), a centrality paralleling the status of Mount Moriah as the *umbilicus mundi* (umbilical of the world).<sup>39</sup> The author of the *Mirabilia* describes the temple on the Capitoline as decorated with glass and gold mosaics, suggesting comparison with both John’s vision of the heavenly Jerusalem and mosaic depictions of Jerusalem in the major pilgrimage churches of Rome, such as Santa Maria Maggiore, San Clemente, and Santa Prassede.<sup>40</sup>

#### SAN CLEMENTE AND SANTA PRASSEDE

Smaller churches found along Rome’s main pilgrimage pathways interconnected the Lateran, the Capitoline and imperial fora, St. Peter’s, and sites outside the city walls leading to the great apostolic pilgrimage church, San Paolo fuori le Mura (St. Paul outside the Walls). In these smaller churches, pilgrims encountered a series of triumphal presentations of the relics of Christ. The best surviving example is San Clemente, located on the route from the Lateran basilica to the Colosseum and the ancient imperial fora. Like Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, the church was reconstructed just before 1100 and adorned with new mosaics.<sup>41</sup> The apse, whose vault recalls the ancient triumphal arches of the Roman emperors, presents the triumph of Christ and his followers over death, in a glittering vision of an eternally flowering heaven. The gold-ground mosaics (completed c. 1118–19),

envision the twin cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, from which emerge twelve lambs and above vine-scrolls encircling an image of the Crucified Christ (Fig. 71).<sup>42</sup> In restorations to the mosaic carried out in the 1930s, holes were discovered where relics had once been (probably removed in the eighteenth century).<sup>43</sup> An inscription directly refers to the relics previously embedded into the mosaic, specifically the wood of the Cross and the body of Christ. The relics manifested the link between the earthly realm and the heavenly one, envisioned in the mosaic as an abundant garden divided by four streams, populated with stags, birds, and peacocks.<sup>44</sup> The framing representations of the sacred cities are also dominated by the radiant imagery of gold and jewels, evoking John’s vision of the Heavenly city described in Revelation. The twin bejeweled cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem not only alluded to the cities in Palestine but also to Rome’s own versions of these holy cities. San Clemente was located on the processional route between the Lateran and Santa Maria Maggiore, which pilgrims traversed as they made their way on a metaphorical journey from Jerusalem to Bethlehem.

The imagery of the twin bejeweled cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem resonated throughout the churches of Rome, as in the more ancient mosaics of Santa Prassede, a church on the Esquiline hill first constructed under Paschal I (817–24).<sup>45</sup> The church had originally housed the remains of approximately 2,300 Christian martyrs, accessible to visitors through a series of underground crypts.<sup>46</sup> In 1223, the small church was transformed into a site for pilgrimage to the relics of Christ, when a fragmentary multi-colored column was installed in the San Zeno chapel, said to be the Column of the Flagellation from Mount Sion (Fig. 72).<sup>47</sup> An inscription in the chapel attributes the transfer of the column from Jerusalem to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna (d. 1245), who was a priest of Santa Prassede since at least 1217 and a member of one of Rome’s most important noble families.<sup>48</sup>

Most pilgrims who came to Santa Prassede were on their way to Santa Maria Maggiore, where the relic of the Crib of Christ had been attracting pilgrims for centuries. In addition to the familiar visions of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, Jacopo Torriti’s





Fig. 71 Apse mosaic, San Clemente, Rome, completed c. 1118–19 (Photo: author)

mosaic in the center of the apse (Fig. 73) provided a series of unprecedented representations of the topography of the Holy Land that evoked the origins of Rome's own sanctity, including a representation of the Column of the Flagellation.<sup>49</sup> In the semi-circular vault, Christ crowns Mary in heaven, while directly below we are shown the funeral of the Virgin Mary, when her body was processed from Mount Sion towards the Mount of Olives. Both mounts are clearly represented, with Mount Sion on the left and the Column of the Flagellation visible above the walls of the church; on the far right, the footprints of Christ are traced into the earth of the Mount of Olives (identified by an inscription in Latin: *Monte Oliveti*).<sup>50</sup> Between these two sacred mountains, the Apostles gather around the body of Mary with an expanded audience of saints, as she is taken to her resting place in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where pilgrims in Jerusalem visited her empty tomb.<sup>51</sup>

#### SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE AS AN ACHEIROPOIETAL BUILDING

The unprecedented pairing of allusions to the Column of the Flagellation and the footprints of Christ in the apse mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore furnished the depiction of Mary's Funeral, Assumption, and Coronation with a new degree of topographic realism in relation to the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. More than any location in Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore offered to its pilgrims the possibility of encountering the living traces of Mary on earth; in addition to the ancient relics from Bethlehem, a portrait of Mary – the *Salus Populi Romani* (Protectress of the Roman People) – was given new attention in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as a conduit through which the mother of God was made present within the basilica. The icon portrait was both a tangible link to Mary's body, through legends which connected the painting to





Fig. 72 Column of the Flagellation, Santa Prassede, Rome, installed 1223 (Photo: author)

the craftsmanship of one of her contemporaries, and characterized as a window that looked beyond the earthly realm, offering a glimpse of her true appearance in heaven.<sup>52</sup> The portrait appears to have been created in the thirteenth century by painting over an earlier image that had probably also been housed in Santa Maria Maggiore, although Romans claimed that it was painted by St. Luke and brought to Rome by Helena. The portrait had likely been in Santa Maria Maggiore for some time, perhaps since the sixth or seventh centuries; before it was moved into a new tabernacle in the early fourteenth century, it was recorded above the door to the baptistery (no longer extant).<sup>53</sup> The cosmatesque tabernacle, which was dismantled in the eighteenth century, was placed near the high altar and paired with another containing the various relics accumulated by this point (many donated specifically in 1256), including the

Virgin's hair, milk, veil, and other garments.<sup>54</sup> Rituals developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries further confirmed Mary's living presence in Rome, including a procession in which Mary was brought out to meet her son, embodied in the Lateran Acheropita, and by the end of the fourteenth century, on August 5, a commemoration of the miracle of the snow, in which theatrical *apparati* re-enacted Mary's first miraculous appearance to the people of Rome.<sup>55</sup>

The basilica that housed the *Salus Populi Romani* had by extension a special status, akin to the sacred tabernacles of the Holy Land that enclosed Christ's own living traces, like those on the Mount of Olives and Mount Sinai, envisioned in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore. Existing legends about the miraculous nature of the foundation of the church were expanded, in a way that ascribed its origin more directly to the intervention and appearance of Mary to the Roman people. The foundation of the church was characterized as a miraculous genesis, in which Mary's form and the shape of her basilica, inscribed into the earth, were revealed simultaneously. The immediate precedent was the legends relating to the Church of the Ascension in Jerusalem, through which the miraculous associations of the footprints were absorbed into the surrounding architectural forms. Façade mosaics, now hidden behind an eighteenth-century narthex, visualized the story of the basilica's creation: on August 5, the Esquiline hill was covered with snow, revealing the form of a basilica traced out on the earth.<sup>56</sup> Mary reveals the location of the basilica and its shape, as her figure miraculously appears in the guise of the *Salus Populi Romani*. Santa Maria Maggiore had acquired a miraculous status similar to the portrait it enclosed, as an *acheiropoieton* whose forms were not the result of human design.

In addition to the façade and apse mosaics, a new transept with a chapel dedicated to the relic of the Crib – originally brought from Bethlehem in the seventh century – was constructed at Santa Maria Maggiore under Pope Nicholas IV (1288–92). The exact arrangement of the chapel is unclear – it seems to have been located in an oratory in the right aisle – although it, like the sixteenth-century chapel where the relic and sculpture would later be placed, could have potentially resembled the Cave



Fig. 73 Jacopo Torriti, *Funeral, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin Mary*, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, c. 1294 (Photo: author)

of the Nativity in Bethlehem. While the form of the chapel is not certain, we do know that Arnolfo di Cambio's sculpted *Nativity* (Fig. 74), commissioned in 1291 by Pandolfo I pontecorvo and now in the museum of Santa Maria Maggiore, was originally made for the chapel. The current sculpture in the Chapel of the Nativity is a replacement dating to the seventeenth century. In Arnolfo's original version, two prophets bore scrolls announcing the birth of Jesus as described in Luke (2.7), referring to entrance into the "sacred hall" in Bethlehem.<sup>57</sup> The other

figures are rendered with vivid emotion, so that the pilgrim might imagine being present at the birth of Jesus. Pope Nicholas was a Franciscan whose dedication to the Nativity was related to the teachings of St. Francis (1181/2–1226) and his followers, the subject of Part III. In 1286, the body of St. Jerome, which had been interred in Bethlehem until this point, was unearthed and placed beneath the new Chapel of the Nativity in Rome, re-creating the arrangement in Bethlehem.<sup>58</sup> The body of St. Jerome, like the relic of the Crib, the *Salus Populi Romani*, and the many





Fig. 74 Arnolfo di Cambio, *The Nativity*, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, c. 1146 (Photo: Alinari / Art Resource, NY)

detrital relics of Mary's body collected in the thirteenth century, all contributed to the special status of the basilica in Rome as a sacred container for the living traces of Mary, "still fresh" as Jerome himself had originally observed them in Bethlehem.<sup>59</sup>

#### THE VERONICA AND ST. PETER'S

In the twelfth century a new portrait of Christ emerged in Rome that would eclipse both the Image of Edessa (now purportedly in Paris) and the Lateran portrait in terms of fame, with a history and form more directly linked to the topography associated with the Crucifixion in Jerusalem: the Veronica, housed in the basilica of St. Peter's. Like the *Salus Populi Romani*, the portrait of Christ known as the Veronica had a tenuous materiality, as a trace of an otherwise absent body. Pilgrims typically encountered the portrait without seeing it; the veil was kept in a tabernacle, first given by Celestine III (1191–8), which included an altar below and a roof on columns above. There is evidence that a chapel for the Veronica had been in St. Peter's as early as the eleventh century.<sup>60</sup> Beginning in 1208, Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) had the veil paraded publicly and

granted indulgences to anyone who prayed before it.<sup>61</sup> The image itself was only rarely shown: in an annual procession established by Innocent III and during a Jubilee year – beginning in 1300 – once a week.<sup>62</sup> When not in procession, pilgrims encountered the sacred tabernacle on the façade wall in the north aisle, and within the atrium one could buy a token with an imprint of the true portrait.<sup>63</sup> The increasing fame of the Veronica in the thirteenth century paralleled the growing indulgences associated with the pilgrimage to Rome, culminating in the plenary indulgence granted in the Jubilee year of 1300.<sup>64</sup>

The Veronica was, like the Image of Edessa, more than a portrait of Christ painted from life; its status was that of the one true portrait, as its name – apparently a colloquial portmanteau of the Latin for true (*verus*) and the Greek for image (εἰκῶν) – suggests.<sup>65</sup> The name, and the image itself, derived from the woman – Veronica – who had met Christ on the way to the Crucifixion; she wiped the blood and sweat from his face with her veil, when his features were miraculously imprinted into the white material of the cloth. The portrait was also known as the *Volto Santo* (Holy Face), like the portrait of Christ in Lucca, and as the *Sudarium* (sweat-cloth). The Veronica was both



a spectral image of the living Christ and a contact relic, miraculously generated through direct interaction with the body of Christ.<sup>66</sup> The white material of the veil, like the earth of the Holy Land or the bread of the Eucharist, was a figureless receptacle, receiving the form of Christ through a mysterious fusion of divine intention and flesh-like matter.<sup>67</sup> The setting for the veil in St. Peter's in a tabernacle further suggested the sacramental character of the object.

The particular history of the veil, and the story of its creation during the events of the Crucifixion, more directly linked the portrait to the sacred topography of Jerusalem than any previous true portrait of Christ. The experience of seeing the Veronica simulated an encounter with Golgotha in Jerusalem. The white veil was stained by the blood and sweat of Christ received during the Crucifixion, like the earth of Golgotha. The idea that the Veronica transformed St. Peter's into another Jerusalem in Rome was made more explicit with the reconstruction of the crossing in the seventeenth century; the veil was juxtaposed with the Holy Lance and a portion of the relic of the True Cross originally at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, transferred to St. Peter's in 1629.<sup>68</sup>

#### ROME AND JERUSALEM IN THE ITINERARY OF MATTHEW PARIS

The physical connections of Veronica's veil to both the body of Christ and Golgotha made Rome more than ever an essential part of the idea of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This was the case for Matthew Paris (c. 1200–59), who created an illustrated manuscript for an imaginary pilgrimage, first for an audience of his fellow monks in the monastery of St. Albans, about 22 miles north of London.<sup>69</sup> His pilgrimage map, created as a substitute for the physical journey, provides significant evidence that by the beginning of the thirteenth century Rome had become an integral part of the idea of the Holy Land – due to the successful aggrandizement of the city's relics and architecture effected in the period of the crusades.<sup>70</sup>

In one of the three versions of the map apparently made by Matthew himself, a continuous road map from London to the Holy Land spans seven manuscript pages, culminating with Jerusalem (Plate 14).<sup>71</sup>

The accompanying chronicle traces world history from the birth of Jesus through the present time, including the events of the crusades and the loss of Jerusalem in 1187.<sup>72</sup> Another manuscript, which incorporates a copy of the itinerary map, also contains Matthew's *Historia Anglorum* (History of the English), in which he included reference to the Veronica, found in the entry for 1249.<sup>73</sup> Matthew Paris reports that one of the footprints of Christ from the Mount of Olives was given to King Henry III (r. 1216–72), and that this impression – like the imprint of his face in the Veronica – was a final testament of Christ's earthly presence.<sup>74</sup> The imprint into the stone – said to have become like wax – provided a partial trace of Christ's appearance, compared by Matthew to the imprint of his features made on Veronica's veil.<sup>75</sup> The idea of Christ's footprints would continue to have a particular resonance in England.<sup>76</sup> The footprint was displayed in Westminster Abbey until the Reformation.<sup>77</sup>

The interconnections of Rome and Jerusalem in Matthew Paris' imagined journey are communicated in various ways through the visual and tactile engagement of the reader within his itinerary. Matthew's maps engage the reader in unprecedented ways, suggesting the movement from city to city as the reader proceeds from London to Jerusalem in a linear sequence, forming a trail that connects even as pages are turned.<sup>78</sup> Unlike previous accounts of the journey to the Holy Land, there is no narrative account of a pilgrimage; instead, the interconnected series of maps fulfills the descriptive function, leading the reader through the various cities, culminating in Jerusalem. The emphasis on directionality seems to have been orchestrated by Matthew Paris to allow himself – or his reader – to project his bodily presence into the imagined journey.<sup>79</sup> At the end of the itinerary, the image of Rome is found on a flap that can be turned over into the space of Palestine, making the two cities stand opposite one another, isolated as a pair of walled rectilinear cities, both conforming to the account of heavenly Jerusalem in Revelation.<sup>80</sup> Within the walls of Jerusalem, three buildings are rendered and are accompanied by inscriptions: the *Templum Domini* (Dome of the Rock), the *Templum Salomonis* (Aqsa Mosque), and the *Sepulchrum Domini* (Holy Sepulcher).<sup>81</sup> While

the *Templum Domini* and *Templum Salomonis* are imagined in elevation, the Holy Sepulcher is represented in ground-plan, suggesting the continuing strength of the visual tradition emerging from Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*.

## CONCLUSION

Matthew Paris' map is an important departure from the previous illustrated books on the pilgrimage, particularly the *De Locis Sanctis*, which continued to be copied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Matthew conceives of the imaginary pilgrimage as a linear trajectory within the two-dimensional field of his map, which guides the reader from page to page across the surface of the parchment, as the mind progressed from England to Jerusalem. His map is a first indication of growing interest in incorporating the somatic experience of movement through space into the imaginary pilgrimage facilitated by a book, and in this way serves as an important precedent for the spatialization of the imagined pilgrimage of the fourteenth century, discussed in [Part III](#).

When Matthew Paris created his imaginary pilgrimage to Jerusalem for himself and his fellow monks at St. Albans, he believed that the revelation of the heavenly Jerusalem was an imminent proposition.<sup>82</sup> By the 1240s, Matthew had become convinced that the world would end in 1250. Jerusalem had been lost in 1187, but it was the failure

of Frederick II (1194–1250) to negotiate a Christian presence in Jerusalem, followed by the destruction of many churches by Khwarizmian troops, which marked the ultimate failure of the crusades.<sup>83</sup> In his world history, Matthew Paris refers to the desecration of the Holy Sepulcher, including the theft of columns in front of Christ's tomb reportedly taken as trophies to the tomb of Muhammad.<sup>84</sup> Apocalyptic speculation had dominated the earlier years of the thirteenth century as well, especially in relation to Frederick II, whom some regarded as the prophesied Last Emperor.<sup>85</sup> Matthew Paris, like many of his contemporaries, was also influenced by the apocalyptic theories of Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135–1202), an Italian spiritual and contemporary of St. Francis of Assisi.<sup>86</sup> In the person of St. Francis, many saw the messiah of the Third Age predicted by Joachim of Fiore. Francis embodied a renewed earthly presence of Christ. He and his followers celebrated the architecture of the Holy Land, promoting an embodied engagement with the sacred relics of Christ's life, given a new kind of presence in the imagination of worshippers that would compensate in various ways for the loss of Jerusalem after the failure of the crusades. In 1291, any lingering hopes that Jerusalem would be completely restored to Christianity were ended when Acre fell and the last of the crusaders were expelled from the Holy Land. The followers of St. Francis nonetheless found ingenious ways of making the architecture of the Holy Land a living presence in the imagination of Christians.

## PART III

# THE FRANCISCAN CUSTODY OF THE HOLY LAND



### INTRODUCTION

The loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and again in 1244, followed by the expulsion of the crusaders from Acre in 1291, contributed to a renewed sense of distance and alienation from the Holy Land. Christian pilgrims made the journey to Jerusalem with markedly less ease; the over-land journey was superseded by a largely ship-based one, as Venice emerged as the primary point of departure for Christians from various regions of Europe.<sup>1</sup> After 1291, the triumphal construction of churches dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher ceased, and maps of the Holy Land which refashioned crusader Jerusalem in the image of a circular, heavenly city were seldom produced.<sup>2</sup> The maps made after 1291, like those associated with Pietro Vesconte (*Plate 12*), often focused on a new kind of topographic description, especially as a way of charting out the routes for crusaders who might retake the city, while also omitting signs of Islamic domination as a form of visual reconquest of the depicted territory.<sup>3</sup> Alternate means of encountering

the living traces of Christ and Mary outside of the Holy Land were cultivated in the same period with greater insistence. The importance of Rome as an alternate Jerusalem continued to grow; pilgrims could encounter Christ in Veronica's veil at St. Peter's, or Mary in the *Salus Populi Romani* in Santa Maria Maggiore, without risking the perils of the sea voyage.

The papacy also contributed to the development of the cult of St. Francis, whom many perceived to be a living embodiment of Jesus Christ – a true icon – inscribed by the marks of the stigmata, received on Mount La Verna in 1224.<sup>4</sup> In the years after the death of St. Francis in 1226, his followers developed a cult of the saint incorporating aspects of the cult of Christ in Jerusalem. The rock-cut tomb of Francis in Assisi was compared to the Tomb of Christ, while features of the surrounding architectural complex and its mural paintings evoked the sacred architecture of Jerusalem. At the same time, Francis and his followers promoted a renewed dedication to the material relics of Christ, including



his blood, the Eucharist, and the Holy Land itself, which contained his blood and constituted the most significant physical traces and proof of his earthly existence. In 1342 Pope Clement VI declared the Franciscans to be the official custodians of the sacred buildings of the Holy Land, and through the present day Franciscans tend many of the same sanctuaries on behalf of the Roman Church.

In their role as custodians of the Holy Land, the Franciscans actively promoted devotion to its architecture in the period after the failure of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. New accounts authored by Franciscans expanded description of the buildings associated with the lives of Christ and Mary, reflecting their status as precious relics. The Franciscan accounts emphasizing embodied experience, attested in other Franciscan sources of the period, served as an implicit affirmation of the vital presence of the redemptive power of Christ's body inhering in the sanctuaries of the Holy Land. Franciscan writers also placed a new emphasis on eyewitness description, as a way of spatializing and pictorializing the journey in the mind's eye of the reader.<sup>5</sup> They provided

a way for the reader to imagine a bodily form of interaction with the distant buildings, incorporating references to the physical aspects of the pilgrimage. Combined with the new emphasis on indulgences, that is, the quantified redemptive potency of the buildings, the emphasis on precise description and bodily interaction suggests that the Franciscan custodians hoped that the Holy Land sanctuaries would be perceived as composed of charismatic forms, imbued with the still vital traces of divine presence. Their books reaffirmed the relation of the earthly setting of the Holy Land to the Incarnation and the sacramental potential of matter, in a period when the sanctity of the Eucharist and the blood relics of Christ, as well as the potential embodiment of divinity in material form, were being directly challenged. The actions of St. Francis and his followers rendered the architecture of the Holy Land a living presence in the imaginations of Christians, the majority of whom would never go to Jerusalem, and provided an essential way of reconnecting devotion to Christ to the sacred matter associated with his earthly life.

## FORMATION OF THE FRANCISCAN CUSTODY

HERESY AND THE MENDICANT  
RESPONSE

Challenges to the doctrine of the Incarnation, to the co-essential nature of Christ and God, and to the fundamental notion of the divine being immanent in the material world had existed since the earliest centuries of Christianity, from the Arian to the Nestorian heresy, from the rise of Islam, which denied that Christ was the son of God, to the most recent Cathar heresy, which denied the possibility of the sanctity of the human body.<sup>1</sup> The Cathars denied that the Eucharist could be the flesh and blood of Christ, and more generally believed that no aspect of the divine could or had been made material, since matter was inherently evil. A crusade was waged against the Cathars in France from 1209 to 1255, generally known as the Albigensian Crusade. A related inquisition continued to try and prosecute Cathars in Italy through the fourteenth century. The preaching of the Mendicant orders emerged as non-violent means of combating such heresy. The Dominican and Franciscan orders were formally approved by Pope Honorius III, in 1216 and 1223, respectively. The Dominican order, whose formal name is *Ordo Praedicatorum* (Order of Preachers), was specifically devoted to preaching against heresy, following in the footsteps of St. Dominic (1170–1221), the founder of the order, who had first commenced his own preaching in southern France in direct response to Cathar heresies.<sup>2</sup>

Cathar incredulity also related to a more pervasive skepticism regarding the material presence of Christ's body in the Eucharistic rite. Modifications made to the Eucharistic rite in Latin Christianity reaffirmed the relation to Christ's body, as codified at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.<sup>3</sup> The doctrine of transubstantiation, formulated at the Fourth Lateran Council, asserted that the consecrated host was the flesh of Christ in substance if not in appearance. The expansion of the cult of the Veronica in the thirteenth century, which drew pilgrims to Rome to see the veil imprinted with the face of Christ formed from his blood and sweat, has also been understood as part of this larger "widespread infatuation with the body of God" that dominated Latin Christianity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup>

The question of whether any part of Christ's body was left on earth after his death was most intensely debated in this period, and even generated skeptics among the Mendicants. The Italian Dominican Thomas Aquinas (1225–74), while absolutely affirming the sanctity of the Eucharist, argued that there could be no relics from Christ's body, not even the holy foreskin or his blood, because the entirety of his body rose to heaven.<sup>5</sup> In the contemporary debates about the nature of the Eucharistic host, theologians supported the concept of Christ's presence in the consecrated bread and wine by saying that the totality of Christ's body, rather than a fragment, was present in every mass.<sup>6</sup> Franciscan pilgrims of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries significantly refer to the

Holy Land as being “consecrated” by the blood of Christ.<sup>7</sup>

### THE CRUCIFIX OF NICODEMUS IN BEIRUT

The Franciscans were largely responsible for instituting the changes in the Eucharistic rite in the thirteenth century that placed a new emphasis on the theatricality of the presentation of the host to the laity, now more explicitly treated as a bodily relic of Christ. St. Francis wrote in a letter to his fellow friars of the importance of the liturgy surrounding the Eucharist, comparing the ingestion of the Eucharist to the containment of Christ’s body both in the Tomb in Jerusalem and in the womb of Mary.<sup>8</sup> In the Holy Land, the friars took on a parallel role, cultivating a broader range of sacred sites throughout Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, which together affirmed the collective vitality of the bodily traces of Christ and Mary on earth. The parallelism between the protection of the Holy Land sanctuaries and the bodily relics of Christ became explicit in some instances. In Beirut, a thirteenth-century foundation, whose site had no connection to biblical history, was identified as the location of a miraculous outpouring of Christ’s blood. A Jew, doubting all aspects of Christianity, had struck a crucifix found at the site with a lance, at which point the blood of Christ flowed out and healed a number of people. The Franciscans claimed that the church, in their hands by the fourteenth century, had originally been constructed to honor this miracle.<sup>9</sup> The crucifix was also said to have been carved by Nicodemus, like the *Volto Santo* in Lucca.<sup>10</sup> In 1394, a pilgrim recalled seeing the crucifix in Beirut, and noted that it had converted many Saracens (that is, Muslims).<sup>11</sup> It was likely a friar who related to the pilgrim the history and power of the crucifix in their church.<sup>12</sup>

Although a relatively new sacred site, Beirut and its sacred crucifix were quickly absorbed into an expanding notion of the collective sanctity of the Holy Land. This is reflected in a thirteenth-century map made by Matthew Paris, which notes “city where [is] the Cross of Nicodemus” at Beirut (Fig. 75). The notation is found on the far left-hand side of the

map, forming the western border of the Holy Land; a column of sacred cities marks out this limit, juxtaposed with the notation inside: “Land inhabited by pagans and Saracens, of whom the lord is the sultan of Damascus.”<sup>13</sup> The Franciscan cultivation of sacred sites beyond Jerusalem, as at Beirut, provided a way of asserting the fundamentally Christian character of the entire region of the Holy Land, despite the political reality of fragmentation and dispossession following the disintegration of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup>

The sanctity of the Franciscan church in Beirut and its site was closely intertwined with the perceived power of true portraits of Christ, especially as embodied in and through the transformative potential of his blood. The conceptual interrelations of the material manifestations of Christ’s body were implied in various ways throughout Franciscan theology. For example, the treatises of English Friar William of Woodford (c. 1330–c. 1400) on the veneration of images in Christianity and the Eucharistic sacrament were copied and read in conjunction with a treatise on the sacred places of the Holy Land.<sup>15</sup> William’s contemporary at Oxford was John Wycliffe (c. 1320–84), who critiqued the veneration of the Eucharist and the use of images in Christian worship. The treatises of Friar William were directly aimed at challenging the heretical views of Wycliffe and his Lollard followers. William argued that sacred images flourish in a way that confirms their essential validity and irrepressible life, invoking Aristotelian physics and an idea of the biological proliferation of forms.<sup>16</sup>

### FIDENTIUS OF PADUA

Fidentius of Padua, writing between 1266 and 1291, was the first to offer a coherent Franciscan statement on the sanctity of the Holy Land. His treatise was dedicated to Pope Nicholas IV (r. 1288–92), the first Franciscan to become a pope. Writing with the aim of justifying and inspiring a crusade to retake the Holy Land, Fidentius traces the history of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt in order to demonstrate the fundamental Christian nature of the region.<sup>17</sup> The sole surviving manuscript of his book, made in the fourteenth century, includes a map visualizing



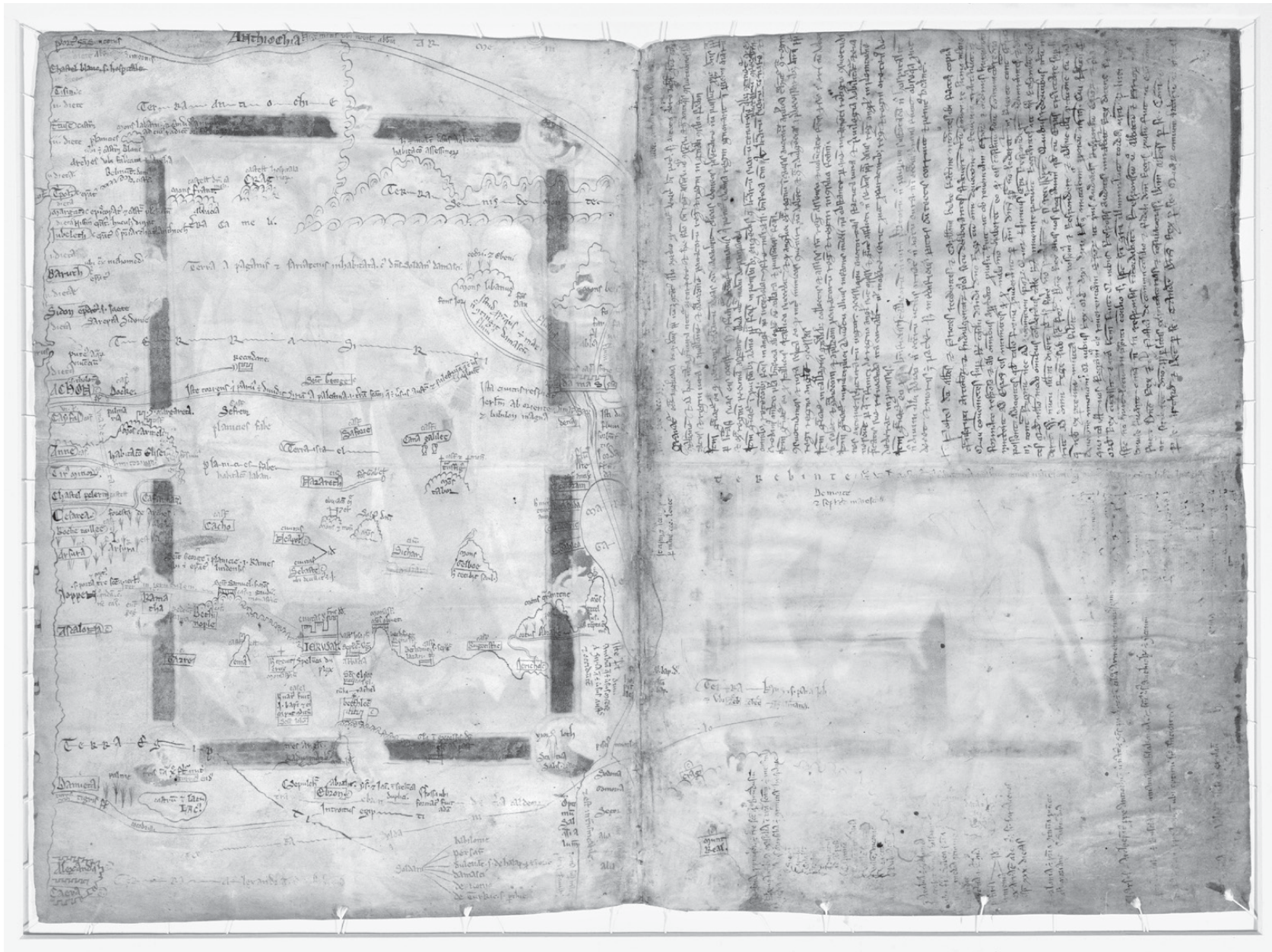


Fig. 75 Matthew Paris, Map of the Holy Land, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Nr. 2, fol. 2b, thirteenth century (Photo © Corpus Christi College, Oxford / Bridgeman Images)

the extent of the Christian territory, including Egypt.<sup>18</sup> Fidentius argues that Christ “acquired” the Holy Land with his own blood, and that the sanctity of the region more generally related to Christ’s past bodily presence:

It is called the Holy Land on account of its excellence, which was sanctified by Jesus our Lord, for Jesus was conceived in Nazareth, born in Bethlehem, and suffered in Jerusalem, whence it is deservedly called the Holy Land, for Jesus sanctified it with his precious blood, sanctified it with his baptism, sanctified it by walking through it, by preaching, and by doing miracles.<sup>19</sup>

Fra Fidentius argues that Christians must take back the sacred region in order to protect it from the destructive and perverse nature of the followers of the Antichrist, Muhammad. He characterizes the Saracens as “abhorring images, and destroying pictures.”<sup>20</sup> He further suggests that their lack of reverence for the matter sanctified by God continued to threaten the sanctuaries of the Holy Land:

Therefore how great an ignominy it is, that where Christ our Lord was conceived, where he was born, where he suffered, where he

was transfigured, where he was elevated into heaven, where he taught, where he walked, where after the resurrection he appeared, where he gave the Holy Spirit to the apostles, where he performed many miracles: is it not a great ignominy that cities are destroyed, fields ruined, churches destroyed and made into stables for animals? Is it not a great ignominy that where the divine office had been sung now sounds out the perfidy of Muhammad?<sup>21</sup>

The Franciscan Custody formed in the following century was conceived as providing a non-violent means of ensuring the protection of the sanctified churches of the Christian Holy Land.

#### THE FRANCISCAN CUSTODY OF THE HOLY LAND

By 1272, the followers of St. Francis were given permission to settle permanently in the Cenacle (*Coenaculum*) on Mount Sion, identified as the site of the Last Supper (Fig. 76). The Franciscans obtained permission from the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (r. 1293–4, 1299–1341, with interruption) to officiate on Mount Calvary in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and in the Tomb of the Virgin



Fig. 76 Cenacle, Mount Sion, Jerusalem, reconstructed beginning in the twelfth century (Photo: author)



in Jerusalem. In 1333 the friars formally acquired the Cenacle and adjacent land for the construction of a monastery with financial and political support of the king and queen of Naples.<sup>22</sup> The church on Mount Sion had long been regarded as the first church in Christendom – referred to as Mater Ecclesiarum (Mother of Churches). In addition to the Last Supper, the Cenacle was identified as the site of the descent of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles, or Pentecost.<sup>23</sup> The Cenacle provided an appropriate setting for the friars to engage in their emulation of the Apostles in all aspects of their mission.<sup>24</sup>

Two papal bulls of November 21, 1342 formally established the Custody of the Holy Land (*Custodia Terrae Sanctae*), defining the sanctity of the buildings and earth of the Holy Land:

A short time ago good news from the king and queen reached our Apostolic See relating that, at great cost and following difficult

negotiations, they had obtained a concession from the Sultan of Babylon (that is, Cairo), who to the intense shame of Christians occupies the Holy Sepulcher of the Lord and the other Holy Places beyond the sea that were sanctified by the blood of this same Redeemer (*proprio ipsius Redemptoris sanguine dedicata*).<sup>25</sup>

The possession of the holy places by the Islamic Mamluk sultanate based in Cairo is characterized as a transgression of the earth sanctified by Christ's blood. The Franciscans sought to recover possession of the most sacred of the sanctuaries on behalf of Latin Christianity. Having been established in the Cenacle on Mount Sion and in the Holy Sepulcher, Franciscans persistently extended their presence throughout Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. Today, Franciscans still remain the custodians of numerous churches in the region.



## ASSISI AS A NEW JERUSALEM



## ST. FRANCIS AS ALTER CHRISTUS

St. Francis had placed an emphasis on mimicking aspects of the earthly life of Christ, rejecting material possessions of any earthly goods and adopting a life of itinerant preaching, finally becoming a living testament to the possibility of embodying Christ's suffering through the reception of the stigmata. His followers emphasized that Francis both followed in the footsteps (*vestigia*) of Christ and received the marks (*vestigia*) of his earthly suffering in the form of the stigmata.<sup>1</sup> The rocky setting for Francis' reception of the wounds of the Crucifixion at Mount La Verna in 1224 was consistently compared to Mount Calvary in Jerusalem and in fact said by some of Francis' more impassioned followers to even exceed Golgotha in its sacred character.<sup>2</sup> Francis had previously attempted to travel to Jerusalem in 1218, although it is only certain that he made it as far as Syria and Egypt, where he famously encountered the Mamluk sultan al-Kamil (r. 1218–38) in Damietta and legendarily endured a test of faith by fire.<sup>3</sup> St. Francis was characteristically committed to engaging with the memory of the earthly life of Christ. When he returned to Italy, he instituted what Franciscans claimed to be the first Nativity scene in a cave in Greccio, a small town near Assisi, using simple dolls, living animals, and a manger, so that "Greccio is made almost a new Bethlehem."<sup>4</sup> St. Francis reportedly said:

I wish to awaken the remembrance of the child, who was born in Bethlehem, and to

see with my bodily eyes the hardships of his childhood, in what way he lay in the crib and in what way he stood placed above a ditch, with ox and ass standing by.<sup>5</sup>

What better demonstration of the truth of the Incarnation was there for potential skeptics than a theatricalization of the birth of Jesus, which could allow one to be in the place of the witnesses to the Nativity and the miracle of the divine made material in the flesh of a child.

The Nativity as re-enacted by Francis also theatricalized the idea of the Eucharist as the flesh of Christ, transforming the opaque theology of transubstantiation into an affective tableau with immense – and lasting – popular appeal. Throughout his life, St. Francis promoted what might be described as a sacramental view of bodily experience. He addressed fire and water, sun and moon, animals and plants, by the names "brothers and sisters."<sup>6</sup> His poetry and preaching offered an expansion of the range of worldly things that might be perceived as manifestations of God. In the context of the Eucharistic rite, the consumption of the bread and wine, as given from the earth, symbolized simultaneously the reciprocal relation of the body and nature and the body and Christ.<sup>7</sup> In this way, the miracle of the Eucharist was expanded to the quotidian, and the potential for the materialization of the divine seemed to expand throughout the entire world.<sup>8</sup> The notion of sensation in its broadest definition, incorporating a bodily engagement with space itself, being a form of communion – or

consumption – of the divine, emerges as a primary feature of how the followers of St. Francis enact the mission of their order implied at Greccio: to engage Christians in the experience of the life, body, space, architecture, and ultimately full reality of Christ's life.

#### ASSISI AS AN ALTERNATE JERUSALEM

After the reception of the stigmata, St. Francis was celebrated as an *alter Christus* (other Christ); his tomb in Assisi became a focal point for worshippers who could engage in a multi-media affective tableau of unprecedented scale, in which Francis stood for Christ. Immediately following the death of St. Francis, his followers initiated the construction of a massive basilica in Assisi (Fig. 77), founded in 1228, to enshrine his tomb. Certain features of the Basilica in Assisi suggest an intent to create a parallel between the setting for Francis' tomb and Christ's Tomb in

Jerusalem. The architect of the church was reportedly a Franciscan friar named Fra Elia Buonbarone (d. 1253), who had spent time in the Holy Land as the provincial minister of Syria.<sup>9</sup> The double portal of the basilica, with two large wooden doors framed by one central arched opening bordered by bundled colonnettes, as well as the campanile on the left-hand side of the façade, are also the essential features of the crusader façade of the church in Jerusalem. The figurative lintel once on the façade in Jerusalem exhibits a similar imagery of human and animal forms enmeshed in spirals. As in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the double portal may have also been intended to re-create the Golden Gate as the setting for Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Other aspects of the façade's imagery relate to the vision of the apocalyptic Jerusalem. A rose window in the center presents four concentric wheels framed by the man, eagle, ox, and lion at the outer corners – symbols of the Apocalyptic Jerusalem (of Revelation).<sup>10</sup>



Fig. 77 Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi, founded 1228 (Photo: author)

The frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi create an explicit parallel between the lives of Christ and Francis, juxtaposing scenes from the New Testament with those from the life of St. Francis, especially as known from the biography written by Bonaventure (1221–74).<sup>11</sup> Within the Lower Church, the rock-cut tomb of Francis mimicked the idea of Christ’s Sepulcher and also was attributed to Fra Elia. Francis had been canonized in 1228, and his remains were moved to the basilica in Assisi in 1230. Although the tomb may have originally been accessible to pilgrims, by the fifteenth century – specifically sometime after 1442 – it had been sealed to protect the body of Francis. The current arrangement dates to the 1820s, established after the rediscovery of the body on December 12, 1818 in the course of excavations. The excavations revealed a simple stone sarcophagus, probably of early Christian origin, within a rocky formation hewn out of the mountainside. The burial of Francis was presumably made to specifically imitate the cave containing the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem. The sealing of the tomb was directly related to the Tomb of Christ, as indicated by Bartolommeo da Pisa (d. 1401): “As Christ’s tomb was sealed and watched by guards, so St. Francis’ tomb has been sealed, to prevent his body ever being visible to anyone.”<sup>12</sup>

After the tomb of Francis was sealed, the altar in the Lower Church most likely functioned as the focus of veneration of the body of Francis. The location of the tomb below the altar would also have suggested comparison with the burial sites of early Christian martyrs, especially St. Peter, as a reflection of Francis’ status as the founder of a new apostolate. An early fourteenth-century fresco in the apse, no longer extant, had depicted Francis as an *alter Christus*, standing triumphant over his tomb, probably with rays of gold marking the wounds of Christ on his body.<sup>13</sup> The image may have been intended to directly recall the crusader mosaic of the Crucified Christ in the apse above Golgotha in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup> The formation of the southern entrance to the Lower Church also seems to re-create the arrangement of the courtyard, double portal, and campanile of the southern façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (Fig. 78).<sup>15</sup>

By the fourteenth century, the entire transept area in the Lower Church of Assisi was transformed



Fig. 78 Southern entrance to the Lower Church of St. Francis, Assisi (Photo: author)

into a circulatory space, revolving around the charismatic axis of the Tomb of St. Francis. These renovations included the destruction of a screen shortly after 1300, which had previously blocked lay access to the crossing, and the construction of a pergola of twelve columns, creating an ambulatory around the tomb as in the Anastasis Rotunda.<sup>16</sup> The frescoes painted in the first half of the fourteenth century celebrated the parallel nature of the lives of Francis and Jesus Christ, as had been done in the earlier frescoes in the Upper Church. In the *Entry into Jerusalem*, Christ approaches a city with a dense array of colorful buildings rising behind the Golden Gate (Fig. 79). The transept frescoes of the Lower Church, dating to the early fourteenth century, continue the themes of an earlier cycle in the nave of the Lower Church that have been largely destroyed, painted in the 1260s and similarly depicting the Passion of Christ and the life of Francis. The circulatory route for the pilgrim





Fig. 79 Pietro Lorenzetti, *Entry into Jerusalem*, Lower Church of the Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi, 1320s–30s (Photo: Alfredo Dagli Orti / Art Resource, NY)

would have commenced with the Magdalene chapel adjacent to the north transept, which offered Mary as a model for penitence.<sup>17</sup> The placement of the Magdalene chapel parallels what pilgrims would have encountered in Jerusalem, where pilgrims were shown the place of Christ's apparition to Mary immediately north of the Tomb within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>18</sup>

#### PROXY PILGRIMAGE AT ASSISI

In comparison to the many previous attempts to transpose the experience of the pilgrimage in the Holy Land to a new territory, the Franciscans created an unprecedented experience in Assisi, hinging upon the absolute assimilation of St. Francis to the figure of Christ. The broader message of the frescoes is the potential for a parallel experience of the life of Christ in Italy, from Greccio as Bethlehem to La Verna as Golgotha. In this context Assisi emerges as a New Jerusalem and its basilica as a new Church of the Holy Sepulcher. As early as the thirteenth century, the pope granted indulgences for those who visited the shrine and also donated relics, like a drop of the Virgin's milk and a piece of the True Cross. Moreover, in 1258, Pope Alexander IV granted the friars the right to absolve the sins of pilgrims who

visited the tomb of Francis, after hearing confessions.<sup>19</sup> The special status of Assisi as a pilgrimage site, in contrast to the Camposanto in Pisa or Santo Stefano in Bologna, for instance, depended upon the parallelism of Francis and Christ.<sup>20</sup>

The early Franciscan re-creations of the Holy Land pilgrimage experience are also uniquely characterized by a self-consciousness of the illusionistic and descriptive potentials of the pictorial arts to underscore the representational qualities of devotion. This is most directly suggested in the *Institution of the Crib at Greccio* (Fig. 80), among the mural paintings in the life of St. Francis within the Upper Church. The fresco is one of the first encountered by the pilgrim, found on the right-hand side immediately after entering through the corresponding portal. The viewer is placed among the companions of Francis, actively engaged in the re-creation of the Nativity. Francis is installing the Christ-manikin in the manger; rather than in a cave as originally in Bethlehem or in Greccio, this occurs within the church, adjacent to an altar and behind the choir screen. The manikin stands in for Christ, as the host would for his body at the altar. On the choir screen, we see the back of a painted crucifix, which remains invisible to us and appears at an angle, emphasizing the realistic nature of this scene. The viewer stands behind the curtain, so to speak, in the space of the church

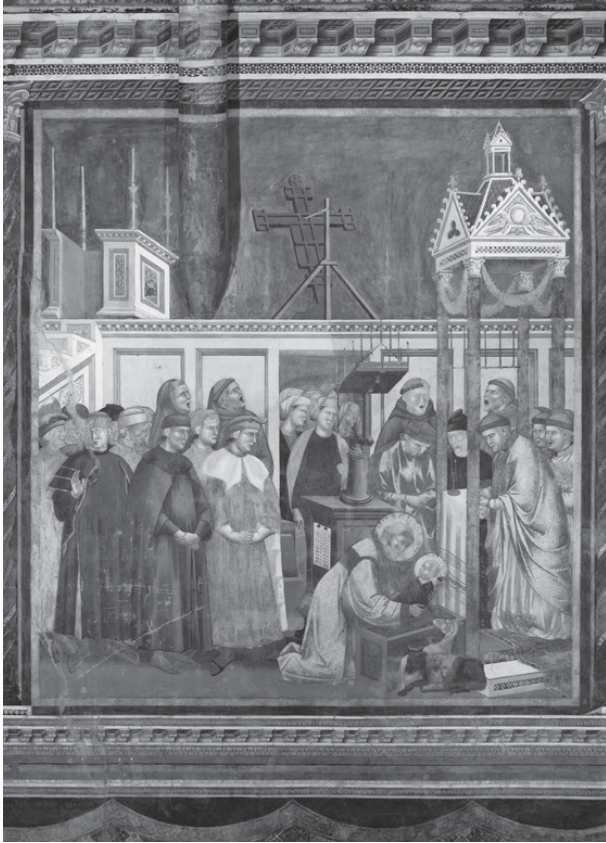


Fig. 80 *Institution of the Crib* at Greccio, Upper Church, Basilica of St. Francis, Assisi, 1299 (Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY)

not visible to the laity, as the mechanisms of representation are revealed to the viewer on multiple levels: the wooden support for the painted crucifix (whose image is hidden from view), the altar area where the host will be presented (but is not seen), the manikin standing in for Christ, whose body – despite all of these simulacra – remains absent. At the same time, the painting connects to the depiction of the Nativity in the Lower Church, positing a vertical alignment of the lives of Christ and St. Francis, while also reflecting upon that relation from the perspective of the followers of St. Francis.

The frescoes in the Upper Church of Assisi were created between 1288 and 1297 by order of a papal bull, issued in 1288 by Nicholas IV, the first Franciscan pope (to whom Fidentius of Padua had devoted his treatise).<sup>21</sup> It was under Nicholas IV that the first known permanent Nativity scene was created, in the crypt of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.<sup>22</sup> The sculpture of Arnolfo di Cambio (Fig. 79) creates a

tableau of Mary, Christ, Joseph, and the Three Magi in Bethlehem; the tableau was placed in a chapel that is no longer extant, whose forms are unknown. It is possible that the original arrangement may have been like the current chapel: a small subterranean space below an altar, like the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Under Pope Nicholas IV, the centuries-old association of Santa Maria Maggiore with Mary's living presence in Rome was re-cast in terms of the ideals of the Franciscan order and the actions of St. Francis at Greccio. The burial site of St. Francis of Assisi was in turn re-cast as a papal basilica. It is now thought that the artist Jacopo Torriti was a Franciscan and was the first painter to lead the frescoing of the Upper Church begun in 1288. He returned to Rome shortly thereafter to undertake the mosaics in the new apse of Santa Maria Maggiore.<sup>23</sup> Pope Nicholas IV chose to be buried in the Roman church, probably in the right aisle near the Nativity tableau, in close proximity to Jerome, who had first been buried in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.<sup>24</sup>

#### THE PORZIUNCULA AND THE TOMB OF MARY

There are no indications that St. Francis wished his own burial site to be monumentalized in Assisi. Instead, he wished to be buried in a more humble setting, in a small Marian shrine, known now as the Porziuncula.<sup>25</sup> The enclosing church, Santa Maria degli Angeli (St. Mary of the Angels), is about 3 kilometers below the Basilica of St. Francis (Fig. 81). The valley-like setting is particularly apt for the building, given its relationship to the Tomb of Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. From its earliest years the shrine was called Santa Maria di Giosafat, or St. Mary of Jehoshaphat. Four hermits had legendarily established the chapel as the setting for relics donated by St. Cyril and brought from Jerusalem in 352, including – most importantly – a piece of the stone from the Tomb of Mary.<sup>26</sup> The monks also called it Santa Maria degli Angeli on account of celestial melodies and visions of a heavenly ladder revealed there (echoing Jacob's vision).<sup>27</sup>

The Benedictines ceded the church to the Franciscans during the saint's life, perhaps sometime



Fig. 81 Porziuncula, Assisi, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Photo: author)

around 1208. It was widely believed within the order that St. Francis had secured a pardon for those who visited the Marian church, known now as *Il Perdono di Assisi* (The Pardon of Assisi). An inscription at the entrance to the sanctuary advertises the special redemptive potential of the sanctuary, in its allusion to the gate of heaven: *Haec est porta vitae aeternae* (This is the gate of eternal life).<sup>28</sup> St. Francis died in his cell associated with the church; according to the biographies of the saint by Tommaso da Celano (c. 1200–c. 1265), Francis encouraged his followers to venerate this place in Italy above all others. In the early years of the Franciscan order, the diminutive rectangular chapel was known to have an altarpiece of the Archangel Michael, as perhaps alluded to in the *Verification of the Stigmata*.<sup>29</sup> St. Michael was also closely associated with the death of Mary; in some accounts of the Virgin's Assumption into Heaven, St. Michael was entrusted with the Virgin's soul, which he conveyed to Paradise.<sup>30</sup> The small sanctuary of the Porziuncula remained in the open countryside until the sixteenth century, when a massive enclosing basilica was constructed.<sup>31</sup> The basilica, as it was finally completed in the seventeenth century, also enshrines the cell where St. Francis died.



## II

# FRANCISCAN BOOKS ON THE HOLY LAND PILGRIMAGE



### EARLY FRANCISCAN ACCOUNTS OF THE PILGRIMAGE

In the first century of the Franciscan order, numerous friars followed the example of St. Francis by going on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. A number wrote accounts of their experiences, describing buildings like the Tomb of Mary, Church on Mount Sion, and Church of the Holy Sepulcher in detail.<sup>1</sup> The primary precedent for an illustrated book on the pilgrimage was Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*, written at the end of the seventh century; the book, with its ground-plans, continued to be copied through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. An interest in documenting an expanded range of pilgrimage buildings developed in the context of the growing presence of Franciscans of the Holy Land. A Latin manuscript of the first half of the fourteenth century incorporates a detailed ground-plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Plate 15).<sup>2</sup> The entire manuscript was made by a single hand and could plausibly be the autograph copy. The book was the product of the pilgrimage made c. 1330 by Fra Giovanni Fedanzola, a citizen of Perugia who had been a provincial minister of the Holy Land on behalf of the Franciscan order at some point in the 1320s or 30s.<sup>3</sup> The plan in the sole surviving manuscript incorporates notations for the stone where Christ was embalmed (the Unction Stone), the site of Helena's discovery of the Cross, and where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene, in addition to the Tomb.<sup>4</sup>

Fra Fedanzola's book is structured according to a conceptual gridded map, which divides all of the Holy Land into numbered squares.<sup>5</sup> The account proceeds according to this "spatial order" (*ordinem spatium*).<sup>6</sup> Fra Fedanzola's book presumably incorporated a related map that was cut from the Roman manuscript. Other parts of the sole surviving manuscript of Fra Fedanzola's book have unfortunately been cut out, and missing folios may have incorporated additional drawings.<sup>7</sup> The text directly refers to only two architectural drawings, both of which are extant: the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Plate 15) and the city of Nazareth (Fig. 82). The latter is rendered as a simple outline of the city's walls, with indications of the cardinal directions and markers for the place of the Annunciation and the fountain where Christ drew water.<sup>8</sup> The first initial letter is composed of a Franciscan pilgrim carrying a bag with an unusual rigid, rectangular appearance, suggesting tablets carried with which to take notes (Plate 16). The Franciscan pilgrim Niccolò da Poggibonsi will refer directly to such tablets, as we will see below, and this little drawing in Fedanzola's manuscript suggests that the practice may have been typical of the activities of Franciscan pilgrims in the Holy Land.

Another important example of an illustration of the architecture of Jerusalem from the early years of the Franciscan involvement in the Holy Land cannot be so precisely identified, since the drawing has been removed from its original manuscript and pasted into another.<sup>9</sup> The drawing (Fig. 83) – dated to the early fourteenth century – presents an elevation

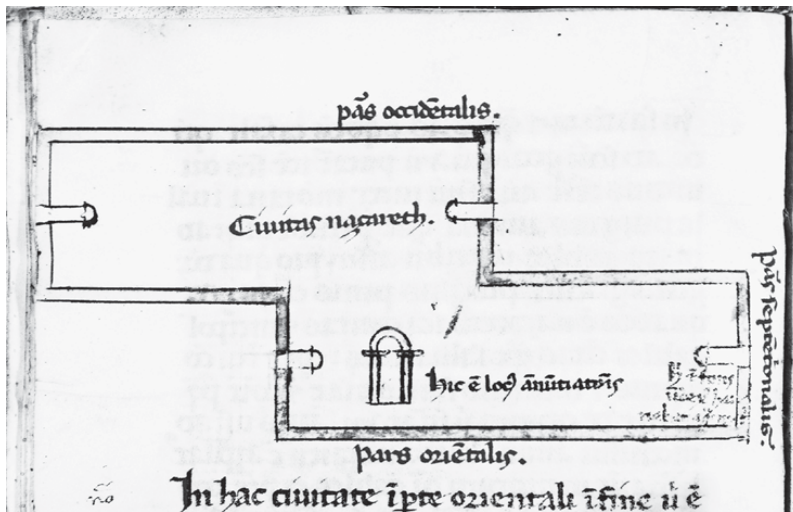


Fig. 82 City of Nazareth, BCR Ms. 3876, fol. 31v, first half of the fourteenth century (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome)



Fig. 83 Elevation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, BAV Cod. Urb. Lat. 1362, fol. 1v, early fourteenth century (Photo: BAV)

of the crusader façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and is the first of its kind to survive.<sup>10</sup> It incorporates notations in Latin, indicating locations of important parts of the church. In the same period,

a pair of Franciscans made a journey from Ireland, and one of the two – Fra Hugo – was known as an illuminator, suggesting an intent to pictorially document the pilgrimage; the illuminator, however, died unexpectedly in Cairo before reaching Palestine. His companion, Fra Symonis Semeonis, continued the pilgrimage and produced a Latin account, preserved in a manuscript in Cambridge.<sup>11</sup> The itinerary is unusual in its emphasis on the spatial movement of the pilgrim in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, noting precise numbers of steps and directions as one goes from site to site inside the complex building, which could have been recorded on tablets during the journey.<sup>12</sup> Franciscan friars may have had in mind Bonaventure's allegorical pilgrimage to the mind of God, which was conceived as a pilgrimage from the earthly to the heavenly that commences through the bodily senses from external to internal things.<sup>13</sup>

Although the emphasis on eyewitness description of bodily movement and material engagement emerges as a distinctly Franciscan approach to the pilgrimage, there is the important precedent of a thirteenth-century writer, known as Burchard of Mount Sion, who may have been a member of the Dominican order in Magdeburg.<sup>14</sup> His description of the Holy Land was written between 1274 and 1285 and incorporates references to distances in feet between significant sites, often with indications of cardinal directions and suggestions of movement.<sup>15</sup> A Dominican writer of the following century, Jacopo da Verona, wrote an account drawing from Burchard of Mount Sion's description; he notably

emphasizes the vestigial qualities of the buildings that he encounters.<sup>16</sup> The text of his account also indicates that he originally incorporated a ground-plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, whose appearance probably resembled the often-copied pictures first drawn by Arculf in the seventh century.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE ILLUSTRATED BOOK OF FRA NICCOLÒ DA POGGIBONSI

Pilgrimage accounts produced by Franciscans depart from contemporary works written by authors like Burchard of Mount Sion and Jacopo da Verona in their experimentation with new methods of pictorial representation. The most significant and influential of these more experimental books was Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'oltramare*, created in the years immediately following the formation of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land in 1342 and based upon his journey of 1346–50.<sup>18</sup> The Tuscan friar was the first to compose a significant pilgrimage account in the vernacular, furnishing his detailed description with over a hundred pictorial illustrations of the sanctuaries in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt.<sup>19</sup> Like other Franciscan writers of the fourteenth century, his subject is equally the buildings and the holy places, as indicated by his emphasis on the *santuarii* (sanctuaries) of the Holy Land in the title of his book. In the original version of his book, the *Libro dei santuarii d'oltramare* (Book of Overseas Sanctuaries), Fra Niccolò creates a vivid account of his bodily movement through the spaces of the holy buildings, as a way of allowing his readers to imagine the bodily experience of the pilgrimage. Fra Niccolò employs a series of elevations that suggest movement through a continuous and measurable spatial realm. His emphasis on the connection of the materials of the sacred sanctuaries to ongoing miracles further suggests the still vital presence of Christ and Mary inhering in the buildings guarded by the Franciscan order. In a period when a new attention was being drawn to the architectural relics of the ancient Roman past in Italy, accompanied by a sense of pathos vis-à-vis the skeletal remains of a long-dead civilization, Franciscans coming

from Italy instead saw in the buildings of the Holy Land an uninterrupted vitality, directly connected to the life-giving potential of the bodies of Christ and Mary.

Nothing is known of the details of Fra Niccolò's life beyond what he tells us in his book: he says that he set out on his journey in 1346 from Poggibonsi in the Florentine Republic, where he had been a part the Franciscan establishment of San Lucchese, and that after four years he returned to Poggibonsi.<sup>20</sup> Fra Niccolò also tells us that he intended to describe everything with the greatest detail possible, especially for those who could not make the journey, whether on account of poverty, physical difficulty, or lack of permission.<sup>21</sup> He emphasizes his attention to the spaces (*spazii*), size (*grandezze*), interior dispositions (*quelle che vi sono dentro*), and the order (*chome sono ordinate*) of the sanctuaries. He was evidently conscious of the novelty of his enterprise and wished to ensure that his name would remain attached to his book. An acrostic spells his name and that of his father (Corbizi), starting in the middle of the book, formed out of the first letter of each chapter.<sup>22</sup>

Three copies of the book had been given to the National Library in Florence by the seventeenth century, where they remain today.<sup>23</sup> Two anonymous illustrated copies found their way to other parts of the world: one fifteenth-century copy is now in New York and a German translation is in London.<sup>24</sup> Each manuscript has dozens of architectural illustrations, from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (Fig. 9) to pilgrimage churches that had never before been described in detail or illustrated, like the church at the Cave of the Prophets in Hebron or the church built where Cain had slain Abel outside of Damascus. The greatest descriptiveness is applied to the buildings most directly connected to the bodies of Christ and Mary: the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the Church of the Nativity, in Bethlehem. Rather than ground-plans, Fra Niccolò created a series of elevations, corresponding to his account of his bodily movement and tactile engagement with each building. Like other Franciscan pilgrim-authors, Niccolò emphasizes that his description is the result of his personal bodily engagement with the physical and material



disposition of each building, especially through the use of a measuring rod and tablets recording his firsthand experiences. It had been standard practice to weave together previous descriptions, culled from a variety of texts, sometimes without making the journey.<sup>25</sup>

#### FRA NICCOLÒ'S DRAWINGS OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER

Fra Niccolò's series of elevations illustrating the Church of the Holy Sepulcher perhaps best demonstrates the innovative qualities of his book in comparison to the work of his predecessors, including earlier Franciscans like Giovanni da Fedanzola. An elevation of the exterior of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is followed by a series of illustrations of the interior chapels, corresponding to his account of bodily movement through the various parts of the complex building. The building is characterized as existing in a continuous space; Fra Niccolò's movements are communicated through indications of cardinal directions, measurements, relative distances, and steps taken. In the first-person account he emphasizes his encounters with the materials, colors, and forms of the various parts of the building. Drawings in the oldest manuscript are tightly embedded within the text and rendered by the same line of the pen, suggesting that both the book's creator and his audience interacted with the two elements together. His descriptions often begin with an invocation of the reader to "regard," suggesting a dual visual engagement in the imagination and with the accompanying drawings, as for the church's southern façade (Fig. 9):

Regard how the holy Church, where stands inside the holy Sepulcher of Christ, is set upon a plain, facing the east; and in front there are two doors facing south; in front there is a beautiful piazza; one of the doors is walled up; the other, which opens, is next to one walled up at a distance of two steps. The doors are arched, vaulted and worked with beautiful columns of green, red, and white porphyry.<sup>26</sup>

Fra Niccolò provides an account of the ornamentation above the portals, created in the crusader period but lost – with the exception of some fragments – soon after his journey. Niccolò describes the locks of the right portal and a window above, "big enough for a man to put in his head and see the Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher and part of the church."<sup>27</sup> The corresponding drawing accordingly illustrates the double portal of the southern façade with the right door locked. Above the portals, a head – rather poorly drawn – looks into a window. Such details create an interactive element in how the viewer engages with the descriptions and drawings, imagining his or her body within the building and in the places that Fra Niccolò describes.

The drawings in BNCF Ms. II IV 101 are notably rudimentary. They are composed of only shaky pen-drawn outlines without color, indications of mass, or surroundings. Without the accompanying text, one might mistake the head peeking into the window above the door of the Holy Sepulcher as an animal of uncertain species. The drawings are clearly created by the same hand and pen as the script. In contrast, the mid-fifteenth-century copies include illustrations that are carefully separated from the text, rendered with shading and color, being the products of trained illuminists (Plate 17). These factors, and a later account of the original author of the book, suggest that Fra Niccolò originally created the drawings himself. This later account emerged when the manuscript was transformed into a printed book published in Bologna in 1500, as the *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem* (Voyage from Venice to Holy Jerusalem).<sup>28</sup> By this point, the author's name had become detached from the book; two of the fifteenth-century manuscripts omit the author's name.<sup>29</sup> The description of the original author in the printed version of 1500 refers to his creation of the text and drawings simultaneously (*volle scrivere et etiamdio disegnare*) in the course of the journey.<sup>30</sup> The woodcut illustrating the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 84) corresponds to the related manuscript precedents, as does every other woodcut illustration in the printed book, without exception.<sup>31</sup>

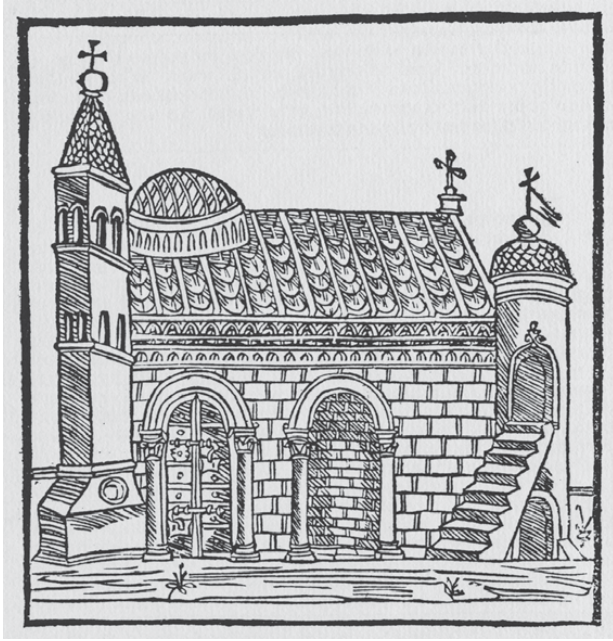


Fig. 84 Church of the Holy Sepulcher, *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem*, Bologna, 1500 (Photo: Petrucci and Petrucci, 1972)

#### INDULGENCES AND EMBODIED EXPERIENCE

Throughout the *Libro d'oltramare*, Niccolò da Poggibonsi emphasizes his bodily experience within the sacred buildings of the Holy Land, and he often characterizes the buildings as composed of materials that had directly interacted with and responded to Christ's or Mary's body. He also assiduously documents the spiritual benefits of the experience, as a way of quantifying the relative sanctity of each building and site. Through the development of a system of indulgences, Fra Niccolò and his fellow Franciscans emphasized the necessity of the physical pilgrimage as a kind of earthly purgatory.<sup>32</sup> Although the pilgrimage became more difficult to complete after Christian control of the Holy Land was lost, the Franciscan promotion of a system of indulgences for the holy sites rendered the idea of the pilgrimage more important than ever. Locations corresponding to key events in the lives of Christ and Mary were credited with a precise temporal amount of redemptive potential, calculated in terms of years and days.<sup>33</sup> The first indulgences for pilgrimage to the Holy Land were closely connected to the pardons granted to crusaders,

including a general indulgence of one year granted for the city of Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, both established by Pope Alexander III (in 1163 and 1171, respectively).<sup>34</sup> By the thirteenth century, it had become much clearer that indulgences – including those obtained in the Holy Land – would offset time owed in Purgatory; this perception represented a major shift in thinking, from the previous assumption that only monks and saints could truly avoid being condemned to hell.<sup>35</sup> Pilgrims writing in the post-crusade period also placed a new emphasis on describing the physical difficulties of the pilgrimage. Fra Niccolò, for example, describes a four-year odyssey that involved shipwreck, pirate attack, more than one abduction, harassment of various forms, and a myriad of other physical hardships, altogether suggesting that the difficulty of the pilgrimage was perceived as contributing to its purgative quality.

For pilgrims, the buildings of the Holy Land both embodied the charismatic traces of Christ and Mary and offered redemption and “spiritual joy” – as Niccolò put it.<sup>36</sup> The contemporary interests in describing the geography of Purgatory suggests a broader concern for concretizing the physical and bodily demands of the repentance necessary for salvation. Elements of Dante's description of Purgatory in *La divina commedia* (The Divine Comedy), written between 1308 and 1321, were apparently modeled on accounts of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>37</sup> In particular, the ascent to Mount Sinai, and the encounter with the garden enclosed within the Monastery of St. Catherine, appear to have inspired Dante's description of the ascent of Mount Purgatory to the Garden of Eden.<sup>38</sup>

Niccolò da Poggibonsi refers to a total of twenty-six full indulgences and ninety-two partial indulgences.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps Niccolò imagined that his guidebook created the possibility of a purgative mental pilgrimage.<sup>40</sup> One anonymous contemporary of Fra Niccolò emphasized that reading an itinerary of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land could become the basis of a physical re-enactment of the journey, made by the worshipper at home. The imagined journey as described in a unique manuscript in Bologna is presented as essential for saving the souls of those who would heed the unknown author's instructions.<sup>41</sup> Writing in Italian, the author of the short itinerary commences thus:

These are the voyages that the pilgrims must make, who go overseas in order to save their souls (*per salvare l'anima loro*), and which every person can do standing in his house, thinking in every place about which is below written, and in every sacred place say a *Paternoster* and *Ave Maria*.<sup>42</sup>

A much-abbreviated account of the Holy Land follows, in which we find no architectural descriptions or listing of indulgences, but instead instructions for moving within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in a sequence, instructions on where to go outside of Jerusalem, and at the end a summation of the distances in paces between the most important sites, within both the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the city of Jerusalem. The author unusually speaks in the second person plural, exhorting his or her readers to interact with the text by moving from place to place as he or she reads the account. The author also asks the readers to actively see Mary collapsing due to grief at Mount Calvary.<sup>43</sup> Although the unknown author does not directly invoke the concept of memory, the imagined experience parallels the typical training in the art of memory based upon using the plan of a building, in which images are placed.<sup>44</sup> The crucial difference is that the reader is not asked only to remember something in the past, recollected through an abstract architectural schema, but instead to imagine actively engaging in the real spaces of the lives of Christ and Mary.

The anonymous manuscript in Bologna suggests how a detailed description of bodily movement within the sanctuaries and cities of the Holy Land may have been received, as cues to simulate aspects of the pilgrimage not just in the mind, but through physical movement, as a form of purgative action understood to be necessary for the soul's salvation. Another fourteenth-century Italian manuscript now in the Vatican includes a list of the measures of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, each part being quantified in terms of paces (*passi*).<sup>45</sup> The interest in spatializing the account of the buildings of the Holy Land can, based upon the surviving manuscripts, be identified as a characteristically Italian phenomenon of the fourteenth century closely relating to the activities of the Franciscan order, of which Fra

Niccolò's account represents the fullest development. By the fifteenth century, the translation of manuscripts, continued expansion of the Franciscan order beyond Italy, and popularization of their meditative techniques would all contribute to a more pervasive emphasis on space as a medium of embodied movement in new books written throughout Europe in various languages, as will be discussed in [Part IV](#).

#### THE INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER

Franciscan writers placed a new emphasis on imagining the bodily pilgrimage, through reference to movement through the spaces of the sacred buildings of the Holy Land. The purgative nature of this bodily pilgrimage effected in the mind is suggested by correlating accounts of the indulgences associated with each site. Niccolò da Poggibonsi specifically tells his readers that his account of the inside of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher follows the order of indulgences.<sup>46</sup> This emphasis on order likely reflects a practice of Franciscans taking pilgrims around the city, visiting sites in a set sequence, as probably developed in the first years of their Custody of the Holy Land. After entering through the portal of the southern entrance, one encounters the "green stone" (*pietra verde*) where Christ had been embalmed after being deposited from the Cross (i.e., on the Unction Stone). Fra Niccolò provides the distance from the door (six steps), the measure of the stone (eight palms by three fingers), and its material (green porphyry). The accompanying drawing ([Fig. 9](#)) suggests both a grid measuring the stone and the checkered pattern of two palms' width encircling it. The current rosy-hued stone was put in place in 1808 ([Fig. 18](#)); before that, there was a dark stone variously described as black or green, and before that a mosaic pavement put in place sometime after the crusader renovations.<sup>47</sup> We are again oriented within the church spatially, by being told that we proceed west by twelve paces to reach the Anastasis Rotunda, which is composed of columns of red and white porphyry and pilasters of stone; the *cupola* above has a great window at the summit. Fra Niccolò also describes the mosaics encountered, including representations of Constantine, Helena, and the prophets.

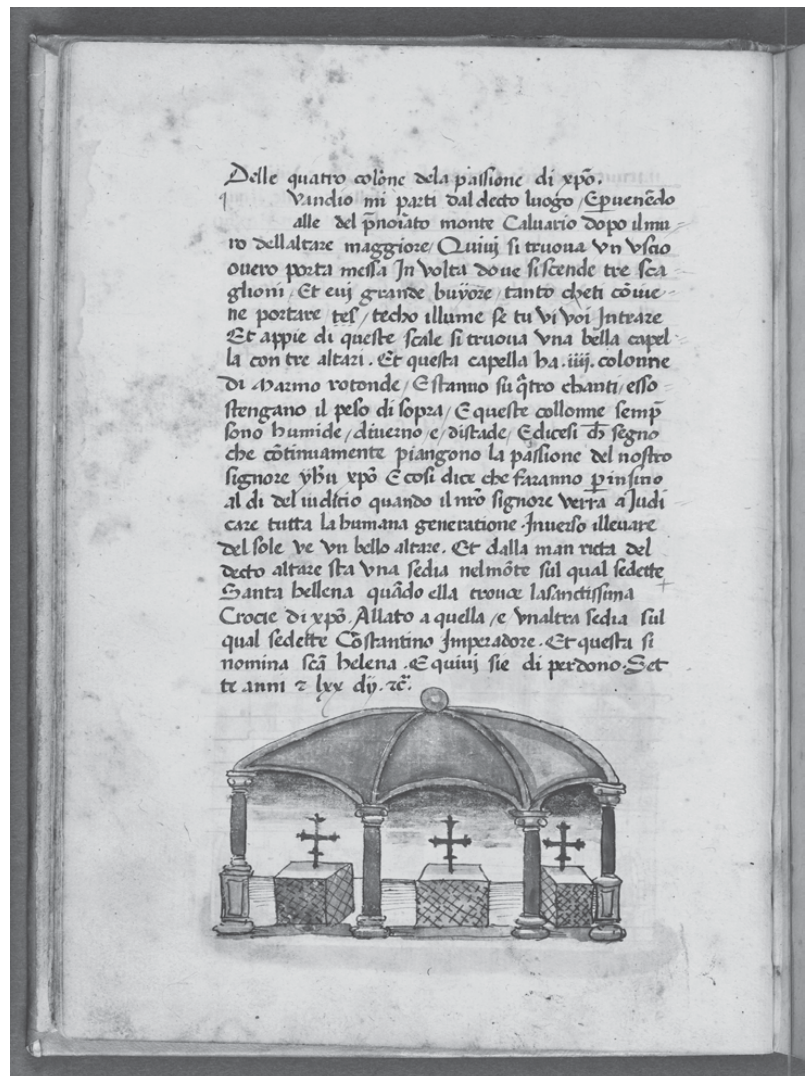


He then provides the measurements of the Tomb, as many writers before him had, and also records the inscriptions and mentions the three portholes looking into the Tomb. Inside, in the presence of the Tomb, he exhorts the reader to respond to the sanctity of the place, by imagining Mary's sorrow and remembering that here Jesus had shed blood.<sup>48</sup>

Fra Niccolò then has his reader face east and proceed ten steps away from the Sepulcher to reach the Chapel of Mary Magdalene, where he says one finds a part of the Column of the Flagellation, four palms in diameter.<sup>49</sup> The fragmentary column of porphyry is still in the chapel today (Fig. 1), tended by the Franciscans. Outside the chapel, a round white stone marks the site of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene. The location of this, to the north of the

Tomb, is the same as the chapel in Assisi dedicated to Mary Magdalene relative to the Tomb of St. Francis, as noted above. Twenty steps to the east, one then encounters the square Chapel of the Imprisonment of Christ. The nearby church within a church – as Fra Niccolò calls it – marks the center of the world. A detailed account of the mosaics in the apse of the high altar is then provided. The following chapter title invokes “the view” of the next section of the church – the Chapel of Mount Calvary (Figs. 39 and 40). Ten steps lead up to a chapel raised 20 feet above the ground, where mosaics adorn the space enclosing the site of the Crucifixion, composed of a mount all white, “as of *ricotta*.” Nearby are the tombs of the Latin kings (Fig. 85). To the east of Mount Calvary, behind the high altar, an arched opening leads into a

Fig. 85 Tombs of the crusader kings in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, NYPL Ms. Spencer 62, fol. 16v, 1490–1510 (Photo: Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations)



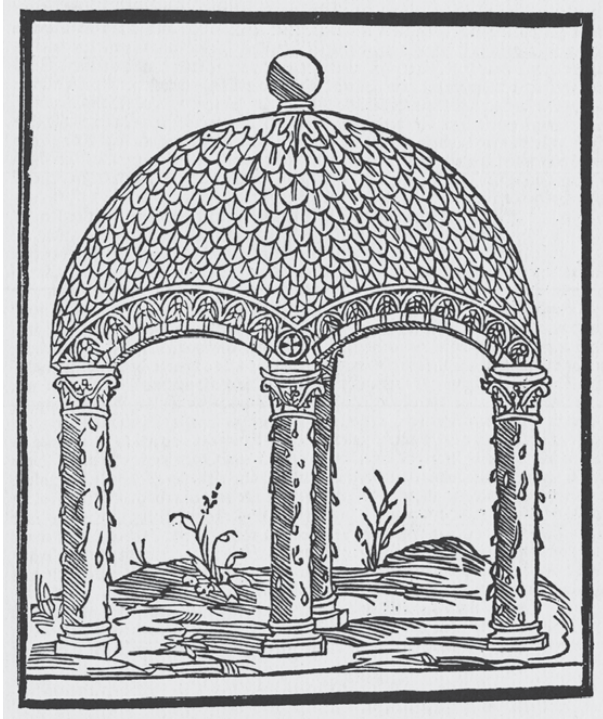


Fig. 86 Four columns mourning the death of Christ, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem*, Bologna, 1500 (Photo: Petrucci and Petrucci, 1972)

staircase, proceeding to the underground Chapel of St. Helena. One of three altars is described as being composed of four perpetually damp columns, said to bewail the passion of Jesus (Fig. 86).<sup>50</sup> The material of the church fully embodies the suffering associated with the site. Another stairwell (of precisely eleven stairs) leads further underground to the space where Helena unearthed the Cross, measured by Fra Niccolò as 12 feet wide and 11 feet long.<sup>51</sup>

#### SPATIALIZATION OF THE ROAD TO CALVARY

Fra Niccolò expands the subject of description from the sites of literal contact with the body of Christ to the spaces through which Christ had moved, with special attention given to the setting for the events leading to the Crucifixion. Following the account of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Fra Niccolò leads his readers around the city of Jerusalem and the adjacent areas, describing and illustrating dozens of sanctuaries, from the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of

Olives to the buildings on Mount Sion. Immediately before leaving the city and describing the way to Bethlehem, Fra Niccolò gives an account of the route followed by Jesus on the way to Mount Calvary and the Crucifixion. This way was also known as the *Via Crucis* (Way of the Cross) or *Via Dolorosa* (Sorrowful way), as it still is today; Fra Niccolò refers to it as the “street of the Temple,” and – unlike previous pilgrim-authors – provides a full account of the spatial and architectural articulation of the route.<sup>52</sup> The pilgrim enters the street of the Temple through the Gate of St. Stephen and follows a road for thirty paces, we are told, to the Church of St. Anne, where the Virgin Mary was born, although we cannot enter, since it has been made a mosque.<sup>53</sup> To the west one then goes underground to the place where Christ healed the paralytic, that is, the Pool of Bethesda.<sup>54</sup> Proceeding farther one encounters the houses of Annas (at the mosque of the Mujahidin opposite the *Bab el’Atem*), “where Christ was first led, after being dragged” from Gethsemane before being led to Pilate.<sup>55</sup>

Fra Niccolò presents each architectural location along the “way of the Temple” as part of an unfolding set within which such dramatic events can be more vividly imagined. Taking a street to the right, one comes to the houses of Simon the leper Pharisee, where Mary Magdalene washed Christ’s feet with her tears. It too, is a “mosque,” having been converted into a madrasa (Arabic: school) in 1197. After “returning to the street of the Temple and proceeding westwards for XX paces,” one encounters the houses of Herod, where Pilate questioned Christ after his arrest. A drawing illustrates an arch that would later be known as the *Ecce Homo* arch (Plate 18).<sup>56</sup> It was here that the scourged figure of Christ was displayed by Pontius Pilate, declaring “behold the man!” (Latin: *Ecce Homo*) (John 19:5).<sup>57</sup> The triple arch of the second century has become largely obscured due to later construction (Fig. 87); the arch had become associated with this event by the late thirteenth century.<sup>58</sup> Descending on the same road, there is an intersection, where Christ paused with the Cross and encountered his mother and her companions, saying: “Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not.”<sup>59</sup> The street, we are told, leads to the Tower of David, from where one leaves to proceed to Bethlehem, 5 miles distant from Jerusalem. Fra Niccolò describes the route associated with Christ’s





Fig. 87 *Ecce Homo* arch, Jerusalem, second century (Photo: author)

procession to the site of the Crucifixion as an entity separate from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. This reflects his understanding of the history and topography of the city, as first presented in his account of that church. We are told that the sites of the Entombment and Crucifixion had been located outside of the city until the time of Hadrian, when Jerusalem was rebuilt and a new wall was constructed to enclose the city.<sup>60</sup>

#### TABLETS OF MEMORY

Fra Niccolò's account of the architectural setting for the "street of the Temple," like the various chapels inside the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, is unprecedented in terms of description of architectural forms and spatial arrangement. In the opening of the chapter on the Holy Sepulcher, Fra Niccolò refers to two tablets that he always carried with him on his journey:

One should be wise and discreet in laying up store in one's memory; and in order not to fail should write at once on the places overseas; but I, Friar Niccolò of Poggibonsi, when I went overseas, I had in mind to visit everything, and not to return to my country without doing so. And what I saw with my eyes and touched with my hands, and asked of others, and when I was well certified of the things, that I wrote on two small tablets, which I carried by me. Later, when I was in Jerusalem, I procured a measure of one *braccio* (arm), with one of one foot, and going my rounds, I measured everything in order, as herein you will hear: the area, the length and breadth, and I at once wrote them down.<sup>61</sup>

In contrast to Arculf, who had – according to Adomnán, writing at the end of the seventh century – recalled only the most essential forms of the buildings of the Holy Land from memory, Fra Niccolò set out with the intent of recording details firsthand, noting them on tablets, which he may have transferred to paper as he traveled. There is no evidence that the oldest surviving manuscript was created over an extended period of time; it most likely represents a copy of the book that was formulated once Fra Niccolò returned to Italy in 1350.

The emphasis on exact quantification throughout the *Libro d'oltramare*, from the dimensions recorded by his arm and foot measures, to the number of steps between buildings and sites and the counting of columns and other architectural features, suggests that the Franciscan from Poggibonsi did record a number of details in writing during the four-year journey. He again refers to the tablets in his account of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. In this instance, there is a suggestion that he also drew the places as he traveled:

I have recounted the places of the monastery [of St. Catherine] as briefly as I could but of this writing I must be forgiven, because the things that one cannot so briefly describe and the other places [which I have already described] can provide some spiritual delight; and rather I have tired myself writing this, in



order that one can better understand, [and so] I have represented (*afighurato*) [these places] as close as to how they are; although that I thought in my heart and decided in my mind to never leave from the place until I had seen everything as you find written. And in order to not fail I wrote day by day on a pair of gessoed tablets (*tavolelle ingessate*) that I carried by my side.<sup>62</sup>

The drawings do not present the forms abstracted in memory, but instead something closer to firsthand visual impressions.<sup>63</sup> The serial quality of the illustrations underscores the different intent and effect of reading Fra Niccolò's book, in contrast to those of previous centuries. The most important precedents for the pictorial descriptiveness of Fra Niccolò's account are not found in the previous textual accounts of the pilgrimage, but instead in the pictorial culture of contemporary Italy. The narrativization and suggestion of a continuous pictorial space most closely connects to the concept of a series of paintings visualizing the life of Christ, as in the Franciscan paintings of Assisi and related mural paintings made for other Franciscan churches, such as Santa Croce in Florence.

The use of paper and the creation of architectural elevations was also unprecedented and more closely relates to developments in Tuscany during the lifetime of Fra Niccolò. Surviving drawings relating to major building projects for various Tuscan cities indicate the new prevalence of architectural elevations of entire façades created as part of the design process.<sup>64</sup> The development of architectural elevations in the fourteenth century has been related to the new use of paper in Europe, which allowed for the relatively inexpensive development of design solutions in graphic form, in contrast to the expense of parchment.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps Fra Niccolò brought paper on his journey, onto which he transferred some of his descriptions and drawings from the tablets that he used on site. However they were made, too many elements – including for instance the arrangement of the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the star inscribed on the altar marking the birth of Jesus – are closely related to the real architectural situation to be the products of fantasy, as we will see.

#### MEDITATIONS ON THE LIFE OF CHRIST AND THE SETTING FOR THE NATIVITY IN BETHLEHEM

Although the text and illustrations of the *Libro d'oltramare* are abundant in terms of their descriptiveness, overall the book is an austere and markedly unluxurious production. The lack of pictorial sophistication, the lack of color, and the use of paper rather than parchment are all characteristics of a humility and anti-materialism befitting the ideals of the Franciscan order. In these respects the earliest versions of the *Libro d'oltramare* resemble another illustrated Franciscan manuscript created around 1350 in Tuscany, most likely Pisa: the illustrated *Meditazioni della vita di Cristo*, or *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (BNF Ms. Ital. 115).<sup>66</sup> The book was composed in the vernacular and extensively illustrated with pen drawings on paper as a meditative guide to the contemplation of the life of Christ. The addition of extensive pictorial illustrations was similarly aimed at aiding the pious in the internal visualization of the events. Unlike the *Libro*, however, the *Meditations* was created for an audience of Franciscan nuns, who were not allowed to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The manuscript may have first been composed by a Poor Clare – as Franciscan nuns are known – and then revised by a Franciscan friar.<sup>67</sup> The book was immensely popular and translated into Latin and various vernacular languages, spreading far beyond its initial Clarissan context already by the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>68</sup> Within the illustrated versions, the drawings lack architectural specificity.<sup>69</sup> There are nonetheless broad parallels with the *Libro d'oltramare* in the way the author of the *Meditations* asks for the reader to insert himself or herself physically into the imagined scenes, in order to render oneself an eyewitness and active emotional participant. There is a unique instance in which the two books directly intersect, on the subject of the material setting for the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem.

Fra Niccolò's account of Bethlehem includes a detailed description of the architectural features of the Church of the Nativity (Figs. 11 and 17). A church had first been constructed over the cave identified with the stable in which Christ was born under Constantine and Helena, consecrated in 339. The church described by Fra Niccolò had been reconstructed in the sixth century, after the ancient

basilica had been destroyed by a fire. Christian pilgrims regained access to the church in 1271, and by 1347 the Franciscans represented the Latin church in Bethlehem, occupying the existing convent buildings and maintaining an altar in the Cave as they have done until the present day.<sup>70</sup> Fra Niccolò describes the five-aisled basilica, its red and white marble columns, and its mosaics.<sup>71</sup> Fragments of the mosaics in the clerestory correspond to his description, while those on the west wall have been lost entirely.<sup>72</sup> The description of the Cave of the Nativity, in which stairs lead to an altar with a carved rosette in the shape of a star, marking the site of the birth of Jesus, is accompanied by an illustration (Fig. 88).<sup>73</sup> Here as elsewhere Fra Niccolò emphasizes the materials that had touched the bodies of Mary and Christ: a

column against which Mary leaned at the beginning of her labor and a rock that had yielded to Christ's touch when he was first delivered.<sup>74</sup>

This is the first known reference to such a column in the Cave of the Nativity in the context of a pilgrimage account.<sup>75</sup> A contemporary reference is made in one of the early versions of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*. The *Meditations* is now thought to have been created c. 1305–15, but then redacted with details drawn from the pilgrimage experience, including distances between places in the Holy Land.<sup>76</sup> It is in this redacted version, made sometime after the original version in the first half of the fourteenth century, that we find a reference to this column in the Cave of the Nativity together with an allusion to the source of the information:

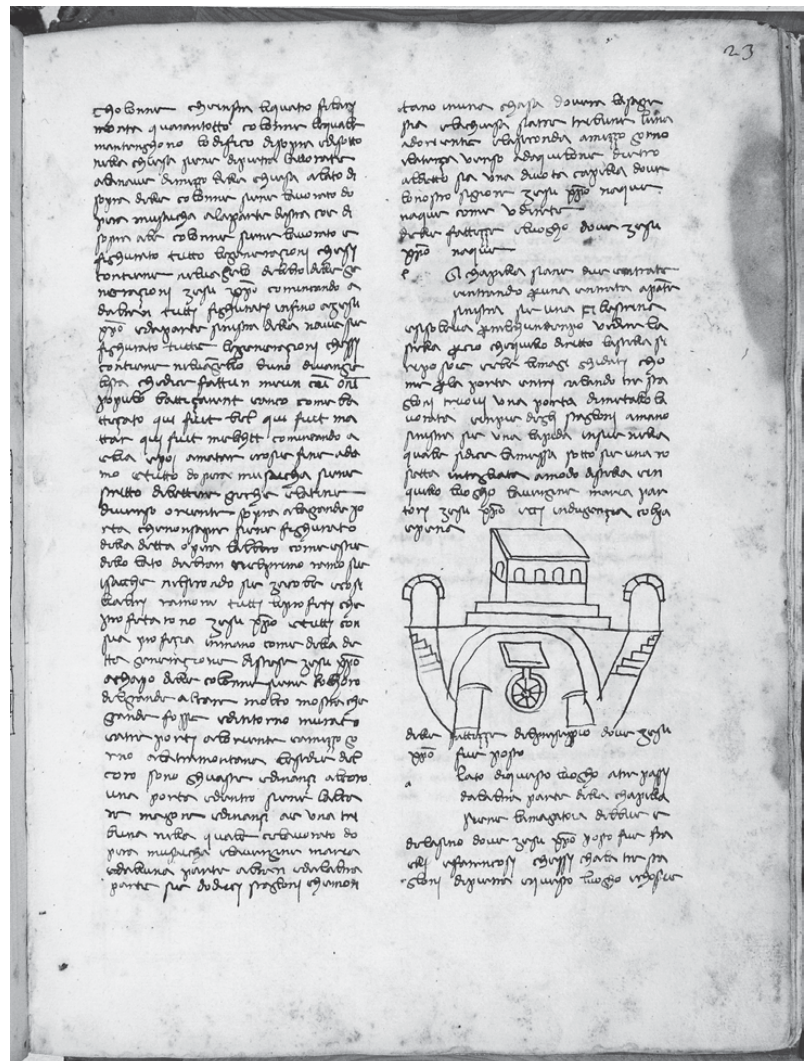


Fig. 88 Cave of the Nativity, Bethlehem, BNCF Ms. II IV 101, fol. 23r, second half fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)



Pay attention, now, to every thing, because these things that I will tell you were revealed and shown by Our Lady, according to what I had [heard] from a holy brother of our order (*secondamente ch'io ebbi da uno santo frate del nostro Ordine*), to whom I think these things were revealed, and [who] is very worthy of trust. Now, when the hour of birth came, that is at midnight on Sunday, Our Lady raising herself up leant against a column that was there, and Joseph was very sad, because he could not provide those things that would be convenient.<sup>77</sup>

The account continues to describe Joseph composing a makeshift bed from straw and his saddle. In Niccolò's account, one sees only the remnant of the column.

The source for this detail in the *Meditations* is said to be a trusted brother of the Franciscan order. A Franciscan friar – perhaps the same? – is again referred to as the eyewitness source in the account of the Flagellation (as *uno nostro frate che la vide*), when it is noted that a piece of the column remains in Jerusalem.<sup>78</sup>

The Franciscan redactor of the *Meditations* had evidently not himself been to the Holy Land, but draws upon accounts from fellow friars who had returned to Tuscany. This version is currently thought to have been made around 1315, and a reference to towns in Tuscany – including Poggibonsi – suggests the manuscript was produced in that region.<sup>79</sup> When the first fully illustrated version of the *Meditations* was created around 1350 in Pisa, an illustration of the Nativity incorporated an image of Mary leaning against the column of the cave in Bethlehem (Fig. 89).<sup>80</sup> The

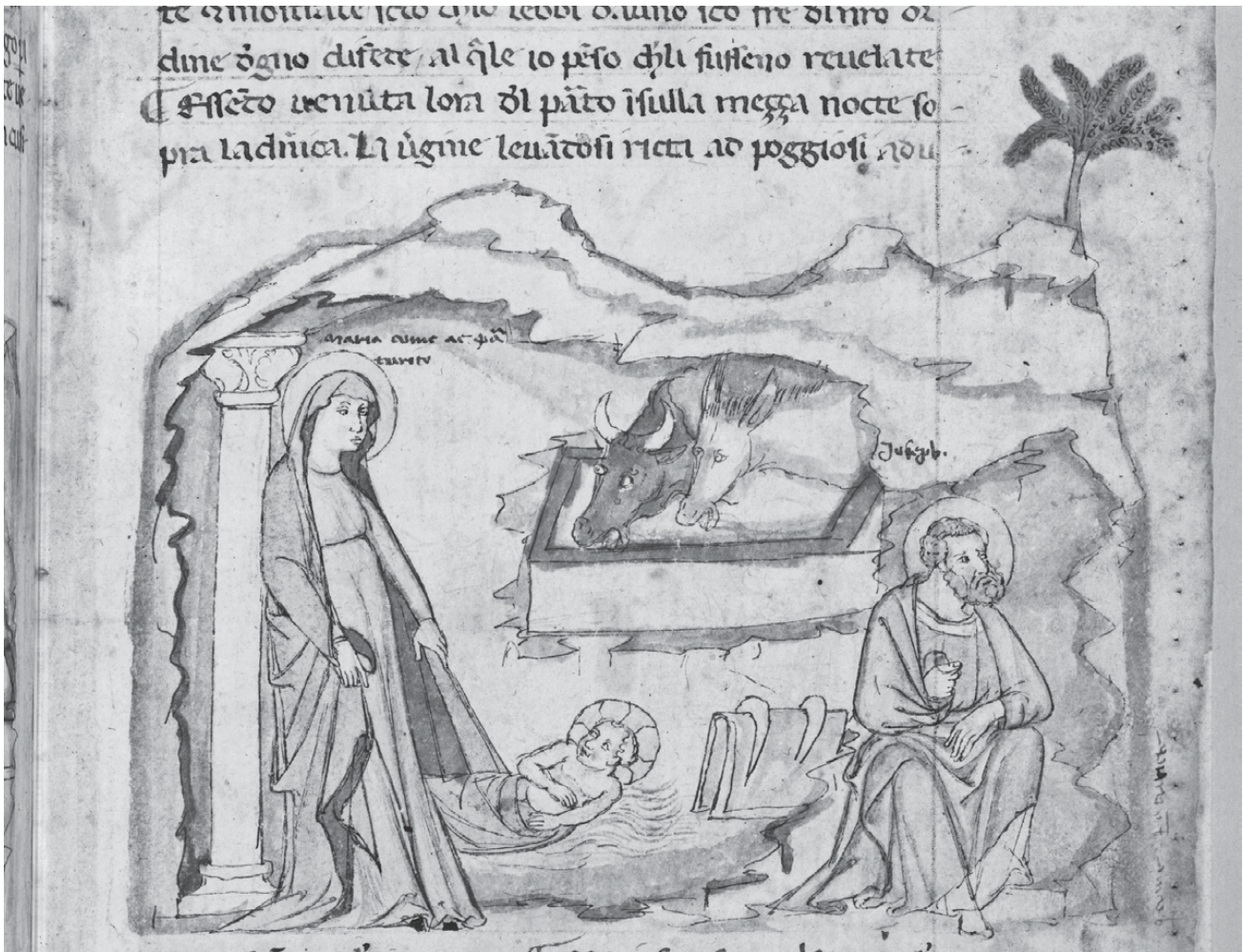


Fig. 89 Mary leaning against a column at the Birth of Christ, BNF Ms. Ital. 115, fol. 19r, c. 1350 (Photo: BNF)



*Meditations on the Life of Christ* otherwise tends to omit architectural details, but this column helped furnish the affective tableau, demonstrating the discomfort of Mary and Joseph's empathetic response, with a vivid emotional realism. Fra Niccolò's own reference to the column does not seem to immediately derive from the *Meditations*. The allusion more likely pertains to the kind of oral information circulating among the Franciscans that had originally inspired the redactor of the *Meditations* to include the unusual architectural detail.<sup>81</sup>

### CAVE OF THE ANNUNCIATION IN NAZARETH

In Nazareth as in Bethlehem, Fra Niccolò focuses his description of the cave of the Annunciation on a column that came into contact with Mary at a transformative moment. Both events associated with Mary's miraculous fertility had been located in subterranean caves for centuries. The basilica that had stood over the Cave of the Annunciation since the sixth century had been destroyed in 1263.<sup>82</sup> The drawing of Nazareth (Fig. 90 and Plate 19) emphasizes two distinctive features: the fountain of Gabriel where Mary had first encountered the angel outside of her house (as in the Proto-Gospel of James), and the cave identified as the location of Mary's house.<sup>83</sup> The most distinctive features of the house are said to be the column where Mary went to pray after first encountering Gabriel and the window through which Gabriel entered.<sup>84</sup> According to Fra Niccolò, Mary embraced a gray column at the moment of Gabriel's entrance. The source for this tradition is unknown (and the column is not mentioned in the *Meditations*).<sup>85</sup> In contrast to the German pilgrim William of Boldensele, who only noted the presence of a column at the site of the Annunciation in his account of his journey of 1336, Fra Niccolò emphasizes that Mary grabbed the column full of fearful emotions.<sup>86</sup> Jacopo da Verona, in the account of his journey of 1335, provides the earliest surviving reference to the column, noting its presence at the site of the Annunciation and connecting it to Mary pulling away from Gabriel.<sup>87</sup>

The Church of the Nativity constructed by the crusaders after the capture of Nazareth in 1099 had

been destroyed in the thirteenth century; whatever pilgrims saw in the fourteenth century were the remnants of that building.<sup>88</sup> The Cave of the Annunciation had been described in the twelfth century as containing two granite columns.<sup>89</sup> Five column capitals, carved with figural scenes between 1150 and 1187 in Nazareth, still survive, but are no longer *in situ*.<sup>90</sup> In the seventeenth century, Quaresmio refers to the northern column as the "column of Mary" – apparently corresponding to the one described by Fra Niccolò – and the southern column as the "column of the angel" (Fig. 91).<sup>91</sup> The two columns are still displayed in the church.

### THE COLUMN IN THE CAVE OF THE NATIVITY IN DEPICTIONS OF THE ANNUNCIATION

The first references to one of the columns from Nazareth as contact relics and significant symbols of the events of the Annunciation are in the accounts of the 1330s and 1340s. Pictorial representations of the Annunciation from the same period reflect the focus on the single column of Mary.<sup>92</sup> One is found in an evangeliary made in the time of Doge Andrea Dandolo (r. 1343–54) for the Basilica of San Marco in Venice.<sup>93</sup> Mary sits between two columns, one larger in the foreground, around which she wraps both arms. Paolo Veneziano created a similar scene for the Annunciation on an altar frontal in the Venetian Church of San Pantaleone, dated to the same period.<sup>94</sup>

The Siense artist Ambrogio Lorenzetti incorporated the column into his plans for a remarkably emotional vision of the Annunciation, made sometime after 1340. On the wall of the Chapel of San Galgano in Montesiepi (near Siena), a preliminary drawing in sinopia shows Mary falling as she pulls away from Gabriel and embraces the column (Fig. 92).<sup>95</sup> Mary and Gabriel are separated by a real window, which seems to manifest the opening through which the angel miraculously entered. Such a depiction of the Annunciation was entirely without precedent, and the pilgrims' accounts of Nazareth may have been a direct inspiration for the Siense painter.<sup>96</sup> Ambrogio Lorenzetti's intended fresco apparently never had any impact, since the unorthodox scene was covered by a

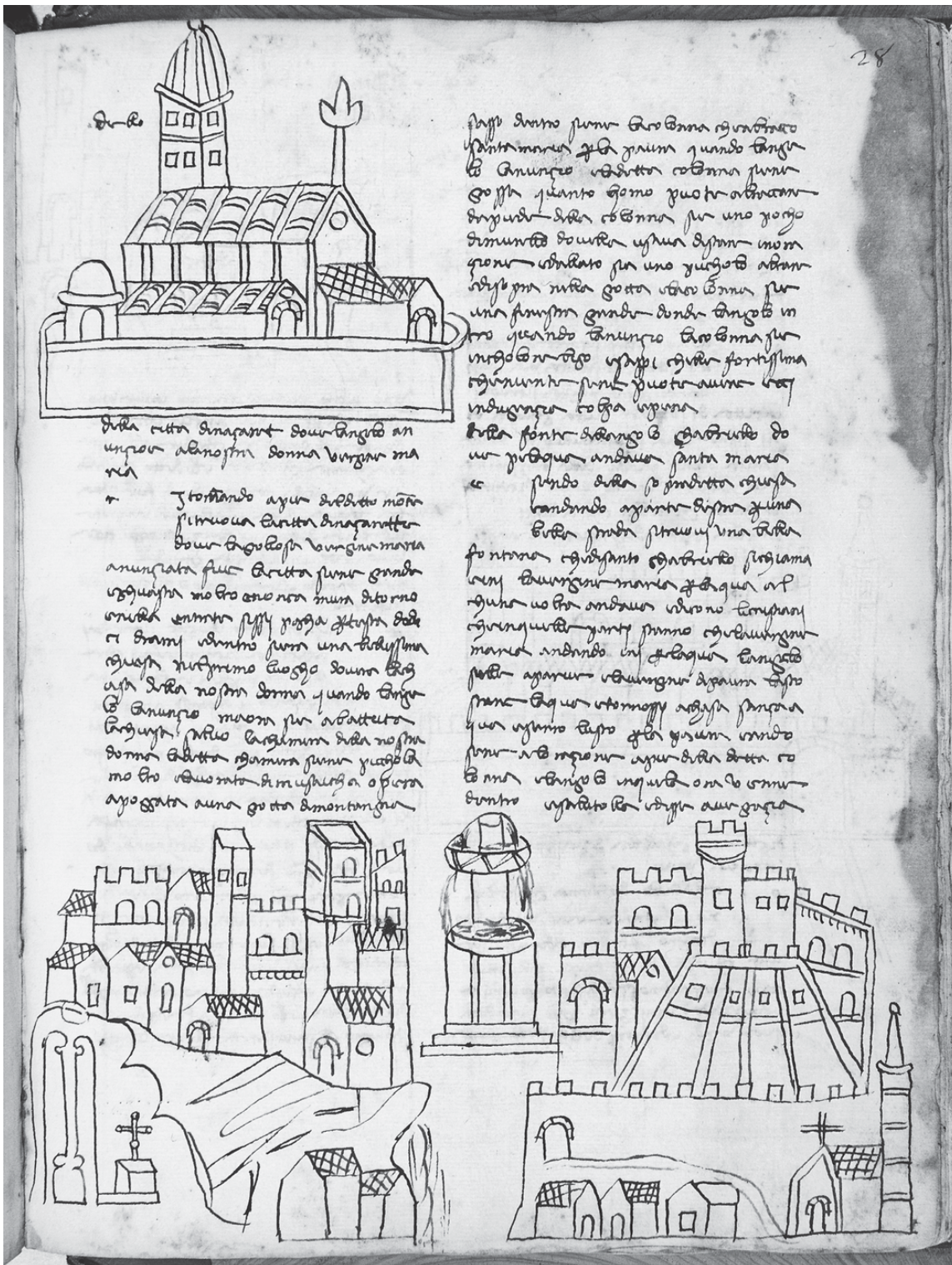


Fig. 90 Nazareth and Fountain of the Archangel Gabriel (lower right), BNCF Ms. II IV 101, fol. 28r, second half fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)



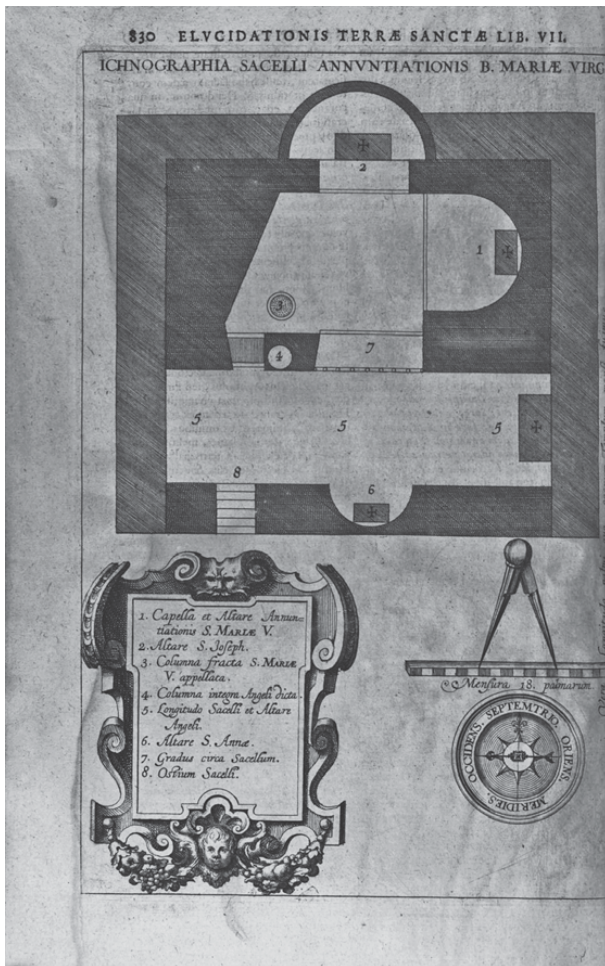


Fig. 91 Francesco Quaresmio, Church of the Annunciation, *Historica Theologica et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, Antwerp, 1639 (Photo: Archive.org / National Central Library of Rome – Public Domain)

fresco with a more traditional presentation of Mary calmly receiving the angel's message, in which the column was still present, but not an active participant in the emotional event.<sup>97</sup>

Fra Niccolò's emphasis on the column in the Cave of the Nativity as a symbol of the centuries-old emotive traces of the Annunciation still inhering in the stones of Nazareth, like the related pictorializations of the event, may reflect a tradition of invoking architectural metaphors in praises of Mary's virtues. A fourteenth-century Latin hymn, for example, refers to Mary as a column supporting the earth and humanity.<sup>98</sup> Some *laude* (Italian: praises) from Tuscany in particular – which would have plausibly been known to both Fra Niccolò and the painter Ambrogio Lorenzetti – invoke the image of Mary



Fig. 92 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Annunciation*, Chapel of San Galgano, Montesiepi, after 1340 (Photo: author)

as a column in order to praise her fortitude, as an embodiment of *Ecclesia* (Church).<sup>99</sup> One particular Tuscan *lauda* of the early fourteenth century even evokes the image of Mary embracing the column at the moment of the Annunciation.<sup>100</sup> The *lauda* inverts expectations, playing on the inability of Mary – herself compared to a column – to support herself, falling and embracing the column at the moment of her greatest doubt. The *lauda* attempts to access the inner turmoil of Mary at the moment, as she wonders at how the angel might have entered and if she might have been deceived. The question of the nature of Mary's emotional response at the moment of the Annunciation was a traditional subject of debate. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), for example, would later criticize depictions of the scene in which the angel “appeared to be chasing Our Lady out of her room ... while it seemed as if she in despair would throw herself from a window.”<sup>101</sup> Within the context



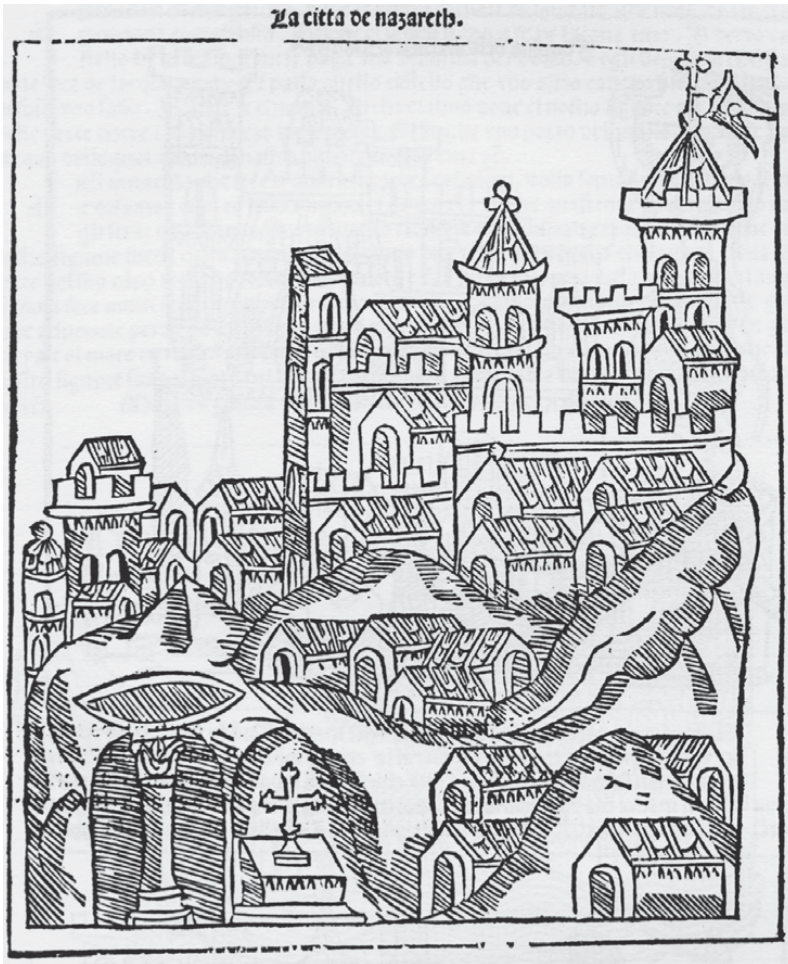


Fig. 93 Nazareth, *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem*, Bologna, 1500 (Photo: Petrucci and Petrucci, 1972)

of the pilgrim's experience of the architecture of the Holy Land, the column presented an important material connection to the emotional drama of the Annunciation. In every manuscript illustration and printed woodcut illustrating Nazareth inspired by Niccolò's account, the column was presented as a defining feature of the Cave of the Annunciation (Fig. 93).<sup>102</sup>

#### THE COLUMN OF OUR LADY IN CAIRO

Fra Niccolò may have been recording stories about architectural features that had already come into existence in the early years of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land; in some instances, he may have invented or embellished stories himself for his account of the sanctuaries of the Holy Land. In a Marian church in Cairo, Fra Niccolò records the presence of another column that Mary had once

embraced (although it is not said why), whose color miraculously changes to white in response to the pilgrim's own embrace.<sup>103</sup> In a fifteenth-century manuscript, the column is shown as both red and white (Plate 20), and the changeable column appears (albeit without color) in the many printed versions of Fra Niccolò's account. The column was found in the Coptic church known as the Hanging Church.<sup>104</sup>

Fra Niccolò's emphasis on individual columns as anthropomorphic links to the sanctity of Holy Land sanctuaries may reflect his awareness of the special significance of the Column of the Flagellation (Fig. 1), which had come into the possession of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land by the time of his journey. In addition to the primary relic in the Chapel of Mary Magdalene in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Franciscans sought out other important relics of the Column of the Flagellation, including those installed at La Verna, in the convent of St. Francis in Assisi

(donated by Pope Alexander V, r. 1409–10, previously a Franciscan), at San Francesco in Venice, and elsewhere.<sup>105</sup> The Column of the Flagellation had stood metaphorically at the center of the experience and memorialization of the Holy Land pilgrimage since the very outset of the creation of written pilgrimage accounts. The fundamental anthropomorphic qualities of a column, whose dimensions and forms originated in the features of the human body, may help explain the central symbolic resonance of this particular architectural element, as pilgrims sought out materials embodying the absent Christ and Mary.

#### SAIDNAYA AND MATARIYYA

Fra Niccolò characterizes the sanctuaries of the Holy Land not just as sacred receptacles for past divine presence, but also as active participants in an ongoing spectacle of the Incarnation. Columns in Bethlehem and Nazareth provided direct links in the present to the story of the Incarnation of the divine on earth. At other sites on the periphery of the Holy Land, the Franciscan pilgrims emphasized opportunities to encounter organic embodiments of divinity. Outside of Damascus, Fra Niccolò describes a sanctuary that encloses a literal embodiment of Mary, in the form of a flesh-like icon that exudes a healing oil from its breasts:

The monastery of St. Mary of Serdinale is placed at the top of the city on a rock, and it is so strong, that it appears a marvel to see. Inside the houses of the Syrian nuns, who hold the monastery, there is a church: the door is turned to the west, with a portico. The church is made in three naves, with twelve columns: beyond the high altar there is a grated window, 4 feet high from the ground, and inside there is the image of the Virgin Mary: and the said image is made as if from flesh, from which comes out very holy and healing oil; and the said oil becomes flesh at the end of seven years.<sup>106</sup>

The icon is preserved in a Melkite monastery outside of Damascus – which housed both monks and

nuns – known in Arabic as Saidnaya, in English as Sardeney, and in Italian as Serdinale.<sup>107</sup> The icon provided a way for the pilgrim to come into direct contact with the generativeness and healing potential of Mary as the mother of God. A monastery had been founded as early as the sixth century, while the first references to the healing oil issuing from the flesh at Saidnaya date to the 1170s and 1180s, when there are reports of pilgrims encountering the icon and transporting it back to Europe.<sup>108</sup>

Fra Niccolò describes the icon embedded into the apse wall at Saidnaya, behind the high altar.<sup>109</sup> His reference to the fleshy material of the icon drew upon its legendary history, originating in the time of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>110</sup> A monk from Constantinople had sought to buy the icon, but as he tried to leave the convent the door disappeared. Having realized that God desired the icon to remain in the church, he gave it over to a nun, who put it behind the altar, where it immediately transformed into flesh and emitted oil from its breasts, soaking the wall with holy liquid. The image had transformed into the living body of Mary, concealed and incorporated into the church.<sup>111</sup> Pilgrims were not allowed to touch the icon; it was revealed from behind curtains only on occasion, and even then, likely presented only a dark and shadowy image. The idea of the icon's living but invisible presence within the church created in Saidnaya the most literal example of a sanctuary of the Holy Land as an embodiment of the absent figures of Mary and Christ. The image was perhaps of the *Galaktotrophousa* type, that is, an icon of Mary nursing Christ, and the sacred oil was perhaps associated with the breast-milk of the mother of God.<sup>112</sup> The sanctity of Saidnaya did not originate in any specific sacred event from the lives of Christ and Mary.<sup>113</sup> Its story points to the continuing generativeness of the traces of divine presence, in an ongoing expansion well beyond the primary loci of sanctity in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth.

The growing importance of pilgrimage sites outside of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth suggests that the auratic presence of Mary's and Christ's bodies was perceived as an expansive force. On the outskirts of the Holy Land, as at Saidnaya, pilgrims could be put in direct contact with their

living presence. The effusions of divine presence that were concentrated along the extreme boundaries of the Holy Land suggested the potent sanctity and collective vitality of the entire region. The map of Matthew Paris mentioned above (Fig. 75) visualizes the boundaries of the Holy Land in terms of such sites, like the notation for the Crucifix of Nicodemus in Beirut on the far western border that had given forth Christ's blood (discussed above), and on the far eastern border a notation for the simulacrum (image) of Saidnaya.<sup>114</sup> The sites in Egypt constituted the southernmost border, and here pilgrims again encountered sanctuaries where they could collect holy oils issuing from divine bodies, most notably at Matariyya and Sinai. Matariyya was located on the outskirts of the city of Cairo. A fountain was said to contain the healing waters where Mary had washed

“the woolens of Christ,” visited by pilgrims since at least the twelfth century.<sup>115</sup> Pilgrims came to partake in the healing potency of the waters and the related oil of the balsam tree, which sprung up in the sanctified water.<sup>116</sup> By the twelfth century, the use of balsam in the oil of consecration had become a widespread practice in Christianity; the site in Egypt located the mythic origins of the plant's unique potency.<sup>117</sup> Fra Niccolò mentions “a house, with a beautiful fountain, in which people bathe out of great devotion.”<sup>118</sup> The chapel was illustrated in detail the end of the seventeenth century by the Franciscan Bernardino Amico, whose book will be discussed in Part IV. Fra Bernardino was involved in the failed attempt to restore the garden and its architecture, and his rendering may be more of a reflection of imaginative reconstruction than reality (Fig. 94).<sup>119</sup>

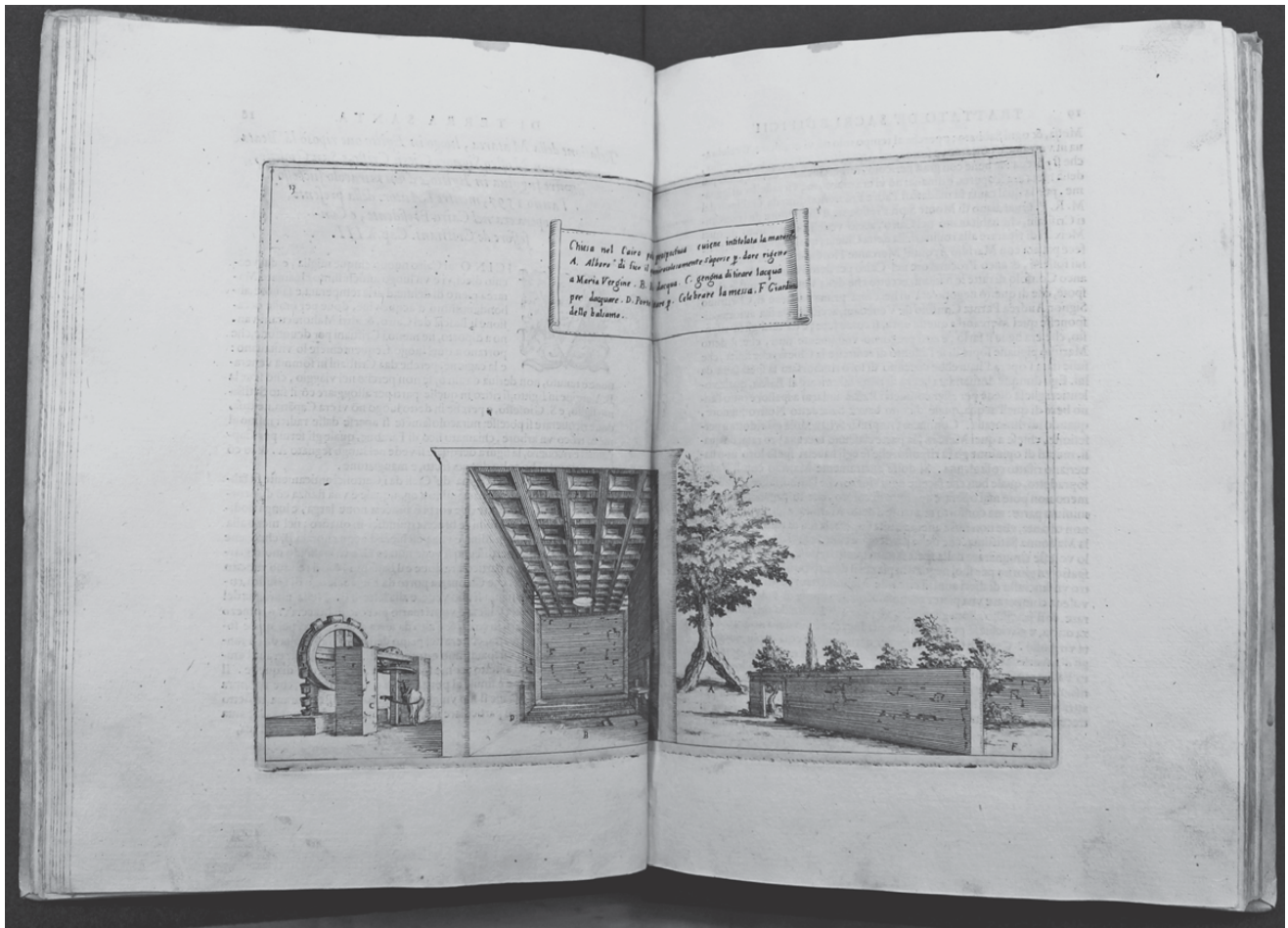


Fig. 94 Bernardino Amico, Chapel at Matariyya, *Trattato delle Piante & Imagini dei Sacri Edificii di Terra Santa ...*, Florence, 1620, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 84-B29370 (Photo: author)



## MOUNT SINAI

Throughout his book, Fra Niccolò links the salvific potency of the sanctuaries of the Holy Land to organic growth in nature and the responsiveness of matter to divine presence. In addition to Matariyya, Fra Niccolò makes note of the miraculous date tree on the eastern bank of the Nile in Cairo that had bowed in the presence of Mary and the Church of St. Mary of the Palm that had developed around it.<sup>120</sup> The effect is an illusion of animism in the inert stones of the buildings, seemingly rooted in the living landscape of the Holy Land and its sanctified earth, water, and oil. Fra Niccolò made the arduous journey to Mount Sinai in Egypt, a site whose remoteness and elevation had made it for centuries a place associated with the interpenetration of heaven and earth. Fra Niccolò provides the first surviving account of the architectural features of the monastery and church there dedicated to St. Catherine. Here, as in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, he creates an imagined bodily engagement with the columns, walls, and stones of the monastic complex as a form of communion with the material traces of divine presence.

Fra Niccolò describes the tree that burned, revealing God's presence to Moses, growing from beneath the stone altar in the Chapel of Moses, behind the high altar of the Church of St. Catherine.<sup>121</sup> As at Matariyya, the tree exuded a healing oil, collected by pilgrims at the altar, still active with the power of the divine fire that had been revealed to Moses centuries before.<sup>122</sup>

Fra Niccolò carefully describes the orientation of the Church of St. Catherine and how one moves through the building.<sup>123</sup> Fra Niccolò includes a description of the Tomb of St. Catherine, which exuded its own holy oil. The fragmentary body, he says, is upside down, and "manna" is emitted from the mouth and collected as an oil.<sup>124</sup> Since the eighth century, it was believed that angels had carried the body of St. Catherine from Alexandria, where it had been buried beneath the church after her martyrdom around 305.<sup>125</sup> Fra Niccolò also describes a church on Mount Sinai at the site where Moses received the Tables of the Law, "written with the very finger of God," with paintings illustrating the history of Moses and the people of Israel.<sup>126</sup> He makes note of a mosque eight paces away, a passing reference that indicates his – and his fellow pilgrims' – awareness of the Islamic reverence for Moses and Mount Sinai.<sup>127</sup>

## SIGNS OF CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM



## THE WOOD OF THE CROSS

In his account of Egypt, Fra Niccolò repeatedly links the sanctity of its pilgrimage buildings to organic matter and the generativeness of nature. Fra Niccolò to some extent was responding to a tradition of identifying sites of material response to the past bodily presence of Christ and Mary, but in emphasizing the links to organic growth, he was probably also responding to early Franciscan theology. St. Francis had placed a special emphasis on the natural world as a site for the revelation of divinity, as every bird, plant, and the sun itself became characterized as a miraculous product of God's creativity.<sup>1</sup> As expanded by followers like Bonaventure, all of the physical world reflected God and was endowed with the sanctity of divine creation.<sup>2</sup> Bonaventure focused on the symbol of the Cross as the Tree of Life to visualize the interconnectedness of all things to nature and the history of humanity's salvation through the life and death of Christ. These themes recur throughout Bonaventure's writings, but were most explicit in his widely influential book, *Lignum Vitae*, or *Tree of Life* (1257–74).<sup>3</sup> The healing life-force of the wood of the Cross represents the earthly manifestation of the power of God to render salvation to all believers through the body of Christ. Each fruit of the tree nourishes the soul, in an inversion of Adam's transgression in taking from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.<sup>4</sup>

Bonaventure's *Tree of Life* also emerged from a growing Franciscan interest in the history of the wood of the True Cross and the tree from which

it originally grew. The Franciscan dedication to the history of the Holy Cross provided an apt counterpart to the Franciscan protection of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the architecture of the Holy Land more generally.<sup>5</sup> For Bonaventure, the Cross represented another metaphor for the Incarnation of the divine in an earthly vessel and the sacrifice of Christ's flesh necessary for salvation. The Cross also represented another way of figuring the epiphany of the Logos – the Godhead – in the matter of nature, by tracing its history as an organic entity growing in the world, originating in the Tree of Paradise. The Crucifixion in this way became rooted in God's first creative acts in the Garden of Eden. The wood of the Cross provided an analogue for the vital presence of Christ's flesh in the Eucharist, and like the architecture of the Holy Land remnants of the Cross were dutifully guarded by the followers of St. Francis. The complete history of the Cross was first visually articulated by the Franciscans in their primary church dedicated to the protection of the Holy Cross, Santa Croce (Holy Cross) in Florence.<sup>6</sup> In the same church Bonaventure's concept of the *Lignum Vitae* had been given its most important visualization, in Taddeo Gaddi's picture of Christ crucified on the Tree of Life.<sup>7</sup> It was Taddeo's son, Agnolo, who would take up the subject of the history of the True Cross for the chancel of the same church, following the acquisition of a relic of the True Cross c. 1300.<sup>8</sup>

Fra Niccolò's book is the first to integrate the expanded Franciscan account of the origins of the wood of the Cross into the topographic description

of the Holy Land; paintings made after his journey may reflect an awareness of his book. The cycle in the apse of Santa Croce, in his native Republic of Florence, was created from 1388 to 1393.<sup>9</sup> A sequence of eight scenes traces the history of the Cross from the time of Adam through its triumphal return to Jerusalem in the seventh century, beginning with the Tree of the Cross being planted in Adam's body at his burial site in Hebron. Although there had been manuscript illustrations of various parts of the related legends created in previous centuries, Agnolo Gaddi's frescoes are the first to place the events in a single coherent landscape in the Holy Land. The date of Fra Niccolò's death, like his birthdate, is unknown, and it is possible that he was still living when the cycle was created for the Franciscan church; he – or his book – could have provided an eyewitness account of the landscape and architecture associated with the history of the Cross. By interweaving references to the history of the Cross throughout his book, Fra Niccolò expands the perception of the relation of sacred sites and buildings to the body of Christ, represented by the Cross and its living wood. The history of the Cross also implied the larger mystery of transformation, through which the body of Christ was made manifest in the materials associated with his life.

#### THE POOL OF BETHESDA AND RIVER OF CEDRON

The legends surrounding the Holy Cross as they developed by the period of the crusades connected the history of the wood of the Cross to existing pilgrimage sites in and around Jerusalem, especially as a way of linking the wood as an analogue for the body of Christ to the already perceived miraculous healing potential of holy sites. In Jerusalem, the most significant example of such a re-sanctification is the Pool of Bethesda, the ancient fountain located adjacent to the Church of St. Anne – a site associated with healing for centuries.<sup>10</sup> As Fra Niccolò attests, it was here that Christ healed the paralytic who had resided at the well for thirty-seven years (John 5:1–18). Fra Niccolò describes the five porches surrounding the Pool of Bethesda as in the Gospel of John.<sup>11</sup> Unlike the Gospel source he ascribes the

healing potential of the waters to contact with the wood of the Cross.<sup>12</sup> At Santa Croce, Agnolo Gaddi incorporated the portico into his depiction of the Pool of Bethesda, populated with infirm men.<sup>13</sup>

In the popular *Legenda Aurea* (c. 1260), Jacopo da Voragine recounts that the wood had originally been buried in Jerusalem after its future significance had been revealed to King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. The wood was brought to the city as material for the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem, but when one piece – taken from the Tree of Paradise – changed size, he had it thrown over the city's river, the Cedron in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, forming a bridge.<sup>14</sup> The Queen of Sheba prophesied that the wood would bring about the downfall of the Jewish kingdom. Fra Niccolò provides a description and illustration of the bridge over the River Cedron in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Fig. 95), indicating its location relative to the Golden Gate and the Templum Domini.<sup>15</sup> In the corresponding fresco in Santa Croce, Agnolo represents the valley, including in a later scene when Helena finds and recognizes the True Cross (Fig. 96). The valley across the Cedron leads to the walls of Jerusalem and the Golden Gate on the right, while the Mount of Olives rises up on the left.<sup>16</sup>

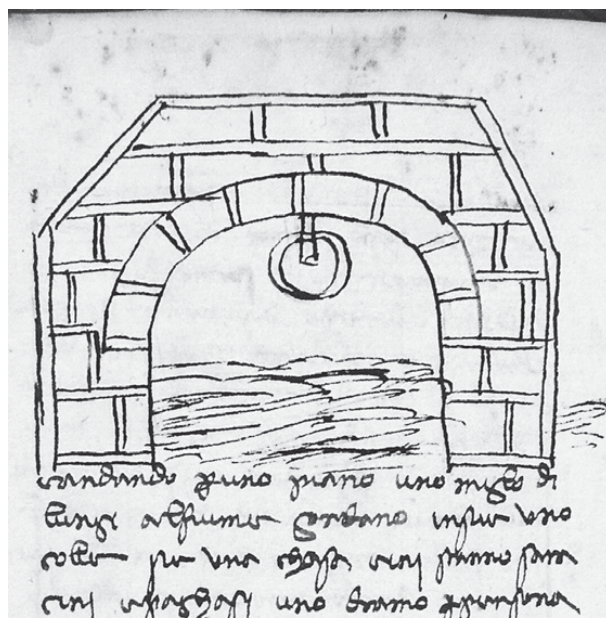


Fig. 95 The bridge over the River Cedron, BNCF Ms. II IV 101, fol. 33v, second half fourteenth, or early fifteenth century (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)





Fig. 96 Agnolo Gaddi, *Legend of the Holy Cross*, Santa Croce, Florence, 1388–93 (Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY)

The slope down from the Golden Gate into the Valley of Jehoshaphat is the setting for a number of the scenes in Agnolo Gaddi's vision of the history of the Cross, including Heraclius' triumphal return of the Cross.<sup>17</sup> The Golden Gate appears twice: it is walled up as Heraclius first approaches the city, then an angel appears to remind him of humility, and in response he strips his jewels and finery, to be let through the gate.<sup>18</sup> The triumphal procession of the Cross into Jerusalem also foreshadowed the crusader conquest in 1099. On Palm Sunday, Santa Croce's relic of the Cross was processed, ending in the atrium of the church.<sup>19</sup> The relic was additionally displayed on the anniversary of Helena's finding of the Cross (the feast of the Invention of the Cross on May 14) and the anniversary of the consecration of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (July 15), associated with the first time the Cross was deposited in the Constantinian church and its return by Heraclius. These processions celebrated the role of the Franciscans as protectors of the Holy Cross, as well as the parallel role of the Franciscans in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.<sup>20</sup>

#### THE MONASTERY OF THE HOLY CROSS AND HEBRON

By the twelfth century, a monastery just west of Jerusalem had become associated with the origins of

the wood of the Cross. In the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, pilgrims refer to a related stump of a tree and identify the monastery and church as being dedicated to the Holy Cross. Both were converted into a mosque during the reign of Baybars (1260–77), but in 1305 the monastery was given to Georgian monks.<sup>21</sup> Niccolò da Poggibonsi mistook the Georgians for Nestorians, but otherwise accurately described the architectural features of the building associated with the origins of the True Cross (Plate 21 and Fig. 97).<sup>22</sup> Fra Niccolò explains that the first wood of the Cross grew from the Tomb of Adam in Hebron, while the second wood was of cypress and grew in this church.<sup>23</sup> The third was of cedar, and grew on Mount Libanon, and the fourth of olive, onto which, according to Niccolò, the *titulus* – inscribing Christ's name as the King of the Jews – was placed. In the *Golden Legend*, the three types of wood are also linked to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, “the tree that Adam ate of.”<sup>24</sup>

The church in Hebron had long been associated with the Tombs of the Patriarchs, but the sanctity of the site was reimagined in relation to the history of the Cross and by extension the body of Christ. The building was initiated by Herod in 37–34 BC, when the holy enclosure surrounding the cave of the Tombs of the Patriarchs was marked off.<sup>25</sup> By the tenth century, a mosque had been constructed in the southern part, which was then partially or completely rebuilt as a church during the Latin kingdom

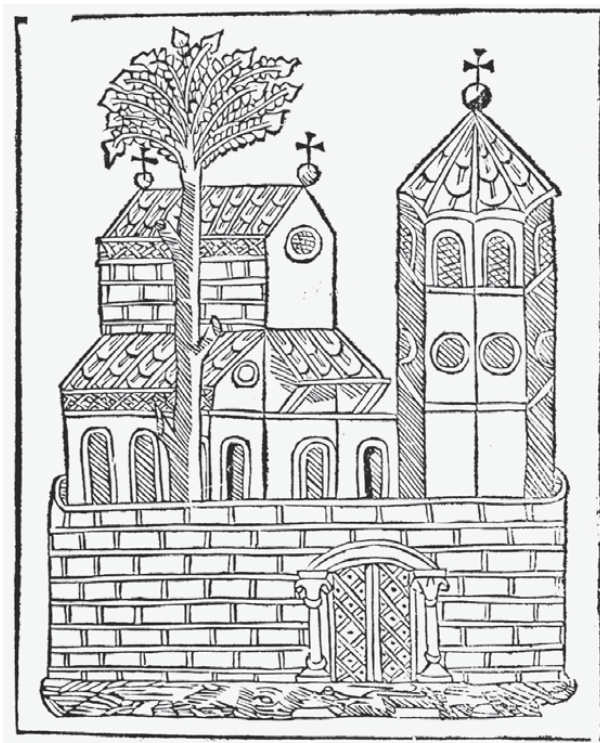


Fig. 97 Monastery of the Holy Cross, *Viazo da Venesia al Santo Iherusalem*, Bologna, 1500 (Photo: Petrucci and Petrucci, 1972)

of Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup> Since the end of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, Christian pilgrims had been forbidden to enter.<sup>27</sup> Niccolò only learned of the interior from a local Muslim, who described a grotto with a raised tomb.<sup>28</sup> The accompanying drawing (Fig. 98) emphasizes the large fountain next to the church – a defining feature in the illustration of Hebron found in all subsequent versions of Fra Niccolò’s book (Figs. 99 and 100).<sup>29</sup>

#### MIRACLES AND THE MYSTERIES OF TRANSFORMATION

Fra Niccolò integrated the history of the Holy Cross into his account of the sanctuaries of the Holy Land in a way that bound together the present Franciscan dedication to the material relics of the life of Christ to Helena’s discovery and reverence for the Cross, the lives of Solomon and Sheba, the construction of the first “sanctuary” – the Temple of Solomon – and the very origins of humanity in the Garden of

Eden. The material stuff of the Cross is characterized as a living entity that grows into new forms and is in turn transformed through human manufacture, finally to become the Cross itself. The story makes explicit a subtle theme in Fra Niccolò’s characterization of the sanctity of the buildings associated with the life of Christ: the potential for the miraculous transformation of the materials interconnected with the story of Christ’s earthly sojourn.

A series of smaller sanctuaries outside of the major cities of the Holy Land were associated with other significant examples of the mystery of transformation, particularly where Christ performed miracles involving transmutation or resurrection. Previous writers had accounted for these places as holy sites, but Fra Niccolò draws attention to the sanctuaries that encloses the sacred locations. In Cana, where Christ transformed water into wine, Fra Niccolò describes the castle of Cana in Galilee, and a fountain, from which he took the water.<sup>30</sup> As at Hebron and elsewhere, the focus on a fountain as part of the sanctuary seems aimed at emphasizing the rootedness of the architecture in the sanctified earth and water of the Holy Land. In Bethany, where he revived Lazarus, there is a church with the tomb of Lazarus.<sup>31</sup> In Naim, a small sanctuary marks the place where Christ revived the son of the widow. On Mount Tabor, the remains of a church stands in the place where Christ appeared to the Apostles and was transfigured.<sup>32</sup> In contrast to the complex sanctuaries of the Holy Sepulcher or Church of the Nativity, these smaller churches define the broader landscape of the Holy Land as the setting for the mysteries of transformation.

#### BLIGHTED LANDSCAPES

The positive aspects of the living embodiment of divine presence in the landscape and architecture of the Holy Land were complemented by the inverse phenomenon: encounters with blighted landscapes that reflected the past presence of the devil or related evil actions. East of Jericho, Fra Niccolò describes the remote monasteries located in the hilly mountains known in Italian as Quarantena or Quarantine by the thirteenth century, after the forty (*quaranta*) days that Jesus spent there in fast. A chapel





Fig. 98 Church of the Patriarchs in Hebron, BNCf Ms. II IV 101, fol. 25v, second half fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

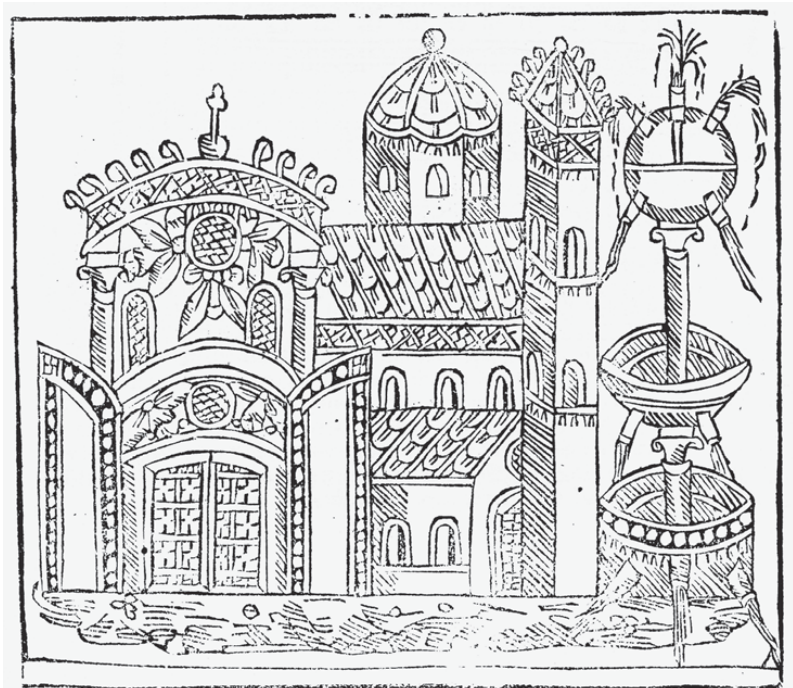


Fig. 99 Church of the Patriarchs in Hebron, *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem*, Bologna, 1500 (Photo: Petrucci and Petrucci, 1972)



Fig. 100 Church of the Patriarchs in Hebron, *Viaggio da Venetia al Santo Sepolcro et al Monte Sinai ...*, Venice, 1606, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B1091 (Photo: author)



high up the mountain (first mentioned in the fourteenth century) marks the site where Satan tempted Christ.<sup>33</sup> At the time of Fra Niccolò's journey the chapel contained painted stories of the Temptation. The surrounding area was uninhabited desert, "sterile hills and valleys, without grass and without water."<sup>34</sup> Fra Niccolò describes and illustrates a hermitage composed of a series of gates and stairs leading to monastic cells inhabiting the side of the mountain. Although hermits had probably inhabited the caves at earlier dates, the buildings were apparently first constructed in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and still exist today.<sup>35</sup>

Outside of Damascus, Fra Niccolò describes the barren setting for the sanctuary commemorating the site of Cain's murder of Abel (Fig. 101).<sup>36</sup> Although denied entrance, in his account he suggests the significance of the landscape marked out by the building, enclosing a grotto dripping blood. The Franciscan pilgrim learns of these features from a Muslim interpreter.<sup>37</sup> The mosque is illustrated and is accompanied by a drawing of the scene of Cain slaying Abel. A similar blighted landscape is described in Jerusalem, where Judas hanged himself east of the walls of Jerusalem.<sup>38</sup>

#### MUSLIM INTERPRETERS AS INTERMEDIARIES

Outside of Damascus, as in Hebron, Fra Niccolò notes that he cannot enter the relevant sanctuary, because it was in the hands of the Saracens. In both cases, he indicates that he learned about the interior from a local Muslim. After 1291, a number of pilgrimage sites were no longer accessible to Christians. For large portions of the journey, especially in Egypt, Fra Niccolò made use of a single interpreter named Saetta (Said).<sup>39</sup> This interpreter was apparently also the guide for Simone Sigoli, a Florentine who made the journey in 1384.<sup>40</sup> It may have been from such intermediaries that Christian pilgrims learned about some of the characteristics of Islamic worship.<sup>41</sup> A companion of Simone Sigoli, the noble Florentine Lionardo Frescobaldi, in his own account of their pilgrimage, explains that Muslims hold in reverence the Virgin Mary and all of the patriarchs of the Old Testament, but regard Christ to be lesser than Muhammad, the greatest prophet.<sup>42</sup> Fra Niccolò had likewise suggested the existence of shared aspects of Christian and Islamic worship, when he maintained that mosques are just like churches, with the only difference that their bell towers are used for the



Fig. 101 Where Cain murdered Abel, *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem*, Bologna, 1500 (Photo: Petrucci and Petrucci, 1972)

call to prayer rather than actual bells.<sup>43</sup> Lionardo, on the other hand, explains that the “churches of the Saracens” are all white inside – meaning, without pictorial ornamentation – an idea perhaps also learned from an interpreter.<sup>44</sup>

Undoubtedly the lack of a clear distinction between churches and mosques related to the function of certain sanctuaries, which could at times seem to be mosques and churches simultaneously. A primary example is the Church or Mosque of the Ascension (Figs. 2, 28, and 29), originally constructed (and then reconstructed in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem) as a church. The octagonal building also served as a site of pilgrimage for Muslims who came to see Christ’s footprints on the Mount of Olives. The church was controlled by the Mamluk administration in the post-crusade period, and Christian pilgrims like Fra Niccolò paid an entrance fee. Christian pilgrims, including Fra Niccolò, continued to describe the presence of Christ’s footprints through the sixteenth century, when it was believed that one footprint was taken to the Dome of the Rock.<sup>45</sup> The presence of the footprints is emphasized in the drawings of the mosque/church on the

Mount of Olives in various versions of the *Libro d’olttramare* (Plate 22 and Fig. 102).

In the post-crusade period, Christian pilgrims would have potentially encountered Muslim worshippers at Marian shrines, including for instance at Matariyya and Saidnaya, where such convergences of Christian and Muslim worshippers had been noted since the period of the crusades.<sup>46</sup> Fra Niccolò’s insistence upon describing the full reality of the Holy Land sanctuaries incorporated attentiveness to the practices of Muslim worshippers. In Bethlehem, Fra Niccolò – like many pilgrims before him – notes that Saracens also pay great reverence to the site of the birth of Jesus in the subterranean chapel.<sup>47</sup> At the Tomb of Mary in Jerusalem, he again describes the presence of Muslim worshippers. The Tomb was controlled by the Mamluk administration in the post-crusade period, and Fra Niccolò entered – like other Christian pilgrims – after paying a fee. Fra Niccolò draws attention to the attraction of Muslim pilgrims to the body of Mary, likely understood as a confirmation of the magnetic pull of those bodies on all worshippers, whether Christian or Muslim.<sup>48</sup> In the sixteenth century, when the Tomb of Mary was



Fig. 102 Church of the Ascension, *Viaggio da Venetia al Santo Sepolcro et al Monte Sinai*, Venice, 1606, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B1091 (Photo: author)

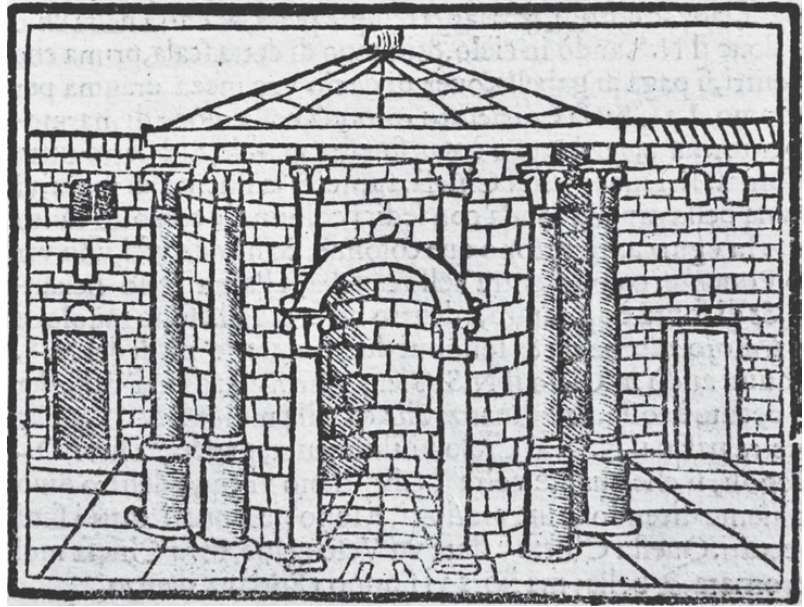
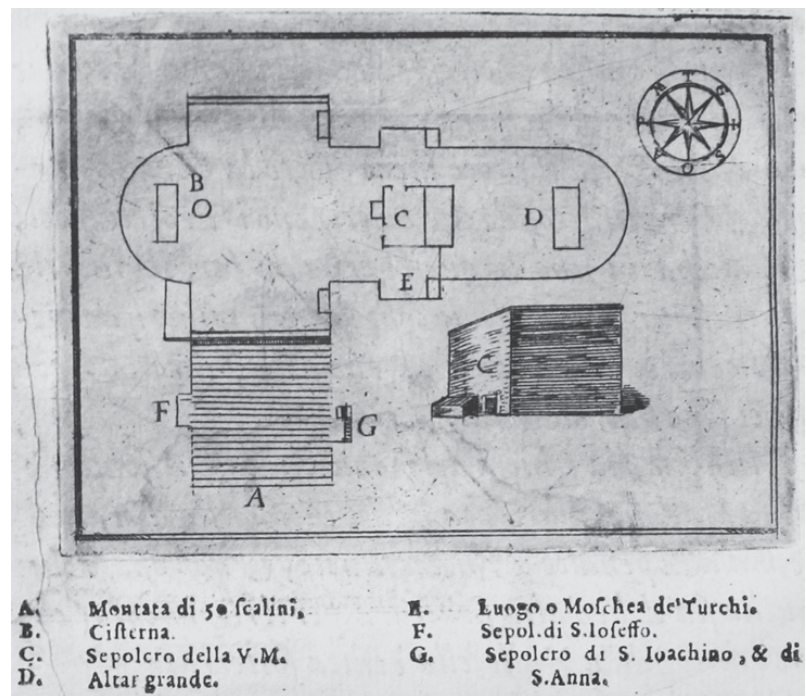


Fig. 103 Giovanni Zuallardo, Tomb of Mary, *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme*, Rome, 1587, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 85-B18612 (Photo: author)



represented in greater detail in Giovanni Zuallardo's book, the place of the mihrab was noted (Fig. 103).

## THE TEMPLE MOUNT

Like all of his Christian contemporaries, Fra Niccolò was not permitted to set foot on the massive esplanade where the ancient Temple of Solomon had

stood, or to enter the cemetery immediately to the east. He describes the Golden Gate (Fig. 50) adjacent to the cemetery as part of the walls of the Temple of Jerusalem. He employs both the Latin names developed in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem for the Islamic buildings on the Temple Mount – the *Templum Domini* for the Dome of the Rock and the *Templum Salomonis* for the Aqsa Mosque – and also the Italian vernacular for the entirety of the



esplanade: the Tempio di Salamone, or Temple of Solomon. The Golden Gate is described as the entrance point to the ancient Temple of Solomon, through which Christ entered on Palm Sunday.<sup>49</sup> Unlike previous representations of the Golden Gate as a generic, single-arched city gate found in numerous depictions of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, Fra Niccolò accurately describes and illustrates the double entryway (Fig. 104). Fra Niccolò's description of the Golden Gate immediately leads to his account of the Temple of Solomon in the center of the piazza, following the tradition of depicting Christ's Entry into Jerusalem from the vantage point of the Mount of Olives, in which the Golden Gate immediately precedes the area of the Temple of Solomon.

Although functioning as an exclusively Islamic sanctuary and viewed from afar, Fra Niccolò like his contemporaries interprets the Temple Mount as the setting for events in the life of Christ and adheres to the usage of the Latin names for the buildings associated with their triumphal appropriation in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The Franciscan pilgrim is apparently unable to learn about the interior of either the Dome of the Rock or Aqsa Mosque. His impression of their exteriors is also reductive, likely reflecting his view of the buildings from the distant Mount of Olives (Fig. 8).<sup>50</sup> The accompanying drawings suggests that he perceives one of the minarets on the Temple Mount as forming a part of the Templum Domini (Fig. 105).

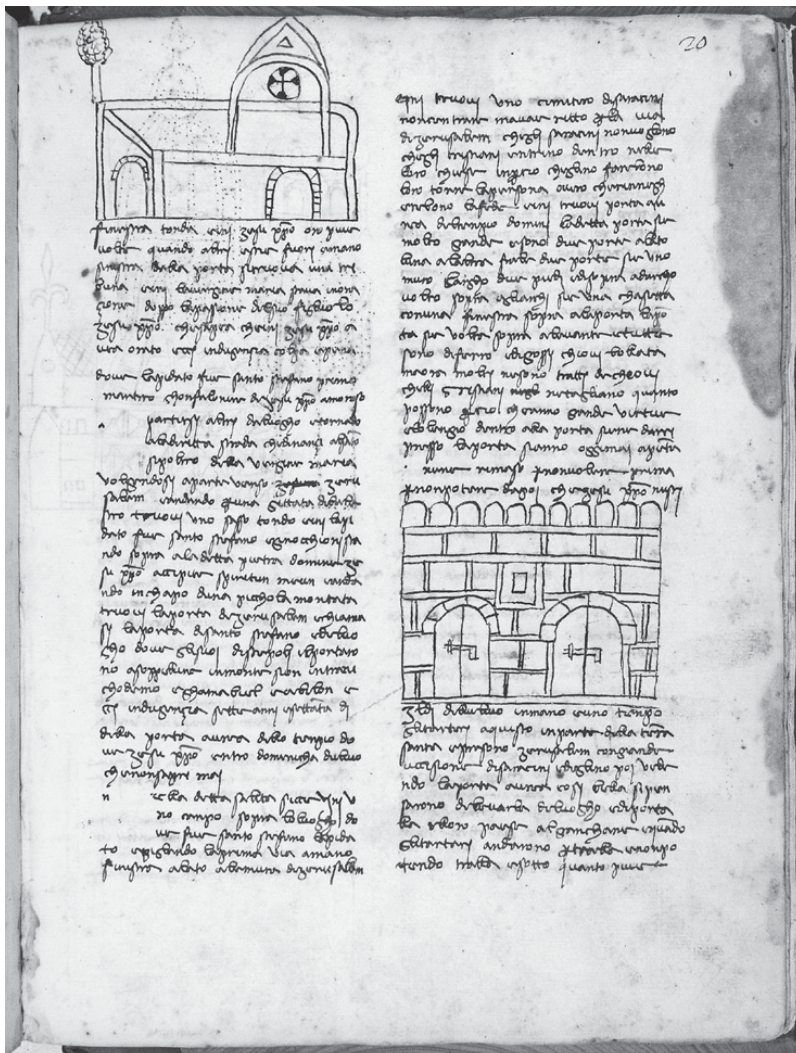


Fig. 104 The Golden Gate, BNCF Ms. II IV 101, fol. 20r, second half fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)



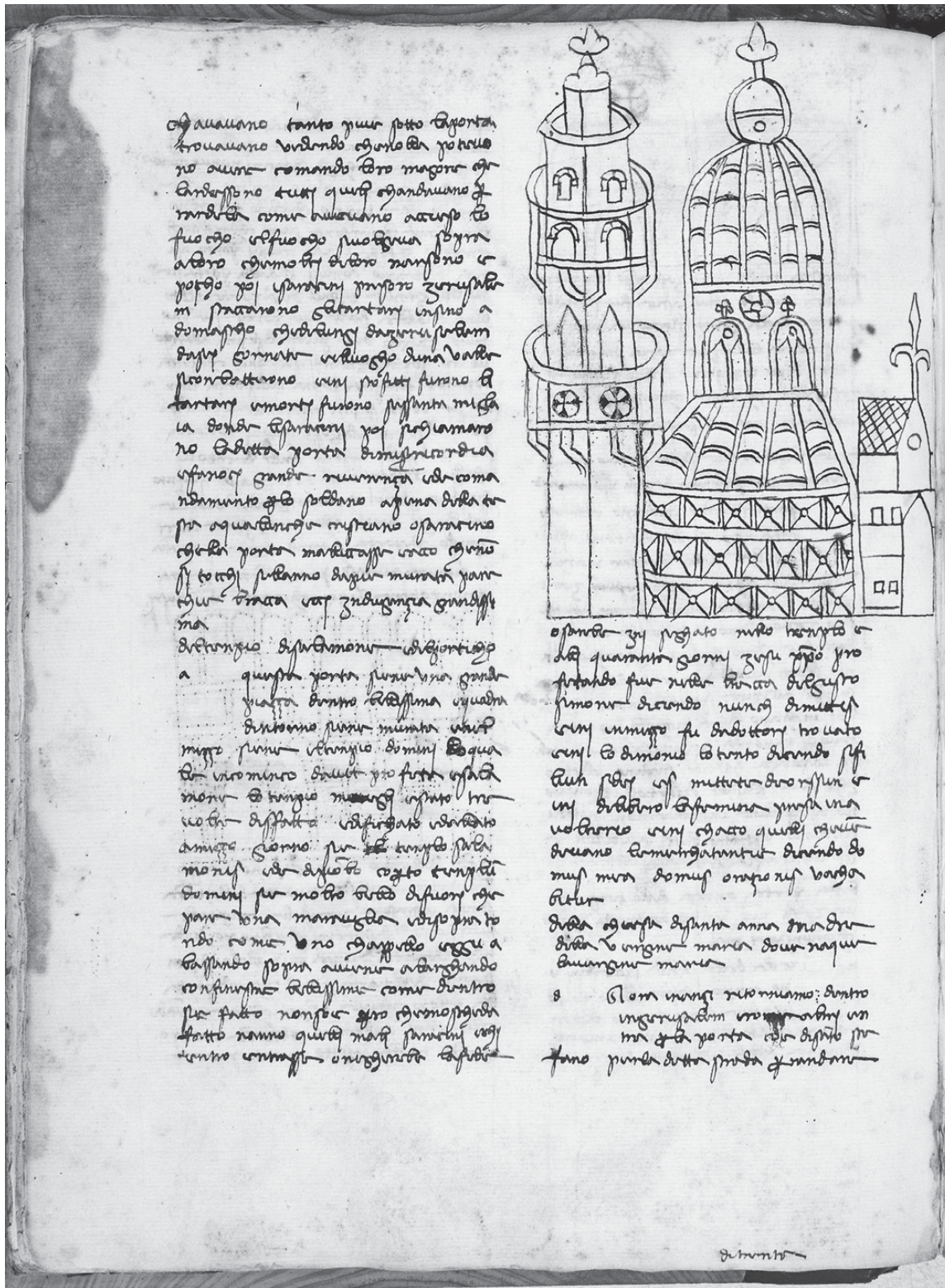


Fig. 105 Temple of Solomon, BNCF Ms. II IV 101, fol. 20v, second half fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)

## THE TOMB OF MUHAMMAD

Although Fra Niccolò and his contemporaries were given glimpses of Muslim pilgrimage practices in sanctuaries like the Tomb of Mary in Jerusalem and the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the primary spaces of Islamic worship in Jerusalem – the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque – remained largely beyond Christian visibility and understanding. Christian pilgrims of the post-crusade period were conscious that the center of Islamic worship was in fact in Mecca, a distant and unknowable city for Christian pilgrims, which acquired fantastic features in the absence of true description. Fra Niccolò's characterizes the fundamental motivation for pilgrimage as a drawing towards a charismatic body, in this case represented by Muhammad's tomb. The tomb of Muhammad was in fact located in Medina, but Fra Niccolò and his contemporaries believed that Islamic worship was, like Christian worship in Jerusalem – or Franciscan devotion in Assisi – focused on the tomb of their prophet. The Franciscan friar came close to Mecca when he visited Qalaat en-Nakhl on the pilgrimage route from Suez to Aqabah. Niccolò recounted what he learned of Mecca from an interpreter:

The great city of Lamech [Mecca], where stands the tomb of the sad Muhammad, I was near there, but I did not want to go there. I asked the interpreter about this their sanctuary: he said that in the said city of Lamech [Mecca] there is a most beautiful mosque, that is their church; and inside there is a chapel, and inside, above and below, is of lodestone. And the tomb of Muhammad is in the air, that is in the middle of this chapel; and the tomb is made of iron; for due to the power of this lodestone, that always pulls to itself, the said tomb is suspended in the air; and no person could ever enter there, who had iron on his person, for he would not be able to leave, for the force of the lodestone that would pull him into the air.<sup>51</sup>

One fifteenth-century version of the Franciscan's pilgrimage account includes a unique drawing of

the tomb of Muhammad floating in the center of an enclosure (Plate 23).

The legend that Muhammad's body was suspended in mid-air was common in medieval Europe, having been widely disseminated by Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* (Dialogues against the Jews, 1110).<sup>52</sup> Fra Niccolò suggests a parody of Christ's Resurrection and Ascension, while also suggesting a consciousness of some fundamental similarities between Islamic and Christian worship.<sup>53</sup> William of Boldensele commented that the tomb of Muhammad in Mecca attracted Saracens on pilgrimage in the same way that Christians are drawn to the Sepulcher of Christ in Jerusalem, and Lionardo Frescobaldi similarly remarked that Saracens go to visit the tomb of Muhammad in the same way that "we" Christians make pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>54</sup> The idea that Muhammad's tomb floated in mid-air reflected a larger tendency to view Islam as a dangerous perversion of Christianity and Muhammad as a false prophet and charlatan, whose charismatic force related to trickery and deceit – as suggested by the use of magnets in his tomb – rather than true divinity.<sup>55</sup> Ludovico di Varthema was the first recorded Christian to visit Mecca in 1503 and the first to deny the legend of Muhammad's body floating in mid-air.<sup>56</sup>

## CITYVIEWS OF CAIRO AND DAMASCUS

Despite typical interjections regarding the cursed nature of the Saracens, pilgrims in the post-crusade period often characterize the urban cultures associated with the Mamluk Empire in a way that suggests awe and admiration for its thriving cities. Niccolò da Poggibonsi refers to the markets, palaces, and material goods of cities like Damascus and Cairo as being superior to those of Europe. Cairo he describes as the largest city in the world.<sup>57</sup> Throughout the fourteenth century, pilgrim-writers like Fra Niccolò transformed the sacred buildings of the Holy Land from abstract symbols into three-dimensional material entities existing in space, described within complex cities and in some instances being integral parts of the contemporary culture of the Mamluk Empire. The account of the oil-exuding icon of Mary at



Saidnaya is closely linked to Niccolò's description of the landscape, churches, and markets of Damascus (Fig. 106).<sup>58</sup> He asks his readers to experience buildings in their settings, in a way that parallels contemporary developments in Italian, and particularly Franciscan painting, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Fra Niccolò also incorporates a number of drawings of cities, which are likewise unprecedented in the previous pilgrimage accounts, and instead seem to be inspired by such contemporary paintings.

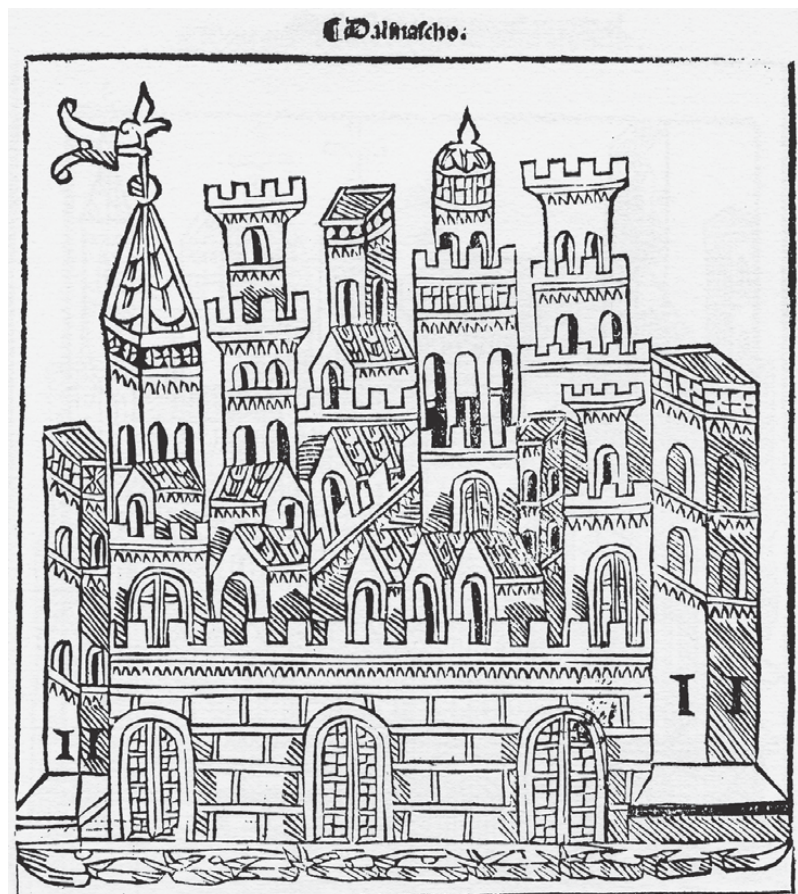
The illustration of Cairo is the largest drawing in the oldest surviving manuscript of Fra Niccolò's book (Fig. 107).<sup>59</sup> In the accompanying text, Niccolò describes "Cairo of Babylon" as the largest and most remarkable city that he had ever encountered.<sup>60</sup> The drawing reflects the idea of an enormous city filled with tall thin minarets surmounted by crescents, spreading over great distances. A waterwheel appears in the lower right-hand corner of the drawing. This may reflect Fra Niccolò's account of an ox-driven wheel that brought water to the balsam garden of

Matariyya outside of Cairo, or it may reflect a more general awareness of the presence of other such structures used to irrigate gardens in the city – a feature noted by other visitors.<sup>61</sup>

#### TOPOGRAPHIC REALISM AND SPATIAL ABSTRACTION IN THE PILGRIMAGE EXPERIENCE

Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, pilgrims placed a new emphasis on describing the architecture of the Holy Land in connection to the contemporary cities of the Mamluk Empire. Franciscans most adamantly asserted the unity of the region, incorporating Palestine, Syria, and Egypt into a single domain consecrated by the blood of Christ. The Franciscan emphasis on the description of the full reality of the Holy Land for the sake of a totalizing – if imagined – presence as witness to Christ's life was complemented by a growing and more

Fig. 106 Damascus, *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem*, Bologna, 1500 (Photo: Petrucci and Petrucci, 1972)





Non ponano a l'aueranza d'ogni  
d'altro ad modo nostro uo l'auer  
pura questo e la grande m'olub  
no d'ita d'ora d'adente e p'ra  
conuente e p'ora p'ra aqua b'ca  
andare tanto p'ra p'ra m'olub  
d'adente e p'ra d'adente p'ra  
no d'adente m'olub m'olub  
no p'ra d'adente m'olub

d'adente m'olub m'olub d'adente  
no d'adente m'olub m'olub  
p'ra d'adente m'olub m'olub  
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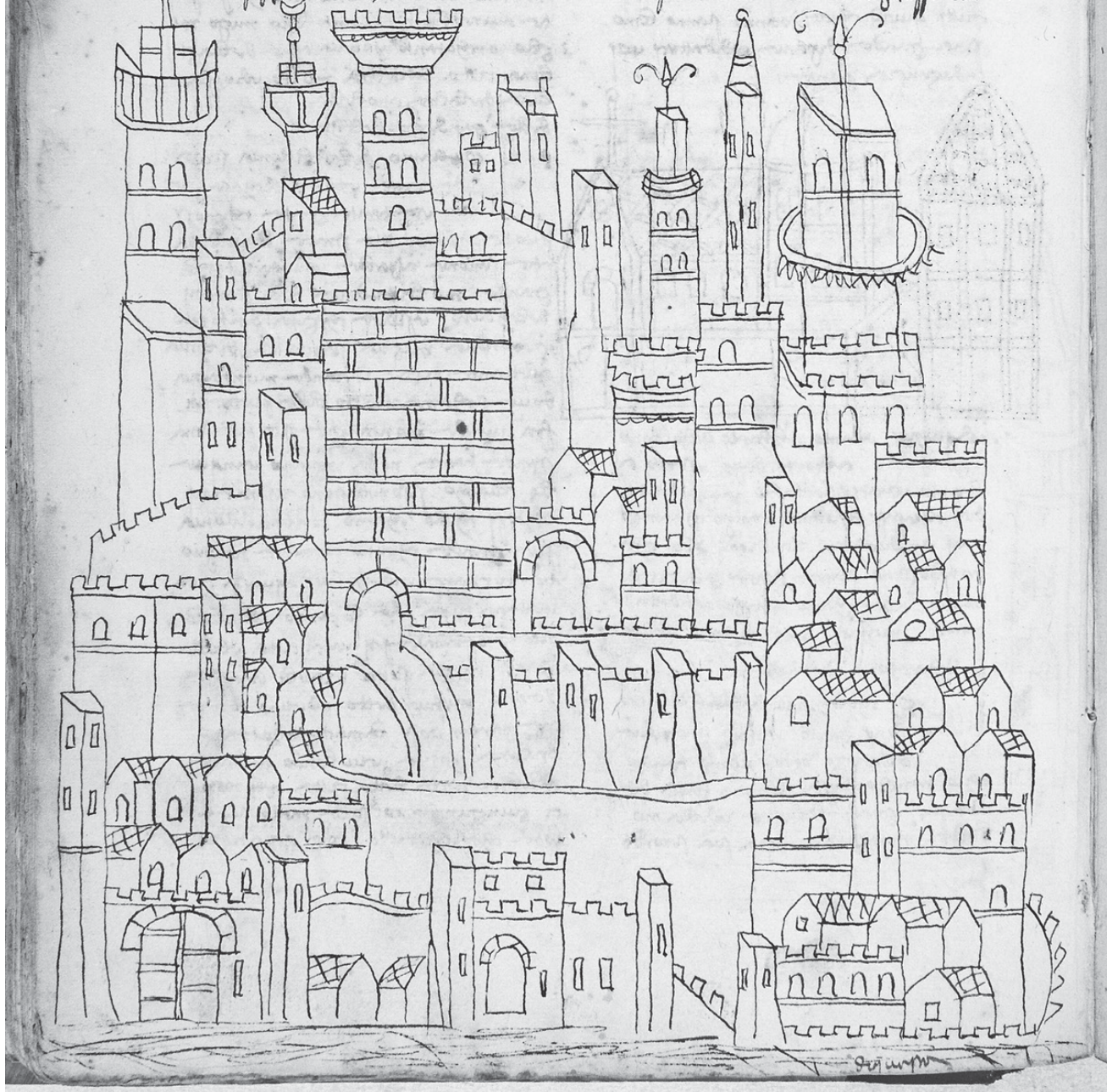


Fig. 107 Cairo, BNCF Ms. II IV 101, fol. 39v, second half fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)



pervasive interest in describing the various regions of the known world. In contrast to this tendency, the emphasis on quantifiable bodily movement as a form of interiorized personal engagement with the idea of Christ's life provided the basis for imagining the pilgrimage in any location, without reference to the corresponding material or visual experience.

The trend of realistic description integrating the architectural, urban, and topographic features into a totalizing picture of the Holy Land would become the basis of the highly detailed pictorial views that began to accompany many pilgrimage accounts in the fifteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Although at first glance perhaps apparently divergent, this trend continued to be interdependent with the other developing emphasis on the abstraction of the pilgrimage experience as choreographed bodily movement in any space – real or imaginary. The idea of experiencing the pilgrimage through reference to movement in the space of the buildings and urban setting of the Holy Land depended upon the eyewitness descriptiveness of pilgrims who quantified the relevant features. Accounts of movement through the interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, or along the “way of the Temple” – which would later be consistently referred to as the *Via Crucis* (Way of the Cross) – allowed for the pilgrimage to be imagined as spatial sequences, in which movement is guided by precise dimensions and notations of orientation. Readers were also more and more exhorted to imagine the architectural contours of imagined spaces, as for instance when the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony (1300–78) described the setting for Christ's Presentation in the Temple as a vaulted building with eight sides – referring to the distinctive features of the Templum Domini, or Dome of the Rock – in his influential meditative tract, *Vita Christi* (Life of Christ).<sup>63</sup>

The forms of the buildings were not necessarily always viewed as significant in the context of an imagined pilgrimage; instead, focus sometimes shifted to the spaces, experienced not as seen but as enacted through bodily movement. In the fifteenth century, this abstracted form of bodily pilgrimage would be expanded, as prayers were integrated and movement in any home or convent according to certain steps and directions became understood as a way of making the pilgrimage. Some pilgrims

more directly influenced by the Franciscan custodians, who continued to emphasize the special significance of the materials and forms of the buildings they protected in the Holy Land, expanded upon Fra Niccolò's idea of maximizing the realism of the imagined pilgrimage by having at hand pictorial representations. In these instances, the pictorial representations of architectural structures tended to focus on elevations, seen from a specific location, as in the view of the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher as seen from the south. Likewise, architectural re-creations of the same building would focus for the first time on the experience of moving through the complex structures, as for instance in re-creations of the Calvary chapel, which incorporate steps to mimic climbing up to Golgotha, all of which will be discussed in [Part IV](#).

The indulgences developed by the Franciscans that were granted for visiting various sites in the Holy Land were in theory still dependent upon making the difficult journey to Jerusalem. In practice, however, it became pervasively understood that by imagining the pilgrimage one could earn the same indulgences. The widely popular book of Margery Kempe (c. 1373–1448) incorporates reference to Christ himself stating that she would receive the same pardon for imagining the Passion in her mind.<sup>64</sup> Ideas promoted by Franciscans quickly spread beyond the immediate context of their order. Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380–1471), a founding father of the *Devotio Moderna* (Modern Devotion), a reform movement immensely popular north of the Alps, emphasized the corrupting nature of physical pilgrimage and preached against the relentless inflation of the system of indulgences.<sup>65</sup> The purified form of pilgrimage was structured by the idea of movement between the relevant locations in Jerusalem, often without further reference to their material situations. Some understood this to be a superior form of pilgrimage. The Dominican Henry Suso (1295–1366), for example, according to his biography, used the spaces of his convent as the setting for movements imagined in terms of Christ's progression along the “lonely Way of the Cross” to Calvary.<sup>66</sup> Another account of the life of Henry emphasized how he associated specific locations within his cloister with locations in Jerusalem, such as one pillar



taken to stand for the Mount of Olives and another for the Praetorium.<sup>67</sup> The biography of Sister Stijne Zuetelincks (d. 1445) in Deventer emphasizes that she followed Christ through the locations marking out the path to Calvary – including the houses of Annas and Pilate, for example – in order to achieve a total assimilation to his body. The result, we are told, is that the sister was nailed to the cross, which she carried for the rest of her life.<sup>68</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In the post-crusade period, members of the Franciscan order actively sought to transform the buildings of the Holy Land, reclaimed on behalf of Christianity, as the setting for a purgative engagement with the earthly life of Christ. The institution of the Franciscan Custody formalized the role of the friars as protectors of the related material

buildings, in a way that paralleled their dedication to protecting the Eucharist or promoting the relics of Christ in Italy and beyond. Their promotion of the spiritual potency of the material buildings, through the development of the system of indulgences and the emphasis on the living, vital presence of Christ, emphasized fundamental interconnections with the life-giving materials of the surrounding landscape. The multi-media mentality of the Franciscans grew and expanded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in response to the insistence on the necessity of experiencing the architecture of the Holy Land with maximum force and affective power.<sup>69</sup> The formation of these Franciscan ideas, and particularly the focus on a spatialized experience of the architecture of the Holy Land, is the background for the remarkable proliferation of illustrated books, panel paintings, sculptural installations, and architectural complexes constructed throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the subject of [Part IV](#).



## PART IV

# IMAGINED PILGRIMAGES AND CRUSADES IN THE RENAISSANCE



### INTRODUCTION

The Franciscan promotion of the sanctuaries of the Holy Land and related indulgences rendered the idea of the experience of the pilgrimage more essential than ever within the spiritual economy of Christianity, even as the pilgrimage became more difficult to complete. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the normal hazards of travel were compounded by intense periods of warfare between European powers and the Ottoman Empire. Although the Holy Land remained within the domains of the Mamluk Empire until 1517, the Ottoman threat became conflated with a larger struggle of Christianity against Islam, as the rhetoric calling for a crusade reached a pitch equal to that of the eleventh century. At various moments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the existence of the Franciscan Custody was directly challenged, as in 1452 when the Mamluk sultan Jaqmaq (r. 1438–53) threatened the destruction of any new buildings constructed by the Franciscans in the Holy Land, calling for the Islamic conquest of Mount Sion.<sup>1</sup> Noblemen – or men with ambitions of nobility – throughout Europe

sought to revive the chivalric ethos of the crusader movement, with a dual goal of saving the Byzantine Empire and retaking the Holy Land. As in the period of the First Crusade, the architecture of the Holy Land, not only the Church of the Holy Sepulcher but also the Temple of Solomon, emerged as the primary symbols standing for Jerusalem, the sanctification of its earth and architecture by Christ's blood, and the rightful Christian identity of the Holy Land in general.

The rhetorical force of the crusading idea in Renaissance Europe was most potent in the visual and physical re-creations of the Holy Land buildings. In the Burgundian court culture of Philip the Good (r. 1419–67), the most active proponent of the anti-Ottoman crusade in the fifteenth century, the image of Jerusalem recurs in panel paintings and manuscript illuminations.<sup>2</sup> These small-scale paintings, consistently focused on an image of the Temple inspired by the Dome of the Rock, reflected large-scale ephemeral stage sets used in urban processions imagining either Philip the Good's triumphal entry into Jerusalem or – more regularly – events from the life of Christ.<sup>3</sup> In this context the idea of re-creating the



architecture of Christ's Sepulcher was revived, as in the Jeruzalemkerk (Jerusalem church) constructed in Bruges by the Adorno family. In Florence, Giovanni Rucellai's efforts to cultivate his ancestral connections to the noble practice of crusading encompassed the commission of a chapel made according to the measures of the Tomb Aedicule in Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> The would-be crusade never materialized, as the Ottoman Empire continued its relentless expansion, engulfing all of the territories of the former Byzantine Empire by 1453 and all of the Holy Land by 1517, when Jerusalem was taken and the Mamluk Empire ended.

The production and use of illustrated books continued to provide a means for those who could not make the dangerous journey to experience some of the spiritually salutary effects of the Holy Land pilgrimage, with an expanded emphasis on pictorial illustration and enumerating that value in terms of indulgences. At mid-century, illustrated guidebooks envisioning Jerusalem's architecture as both the source of salvation and an imagined possession were produced for Philip the Good and another would-be king of Jerusalem, René of Anjou (1409–80).<sup>5</sup> In Germany, the ambitions of the patrician class were expressed in terms of a knightly dedication to the Holy Land; aristocratic families proudly advertised their history of pilgrimage, enumerating those who had been knighted in Jerusalem – a practice of honoring pilgrims recorded since the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The Ketzler family patronized a re-creation of Christ's Sepulcher in Nuremberg which was also associated with the creation of Nuremberg's Kreuzweg. The influential printed pilgrimage guidebook, published in 1482, based upon a journey of 1479–80, was made by Hans Tucher (1428–91), another nobleman of Nuremberg.<sup>7</sup> When Bernhard von Breydenbach, a wealthy canon from Mainz, produced the first printed illustrated guidebook in 1486, he and the artist who illustrated the book, Erhard Reuwich, drew upon the precedents emanating from Nuremberg.<sup>8</sup> Reuwich's innovative panorama of Jerusalem and all of the Holy Land in a single pull-out woodcut (Fig. 12) made the architecture of the Holy Land a new kind of visual presence for the many Christians who wished to see the sacred territory with their own eyes. In a period when a

unified Christendom and shared possession of the Holy Land was pervasively desired but unrealized, Breydenbach's book provided a widely accessible, stabilized image of the Christian Holy Land, its architecture within reach anywhere and in any language of Christian Europe. Translations were published in German in Mainz (1486), French in Lyon (1489–9), and Spanish in Zaragoza (1498).<sup>9</sup>

In the second half of the fifteenth century, when the pilgrimage to Jerusalem became yet more difficult due to the aggressive expansion of the Ottoman Empire, the books created by Germany's elite supplied a broad reading audience with a way of experiencing the pilgrimage without risking the perilous journey.<sup>10</sup> For patrons like Hans Tucher and Bernhard von Breydenbach, the lavish books and paintings celebrating their journeys likewise served as an advertisement of nobility and a conspicuous form of devotion predicated upon extraordinary wealth. Such books offered a basis for imagining the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, including for a cloistered audience who were denied the possibility of making the physical journey. In Villingen and Wienhausen, information about the somatic experience of the pilgrimage, framed in reference to movement between and through buildings in Jerusalem, became the basis of regulated physical enactments of the pilgrimage within convents.<sup>11</sup> In Italy, the Franciscans adopted a similar idea, but with a broader lay audience in mind. In 1486 the Franciscan Fra Bernardino Caimi founded a New Jerusalem in the Piedmont region of Italy. On a single remote mountain, the most sacred buildings of the Holy Land were re-created, including the Tomb of Mary, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and the Church of the Ascension. In the sixteenth century, the simple pilgrimage buildings would be transformed and expanded into a stage for the remarkable spectacle still offered today, in which painted sculptural tableaux, with real hair and clothes, embody events like the Crucifixion and Nativity.<sup>12</sup> With the very real possibility of the demise of the Franciscan Custody, the *sacro monte* (sacred mountain) of Varallo reaffirmed the role of the Franciscans as physical custodians of the sanctuaries and spiritual arbiters of the pilgrimage.

In the period of the growing Ottoman dominance of the Holy Land, the most profound change in

the perception of its architecture emerged in relation to the Temple of Solomon. The Dome of the Rock had been transformed into a church under the Latin kings of Jerusalem and as a result had become integral to the concept of Christian Jerusalem. In the fifteenth century, the centrality of the Dome of the Rock to the idea of the sacred architecture of Jerusalem was reasserted in the face of the Ottoman threat. This is especially evident in paintings and printed books of the fifteenth century made in Italy, Germany, and the Burgundian Netherlands, in which the Dome of the Rock is repeatedly subjected to a symbolic form of appropriation, in a way that implied the hope of the restoration of the Temple of Solomon to Christian domains. In the middle of the sixteenth century, Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66) emphatically reformulated the building as a central part of the Ottoman domain – replacing the original gold-ground mosaics on the exterior with distinctly Ottoman Iznik tiles – as part of a larger Solomonic building project befitting his Turkish name (Süleyman, or Solomon).<sup>13</sup> From the mid sixteenth century, a new consciousness of the Islamic identity of the Dome of the Rock is evidenced in how Christian pilgrims and authors perceive the building. By the end of the sixteenth century, the building had effectively been excised from the collective idea of Christian Jerusalem. The changing status of the Dome of the Rock and its relation to the history of the Temple

of Solomon is manifested in renderings of ancient and modern Jerusalem in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as in the contested nature of building projects which sought to re-create the Temple of Solomon, including at the sacred mountain at Varallo.<sup>14</sup> Although a crusade would never again be fought over Jerusalem, the rhetoric of the crusades continued to inform the perception of the architecture of the Holy Land – and particularly the Temple of Solomon – in various ways throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The second fundamental change in the overall perception of the architecture of the Christian Holy Land related to the Protestant Reformation, as the authenticity of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher came into question. The persistent dedication of the Franciscans to protecting and promoting the Holy Sepulcher and other buildings associated with the lives of Christ and Mary should be seen as part of a broader reaction to Protestant critiques as well as the Ottoman threat. In the sixteenth century, Franciscan friars in Jerusalem established a practice of studying and visually documenting the Holy Land sanctuaries as a way of asserting the rightful Christian (and Franciscan) identity of the buildings. These activities would form the foundation for the Franciscan archaeological studies of the modern period, including Fra Virgilio Corbo's excavations at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the twentieth century.<sup>15</sup>





## THE EPHEMERAL ARCHITECTURE OF PHILIP THE GOOD'S CRUSADING AMBITIONS



### PHILIP THE GOOD

Throughout the fifteenth century, the secular ruler in Europe to most actively embrace the possibility of a crusade was Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy.<sup>1</sup> His desire to repossess Jerusalem became a defining feature of the visual culture associated with his various courts, particularly in Bruges. Philip was born in 1396, the year of the Nicopolis Crusade, one of the several failed smaller crusades launched in the early years of Ottoman expansion, led by his father, John the Fearless (r. 1404–19) and organized by his grandfather, Philip the Bold (r. 1363–1404).<sup>2</sup> Philip was raised in the crusading tradition, and he and his courtiers self-consciously imagined themselves as modern-day incarnations of the great crusading heroes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, like Godfrey of Bouillon, who had originated in the same region.<sup>3</sup> Numerous manuscripts produced for Philip and those in his circle retold the history of the First Crusade. The most important was an expanded French version of William of Tyre's *Livre d'Eracles* (Book of Heraclius), sumptuously illustrated with the battles that culminated in the triumphal conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, reproduced throughout Philip's reign.<sup>4</sup> In this context, Jerusalem was repeatedly visualized in terms of contemporary architecture and the crusader heroes depicted in the distinctive garb of Philip's knights.<sup>5</sup> Those knights – who were also the primary patrons of the illustrated versions of the *Livre d'Eracles* – formed the chivalric order of the Golden Fleece, first founded in 1430.<sup>6</sup>

Its twenty-four members were all bound to take up the cross – in an eastward quest like the mythical Jason's – if Philip ever did.<sup>7</sup>

Philip's dedication to crusading was more than just a form of courtly pageantry. He and his associates were furnished with detailed knowledge of the Holy Land, its topography, and its architecture by returning pilgrims, diplomats, and spies in the guise of pilgrims. The details supplied were intended to share information pertinent to military and naval strategy. At the beginning of his reign, in 1421, Philip and King Henry V of England devised a reconnaissance mission, in which Guillebert de Lannoy (1386–1462) toured Russia, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Cairo, and environs, producing a lengthy report on the subject.<sup>8</sup> In 1425, Philip also sent his bastard brother Guyot and companions to the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>9</sup> The library of the Burgundian duke is known to have contained numerous books on the subject of the eastern Mediterranean resulting from such travels, including that of Bertrandon de la Brocquière (c. 1400–59).<sup>10</sup> Bertrandon set out in 1432 in a group of nobles, producing one of the more detailed accounts of the Holy Land. He returned in 1433, wearing "Saracen" clothes when he met the duke in Pothières.<sup>11</sup> He presented the clothes, his horse – said to be ridden from Damascus – and reportedly a copy of the Qur'an to the duke.<sup>12</sup>

In 1436, Philip demonstrated his dedication to the Holy Land and its architecture when he sent a financial donation to the Franciscans in Jerusalem with Albert de Sarteano.<sup>13</sup> In the following year, he

gave additional funds to refurbish the Chapel of the Holy Spirit in the church on Mount Sion, incorporating a stained-glass window with his coat-of-arms.<sup>14</sup> The window was reportedly destroyed in 1452 by sacrilegious Muslims, at which point Philip reportedly gave another large sum for reconstruction.<sup>15</sup> The pilgrim Georges Lengherand also later wrote that Philip had financed a pilgrims' hostel in Jerusalem associated with Mount Sion, and that he had sent a wooden chapel to Jerusalem whose installation was denied by the authorities; the stained-glass window was presumably part of this larger project.<sup>16</sup> In 1438, the idea of a Burgundian crusade began to materialize, as Philip initiated the construction of a fleet.<sup>17</sup> In 1440, Philip made a ceremonial entry into Bruges. Contemporary accounts report that a tableau recast Bruges as Jerusalem, as Philip's entry allowed him to enact his desired triumphal entry into the city.<sup>18</sup>

#### THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON IN THE EYCKIAN *WOMEN AT THE TOMB*

Throughout the years of planning a crusade, artists of the Burgundian Netherlands worked in the service of Philip the Good and his court, asked at various moments to envision the city of Jerusalem and its architecture. Although none of the ephemeral works survive, contemporary depictions of Christ's Crucifixion, Entombment, and Resurrection reflect the focus on Jerusalem as the desired goal of the crusade.<sup>19</sup> Given the ambitions of Philip the Good vis-à-vis Jerusalem, it remains a possibility that one of his noblemen sent to the Holy Land or an attendant artist may have sketched some aspect of the appearance of Jerusalem, although no surviving drawings have been identified. The painting which has most prompted speculation about an eyewitness depiction of Jerusalem's architecture is the *Women at the Tomb*, attributed variously to Hubert or Jan van Eyck (Plate 24).<sup>20</sup> Thought to have been created in the 1420s, perhaps in Bruges, the painting envisions the moment when the Three Marys encounter the empty Tomb of Christ, set in a rocky landscape. Behind, on the distant hilltop rises the city of Jerusalem, whose most distinctive building is the Temple of Solomon, with

an octagonal base and slightly bulbous dome elevated on a drum, like the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. The painter exhibits the moment when, through the revelation of Christ's absent body, the architecture associated with his burial and life more generally becomes the subject of the pilgrimage. In other words, the painting is a depiction of the first pilgrimage; while those first pilgrims – the Marys – gaze upon the empty tomb and marvel at the absent body, the viewer's gaze is drawn to another marvel: the modern city of Jerusalem, laid out with crisp precision across the distant landscape.<sup>21</sup> In the absence of the body of Christ, the modern city becomes the subject of our gaze.

The accuracy of relative scale and disposition of the architectural elements in the depiction of the Dome of the Rock – which stands out as the identifying element of the cityscape – and the close relation to the view of the building as it would have been seen from the Mount of Olives, has raised the question of whether the artist or a closely related artist may have been on one of the voyages in which Burgundian nobleman traveled to Jerusalem in the period of Philip the Good.<sup>22</sup> The Three Marys in the foreground wear contemporary clothing and the patron may have been in the circle of Philip the Good. Hubert and Jan were brothers, and the latter became Philip's court painter in the 1430s. Documents also refer to a number of "lengthy and secret voyages" made by Jan on behalf of the duke in this period.<sup>23</sup>

#### BRUGES' HOLY BLOOD AND SACRED LANDSCAPE

When Philip the Good chose Bruges as the setting for his imagined entry into Jerusalem, he undoubtedly did so with the sacred associations of that particular city in mind. Within Philip's domains, Bruges was uniquely identified with Jerusalem due to its relic of Christ's blood.<sup>24</sup> Annual urban processions connected the city's sacred sites and transformed the entire city into a theatrical stage upon which Christ's life could be re-enacted.<sup>25</sup> Bruges' relic of Christ's blood was believed to have been acquired by Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders (r. 1128–68) in the twelfth century, and was housed in a chapel

originally in his residence (later transformed into Bruges' town hall). The Confraternity of the Holy Blood was founded in 1405 and played a prominent role in the fifteenth-century versions of the annual procession of the Holy Blood through the city of Bruges – celebrated on May 3 – in which they wore a red hood and pelican emblem.<sup>26</sup> Costumed actors had first been employed in the procession in 1396, and documents also refer to the introduction of the “City of Jerusalem” in 1401, suggesting the use of painted tableaux.<sup>27</sup> A document of 1463 specifically refers to the payment of the painters Petrus Christus and Pieter Nachtegale for the renovation of the production, with reference to the use of wood, iron, canvas, a carpenter, and a total of seventy-two persons on the day of the procession.<sup>28</sup>

Sometime in the middle of the 1430s, Jan van Eyck (c. 1390–1441) was commissioned by an unknown patron, thought to have been a member

of the court of Philip the Good, to create a diptych for private devotion (Fig. 108).<sup>29</sup> In *The Crucifixion*, which is paired with *The Last Judgment*, Jan van Eyck employs oil paint and an innovative conception of illusionistic space to transform the relatively small and vertical canvas into a window through which we seemingly witness firsthand Christ's Crucifixion. The moment is specifically when Christ dies, his side pierced by the lance, as Mary collapses, the sky darkens, and Christ's blood rushes out from his side wound.<sup>30</sup> Mary's collapse in the foreground anchors the space in the well-known pilgrimage trajectory along the way to the Temple, which rises in the background as the distant origin for the events that had led to this point in time and space.<sup>31</sup> The narrowness and verticality of the picture plane likewise connect the experience of reading its elements to the idea of a pilgrim traversing a choreographed spatial trajectory within Jerusalem, viewed from the summit of



Fig. 108 Jan van Eyck, *Crucifixion and Last Judgment*, 1430s, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1933 (Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



Mount Calvary.<sup>32</sup> The mirroring effect would have been particularly compelling for those who recognized features of the architecture, landscape, and costume of contemporary Bruges. From this familiar backdrop emerges the soaring vault of the Temple of Solomon.<sup>33</sup> Presumably such a view of Jerusalem would have served as a backdrop for the events associated with Christ's Crucifixion in the annual Holy Blood procession, created by the painters and craftsmen employed by the town of Bruges.<sup>34</sup> Jan van Eyck's *Crucifixion* could be read as Bruges staged in the guise of Jerusalem and at same time the Jerusalem of the Netherlandish pilgrim's imagination – a Jerusalem simultaneously absolutely real and absolutely unreal.<sup>35</sup>

Philip the Good's devotion to Jerusalem could be viewed as a shrewd political strategy aimed at uniting his nobility and provinces with a common goal. There is evidence that other towns in the Burgundian Netherlands adopted similar recreations of Jerusalem's architecture, likely modeled upon those of Bruges. There are documents referring to a representative of the city of Aalst being sent to Bruges in 1432 to acquire canvas and other supplies involved in creating a stage set of the City of Jerusalem. Among the supplies were 150 yards of

canvas, five oak trees, twenty-two 3-meter pieces of wood for the buildings, forty oak slats for curtain rings, hinged doors, and white tine to cut men to stand on the towers of the City of Jerusalem. The structure was set on four iron-plated wheels and pulled through the streets.<sup>36</sup> The sacred architecture of Jerusalem was in this way transformed into a temporary, mobile stage set, whose ephemerality underscored the theatrical nature of the crusading idea in the reign of Philip the Good.

Unfortunately there is scant visual evidence for the appearance of the sets created for the stage representation of Jerusalem. Passion plays had been performed throughout Europe since the twelfth century, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there are indications of a new emphasis being placed on the incorporation of stage sets with architectural features.<sup>37</sup> We are largely dependent upon textual references to such sets, as at Bruges. The most important visual record of ephemeral architectural structures representing Jerusalem is provided by a manuscript relating to the Passion Play staged in Valenciennes in 1547 (Fig. 109).<sup>38</sup> The stage set proceeds from Paradise through Nazareth, the Temple, Jerusalem, "the palace" – referring to Pilate's – the

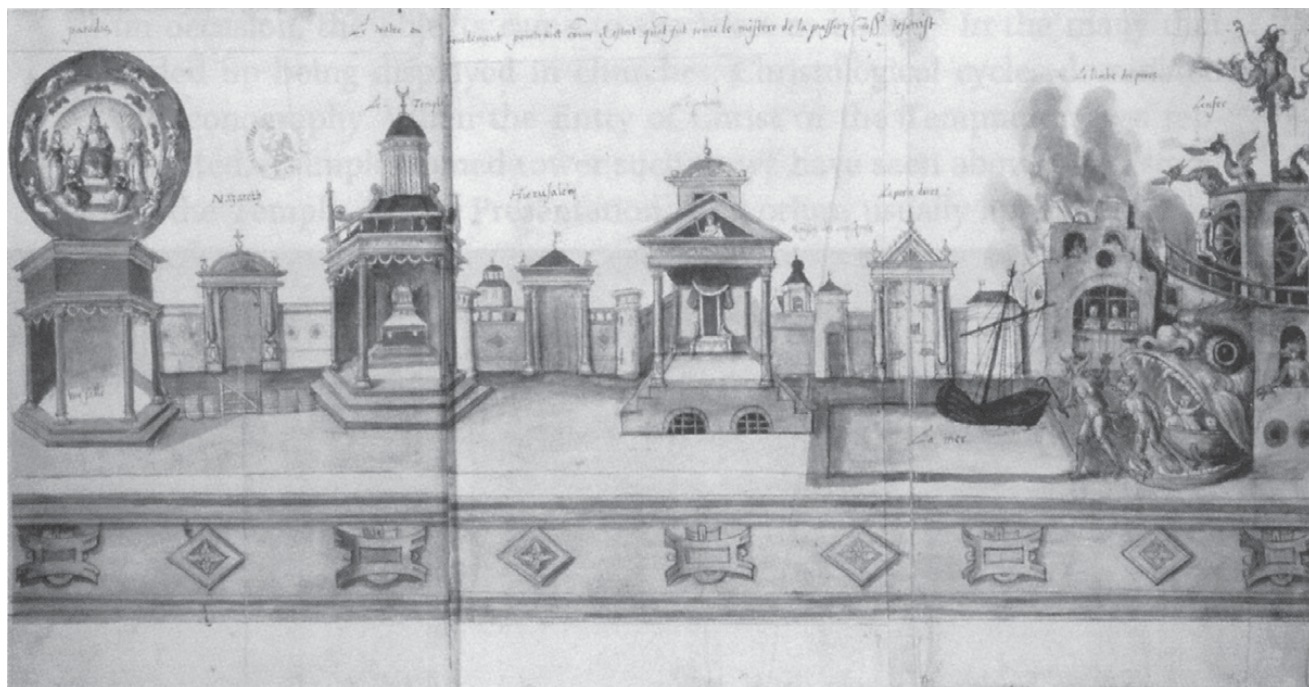


Fig. 109 Hubert Cailleau, Stage set of the Passion and Resurrection as it was performed at Valenciennes in 1547, BNF Ms. Fr. 12536, fol. 2, sixteenth century (Photo: BNF)



Fig. 110 Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence, consecrated 1436 (Photo: author)

house of the priests, the Golden Gate, to limbo and hell. The Temple stands out as a polygonal structure surmounted by a crescent; although created a full century after the Passion Plays at Bruges, the Valenciennes manuscript similarly visualizes numerous textual references to the centrality of the Temple in such plays throughout Europe in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>39</sup>

Among the many diplomats and pilgrims who may have furnished artists and patrons with knowledge of the contemporary buildings in Jerusalem is Pero Tafur (c. 1410–c. 1484).<sup>40</sup> In 1438, Philip and his court received the Spanish nobleman. Unique among other Christian pilgrims, Pero was able to recount his experiences visiting inside the Dome of the Rock.<sup>41</sup> Pero had traveled from Andalusia to Livorno and throughout the Mediterranean from 1435 to 1439. As a high-level diplomat he met with numerous rulers, including Pope Eugenius IV (1431–47) in Bologna in 1438, who gave Pero his blessing for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>42</sup> While there, Pero was smuggled into the Dome of the Rock.<sup>43</sup> Pero Tafur wrote an account of his travels after he returned to Spain, surviving in a unique manuscript copy of the eighteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Given the ambition of Philip and his knights to retake Jerusalem and its Temple, we can imagine with what interest they would have learned about the features of the Dome of the Rock. Tafur confirms this in his account; he refers to the duke having sent for him many times, when he “enquired as to the places I had visited, and by repeated questions desired to

be exactly informed concerning all that I had seen and done.”<sup>45</sup> When the tableau depicting Jerusalem was created for Philip’s triumphal entry into Bruges two years later – in 1440 – the cityscape was likely identified as Jerusalem due to the representation of the Temple in terms of the distinctive features of the Dome of the Rock. Such a visualization as the backdrop for Philip’s entry, invoking equally the memory of Christ’s Entry on Palm Sunday, Heraclius’ return with the True Cross, and the crusaders’ conquest of the city in 1099, must have been celebrated as foreshadowing the eventual triumph of the new crusade and repossession of the Temple of Solomon.

#### FLORENCE’S TEMPLE OF SOLOMON

When Pero Tafur came to the court of Philip the Good in 1438, he would have told of the efforts to reunite Christian churches of Rome and Constantinople, with the aim of combating the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The union was finally effected during the Council of Florence, which convened in 1439. Florence had recently become the stage for the triumphal construction of its own version of the Temple of Solomon, the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore (St. Mary of the Flower) (Fig. 110).<sup>46</sup> The spectacular consecration ceremony of 1436, at which Pope Eugenius IV and other dignitaries were in attendance, celebrated the special identity of Florence’s cathedral with the biblical Temple of Solomon.<sup>47</sup>

Guillaume Dufay (c. 1397–1474), the most famous musician of the day – who also worked at the court of Philip the Good – had been hired to compose a special motet for the occasion.<sup>48</sup> The product was a remarkable musical play upon the proportions of the Solomonian Temple as described in the Old Testament and the dimensions of the cathedral.<sup>49</sup>

The scale of pageantry involved in the consecration of Florence's cathedral in 1436 would have been envied by Philip the Good. For an international aristocracy of diplomats and pilgrims, the allusions to the idea of the Temple of Jerusalem must have struck a particularly resonant chord, in relation to the ambitions of retaking the city as part of a larger crusade. In contrast to the ephemeral stage sets created in Bruges and other cities in the Burgundian Netherlands, Florence had achieved an unparalleled realization of Solomon's Temple. Florence had not been an integral part of the crusading movement, but its role in staging the union of the churches provided an opportunity to highlight the city's self-image as a New Jerusalem.<sup>50</sup> The construction of the cathedral, Filippo Brunelleschi's famed engineering feat of raising the cupola without centering, and the sheer scale of the building, offered an architectural metaphor for the kind of spectacular triumph that was pervasively imagined and desired throughout Europe in the first decades of the fifteenth century. Although the city of Florence and its noble families could only mythologize its participation in the crusades, the idea of the triumph of the city of Florence could be imagined in terms of recent victories over Siena and Pisa. Each city's cathedral had in its own way been constructed with the ambition to renew the Temple of Jerusalem, and Florence's cathedral now clearly surpassed its predecessors.<sup>51</sup>

#### RENÉ OF ANJOU, KING OF JERUSALEM

In the lead up to the Council of Florence, Pope Eugenius recognized René of Anjou as king of Naples in 1434. With this title came the honor of being king of Jerusalem, in addition to Sicily, Hungary, and Aragon.<sup>52</sup> René could count among his ancestors the king and queen of Naples who had financed the

purchase of the Cenacle on Mount Sion on behalf of the Franciscan order in the fourteenth century.<sup>53</sup> Works of art commissioned by René of Anjou in the 1430s and 1440s reflect his imagined possession of the city of Jerusalem. Throughout the period, René had contact with artists at the court of Philip the Good, including in 1435 when the duke held a special banquet at Lille in his honor.<sup>54</sup> In 1438, René moved to Naples, where – now as king of Naples and Sicily – he focused his sights on Jerusalem.

The visions of Jerusalem created for René of Anjou may reflect the kind of architectural imagery employed in the ephemeral tableaux of Jerusalem created for the court of Philip the Good. The most important example is found in a Book of Hours. The manuscript includes an illumination of the city of Jerusalem and environs (Plate 25), created between c. 1435 and 1443.<sup>55</sup> We are given a view of the city towards the Mount of Olives and are raised up as if from a bird's position to gaze down upon an open piazza bounded by tall crenelated walls. The Temple of Solomon stands in the center on a polygonal platform, imagined as a rosy-hued building studded with massive jewels; the octagonal base is surmounted by a drum, above which expands a bulbous ribbed dome of blue surmounted by a golden crescent. Although the Dome of the Rock does in fact have a slightly bulbous dome, its exaggeration in the manuscript may reflect an interest in reviving the Templar image of the *Templum Domini*, as well known from their seals.<sup>56</sup> The basic features of the Dome of the Rock have additionally been embellished with the colorful jewels associated with the heavenly Temple. Tall towers with crescents are suggestive of minarets. Through an open door of the crenelated wall, we glimpse a green landscape, but otherwise we are presented with a densely constructed city, whose significant features have been reduced to the primary Islamic building of the city and the primary Christian building: the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. In the lower half of the image, we are shown the southern façade of the Holy Sepulcher; the piazza in front leads to the distinctive double portal and the stairs climbing to Calvary. In front, the Column of the Flagellation appears as a rosy-hued fragmentary column. Above the façade, the bell tower, open vault



of the Anastasis Rotunda, and dome of the crusader Church are all recognizable. The view represents a colorful and luxurious expansion of the kind of simple line drawings of the southern façade of the building created by pilgrims in the fourteenth century (Figs. 9 and 83).

The image of Jerusalem created for René of Anjou reflects a detailed knowledge of the distinctive architectural features of the two primary buildings of the city. An opposition between them, one representing Islam and the other Christianity, is suggested by the proliferation of crescents around and on the Temple of Solomon, in contrast to the cross on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The use of crescents as a sign of Islam had become common in the region; they are first noted by a Christian pilgrim in the previous century. Ludolph von Suchem, in his mid-fourteenth-century account of the *Templum Domini*, indicates that the crescent was regarded as a Saracen custom:

The *Templum Domini* is round, ornamented with mosaics (*opere graeco factum*), very tall and wide, covered with lead, and constructed from great polished and cut stones (*ex magnis lapidibus politis et sectis constructum*). On its pinnacle the Saracens have put a crescent moon according to their custom (*eclipsin lunae suo more*).<sup>57</sup>

The view of Jerusalem in the Hours of René of Anjou distinctly incorporates crescents on buildings as a sign of Islam.<sup>58</sup> René of Anjou's particular awareness of the symbol of the crescent is also suggested by his revival of the order of the Crescent in 1448, originally formed by Charles I of Naples and Sicily in 1268. This was to be the basis of an anti-Ottoman crusade, which never materialized. From that point on, his insignia as king of Jerusalem, Sicily, and Aragon incorporated a golden crescent moon. By this point, René's status had in reality become greatly diminished, since in 1443 Pope Eugenius had recognized the claims of Alfonso of Aragon (1396–1458) upon the kingdom of Naples.<sup>59</sup> Like his ambitions to restore the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, the knightly order of the Crescent lapsed and was not revived after René's death in 1480.

## PHILIP THE GOOD'S ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE IN JERUSALEM

In the 1440s and 1450s, Philip the Good continued to be the most active proponent of a Christian crusade to retake Jerusalem, an aspiration reflected in an emphasis upon description of the city's architectural and topographic features, especially in manuscripts of the period. After the loss of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, the pictorial depictions of Jerusalem also reflect a new conflation of the two cities, as the dual goal of an anti-Ottoman crusade. Philip the Good's crusading ambitions had fully matured by the early 1440s, when the construction of the Burgundian fleet had been completed and his ships were sent into the Black Sea region. The fleet found itself unable to halt the Turkish army in 1444, who then defeated the Christian army at Varna on November 10. The Burgundian fleet was nonetheless sent back into the Black Sea in 1445.<sup>60</sup> In 1447 Philip imposed a new salt tax on his subjects as a way of funding his crusading project; as he stated himself, his actions were devised "in support of the Christian faith and of the chapel of the Holy Sepulcher of our beloved lord at Jerusalem and of other holy places thereabouts, against the heathens and pagans."<sup>61</sup>

Around 1450, Jean Germain (1400–61), a priest of Chalon-sur-Saône and chancellor of the order of the Golden Fleece, gave a spiritual world map (*mappe-monde spirituelle*) to the duke.<sup>62</sup> The text enumerates the places relating to the lives of Christ, Mary, and the Apostles that were to be recuperated in the crusade.<sup>63</sup> In 1451, Jean Germain penned another tract, entitled *Exhortation au Roy pour aller Outre mer* (Exhortation to the King for Going Overseas), preserved in a manuscript in Paris (BNF, Ms. Fr. 5737), in which he emphasized the perversity of Christians having to hear prayers for Muhammad and pay a tribute to visit the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>64</sup> The arguments were also made in a speech to the French king in 1452.<sup>65</sup> Philip was a vassal of the French king, and without royal permission – which was never given – a crusade could not be launched.<sup>66</sup>

In 1452, the city of Ghent revolted, largely due to the new salt tax; at the moment when an organized crusade might have halted the Ottoman sultan's advance on Constantinople, Philip found

himself preoccupied with the Ghent war, only won in July 1453. Constantinople had already fallen on May 29.<sup>67</sup> Philip the Good's response to the fall of Constantinople characteristically involved court pageantry through which he reasserted his image as a crusading hero and publicly reaffirmed his dedication to Jerusalem. At the feast of the Pheasant, held in Lille on February 17, 1454, Philip gathered those in his court who would theoretically accompany him on a crusade. Their vows to rescue Constantinople were made in the context of a dramatic enactment of the story of Jason, the mythical founder of the order of the Golden Fleece. A personification of the Holy Church – a male courtier in a dress and wimple – implored the duke to save the Holy Land. The costumed figure was placed inside a castle on the back of a fake elephant, led by a giant in the guise of a Saracen.<sup>68</sup> In response, Philip and his knights vowed to rescue Holy Church from the Saracens.<sup>69</sup> In the same year Philip attended the imperial diet at Frankfurt, where a general crusade was resolved. The possibility of a unified Christian crusade again fell away and Philip once more emerged as the single most enthusiastic promoter of the idea. The Ottoman sultan Mehmed Fatih (1432–81) himself heard of Philip's devotion, sending a letter in September 1455, in which he promised to treat Philip's armies as Bayezid had treated his father's at Nicopolis, signed the "true heir of King Alexander and Hector of Troy, sultan of Babylon, king of Troy."<sup>70</sup> It was in this period that a series of illuminated manuscripts was created for Philip the Good, envisioning the architecture of the Holy Land in the dual contexts of imagined pilgrimage and crusade.

#### MANUSCRIPTS FOR PHILIP THE GOOD AFTER THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST

The first manuscript produced for Philip the Good in the wake of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, reflecting his renewed dedication to the idea of conquering Jerusalem, is a compilation created by Jean Miélot beginning in 1455.<sup>71</sup> The first text is a French translation of an appeal of 1322 for a crusade, originally addressed to the French king Philip VI (1328–50). The inclusion of the treatise first

written for Philip the Good's royal ancestor suggests that the contents of the new manuscript are intended to make claims to inherit the royal prerogative of crusading associated with the French monarchy.<sup>72</sup> The vellum manuscript is a luxurious production, richly decorated with six illuminations.<sup>73</sup> The second text, originally written *c.* 1283, presented here as having been composed for Philip VI, is a French translation of Burchard of Mount Sion's *Description de Terre Sainte* (Description of the Holy Land), introduced by a full-page miniature illustrating the city of Jerusalem and environs (Plate 26).<sup>74</sup> The landscape is the setting of the pilgrimage, with a ruined port town, perhaps Jaffa – the point of arrival – in the foreground, from which winds a path proceeding to the walled city of Jerusalem.<sup>75</sup> The city is dominated by the Temple of Solomon, whose size and bulbous dome have been exaggerated, while still retaining the distinctive features that would accord with familiar accounts of the Dome of the Rock. Also like the Hours of René of Anjou, the miniature incorporates an identifiable representation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher as viewed from the south, with a double portal in the façade surmounted by a dome over Calvary, paired with the dome of the Anastasis Rotunda with its distinctive oculus. The Holy Sepulcher's domes have also been represented as bulbous, in contrast to their appearance in Jerusalem.

The third portion of the manuscript is Bertrandon de la Brocquière's recently penned *Voyage Overseas* (*Voyage d'Outremer*).<sup>76</sup> A final illustration at the end of the manuscript both reflects Bertrandon's detailed account of Constantinople and betrays the failures of the crusading plans, depicting the city at the moment of the Ottoman sultan's siege in 1453.<sup>77</sup> The illumination of Jerusalem accompanying the translation of Burchard of Mount Sion's text may also reflect the recent Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. In addition to a crescent surmounting the Temple of Solomon, the same building is framed by two tall, thin towers, which may specifically refer to the minarets recently constructed at Hagia Sophia as part of the transformation of the ancient church into a mosque. From the perspective of Burchard and other chroniclers of the First Crusade, the Dome of the Rock was a rightfully Christian building that had been transgressed by Muslims. The conversion of Hagia Sophia

in Constantinople into a mosque following the conquest of 1453 was undoubtedly viewed in similar terms.<sup>78</sup> This illustration of Jerusalem has been attributed to Jean le Tavernier (d. 1461), who was among the artists involved in the preparations for the banquet of the Pheasant at Lille in 1454.<sup>79</sup> That banquet, like previous spectacles staged by Philip the Good demonstrating his dedication to crusading, may have incorporated a pictorial tableau of the city of Jerusalem.<sup>80</sup>

Another manuscript, with illuminations resembling the work of Jean de Tavernier, provided the basis for an imagined pilgrimage to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.<sup>81</sup> The manuscript was created in the early or mid 1460s and was produced for either Philip the Good or one of his courtiers.<sup>82</sup> The French text describes a visit to the Holy Sepulcher, while the illuminations envision the related events of the Passion occurring in different parts of the church. The book follows the precedents of fourteenth-century compositions, in emphasizing the imagined movement of the reader through the complex spaces of the church in Jerusalem, whose architecture becomes the framework for an interactive engagement with the life of Christ. Thirteen miniatures in grisailles outline the sequence of the Passion, integrated into descriptions of where to recite the appropriate hymns in Latin, as the reader moves within the church.<sup>83</sup> The reader commences in the Chapel of Mary Magdalene, commemorating where the Risen Christ appeared, and a glimpse of the ultimate goal of the pilgrimage – the Tomb of Christ – is shown through an open door. The reader-pilgrim first progresses from this chapel following a clockwise route, to finally reach the Tomb of Christ and witness the Entombment (Plate 27).<sup>84</sup>

#### BRUGES AFTER THE DEATH OF PHILIP THE GOOD

With the loss of Constantinople in 1453 came a renewed papal effort to rouse support among the Christian rulers of Europe for a crusade, particularly upon the election of Pius II as pope (r. 1458–64). At the Council of Mantua in 1460, Pius II declared war, to which Mehmed reportedly responded by saying

that he would treat Rome like Constantinople and decapitate the duke of Burgundy, i.e., Philip the Good.<sup>85</sup> In February 1463, Philip staged a triumphal entry into Bruges, which involved yet another tableau vivant featuring the city of Jerusalem.<sup>86</sup> When Pius II officially took the cross on June 18, 1464, Philip at first declared his intention to go, but instead sent his son Anthony.<sup>87</sup> Pius II died in Ancona in August and with him the hope for a crusade.<sup>88</sup> In his last years, Philip continued to imagine executing a crusade, a last staging of his entry into Jerusalem being held in Bruges in the year of his death, 1467.<sup>89</sup>

Following the deaths of Pius II in 1464 and Philip the Good in 1467, the idea of retaking Jerusalem increasingly elided with fantasy, in which knightly heroes imagined in the mold of Charlemagne or Godfrey of Boullion battled against demonic Muslim rulers portrayed as the agents of the Antichrist – a kind of fantasy that would culminate in Torquato Tasso's epic poem *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Jerusalem Delivered) of 1581.<sup>90</sup> The immediate impact on pilgrims was the increased danger of the journey to Jerusalem, particularly in the 1470s and 1480s, when the eastern Mediterranean was transformed into a theater for naval war between the Ottomans and various Christian armies. In this context, the expansion of theatrical re-creations of Jerusalem as a setting for the life of Christ and the related paintings may have also provided an experience of the pilgrimage without leaving Bruges.<sup>91</sup> Artists in Bruges, particularly in the 1470s, created panel paintings infused with a theatrical sensibility that seems to reflect their involvement in planning spectacular sets. For example, a painting by an unknown artist working c. 1470 (Plate 28) may reflect Bruges' theatrical plays annually staged during the Procession of the Holy Blood. The cityscape forming the backdrop pertains to the well-established type that emphasized the architecture of the Temple of Solomon, as in earlier van Eyckian paintings or manuscripts made for Philip the Good.<sup>92</sup> We are drawn into the action as it takes place: Veronica reaches out with her veil as Christ bends down to touch her hand. We seem to be a part of the crowd streaming from the walls of Jerusalem, above which rises the standard of Bruges' Confraternity of the Holy Blood.<sup>93</sup> Some in the crowd wear the red hoods and pelican emblems



associated with the confraternity. An inscription woven into the pink tunic of the horseman on the left even incorporates the words *bloet* (blood) and *omage* (procession).<sup>94</sup>

Hans Memling's remarkable panel, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ* (Fig. 111), created c. 1470 for the Italian banker and resident of Bruges, Tommaso Portinari, is another notable example.<sup>95</sup> The Holy Land has been reimagined as a continuous stage set, composed of small, discrete buildings whose façades have been cut away to reveal interiors, each of which contains an event occurring at a different point in time.<sup>96</sup> We seem to be raised up on the Mount of Olives, viewing the city across to Golgotha, where Christ is crucified. Memling expands upon the possibilities for a single painting to present an entire pilgrimage to the Holy Land in a panel created c. 1480 in Bruges, *Scenes from the Advent and Triumph of Christ* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich).<sup>97</sup> The stage sets of the primary events have been set within an expanded landscape, the entire painting approximately 6 feet wide. In the center foreground, the Magi kneel before Christ

as exemplary pilgrims.<sup>98</sup> Pathways sinuously wind through the hilly landscape. The varied terrain breaks the vast landscape into discrete locations, encouraging the viewer to make the movements through the landscape and to pause meditatively, guided by the winding paths, as if journeying between Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Mount Sion.<sup>99</sup> In both panels by Hans Memling, the coexistence of discrete locations with independent events occurring apparently at different times in a panoramic landscape representing the entirety of the Holy Land suggests the passage of time with the viewer's imagined movement through the image, following the narrative of Christ's life as the pilgrim-viewer traces his footsteps through the same locations.<sup>100</sup>

#### THE JERUSALEM CHURCH AND THE ADORNO FAMILY IN BRUGES

Within the decades of Philip the Good's spectacular demonstrations of dedication to the sacred



Fig. 111 Hans Memling, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, Galeria Sabauda, Turin, c. 1470 (Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY)

architecture of Jerusalem and the idea of an anti-Ottoman crusade, no permanent architectural projects in Bruges reflected his ambitions. The ephemerality of the re-creations of the architecture of Jerusalem perhaps betrayed the ultimate hollowness of his crusading intentions. In fact the only lasting architectural project relating to Jerusalem constructed in Bruges in the period resulted from the patronage of a single merchant family, the Adornos, who originated in Genoa. The construction of the Adorno family's Jeruzalemkerk (Jerusalem church) (Fig. 112) was a transgenerational production that spanned from the first years of the reign of Philip the Good into the sixteenth century. The church was first founded outside of Bruges' walls by the brothers Pieter and Jacob Adorno in 1427, following their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was consecrated on Palm Sunday in 1429.<sup>101</sup> In 1430, the local Confraternity of the Holy Sepulcher was authorized to use the Jeruzalemkerk by



Fig. 112 Jeruzalemkerk, Bruges, founded 1427 (Photo: author)

Pope Martin V.<sup>102</sup> The church was most substantially expanded by Pieter's son, Anselme Adorno (1424–83), following the pilgrimage he made with his own son, John, in 1471. For this pilgrimage we are well informed, since John took notes during the voyage which Anselme used to compose an account upon return from Jerusalem.<sup>103</sup> They left Bruges and traveled by way of Genoa to north Africa and Jerusalem, sailing on a Spanish ship armed by the Knights of Rhodes against potential Ottoman naval attack.

When Anselme returned to Bruges he also expanded the family's church by constructing a chapel re-creating the crusader chapels of Calvary (Fig. 113) and the Invention of the Cross in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Anselme's conspicuous dedication to the Holy Sepulcher may reflect his aspirations to participate in the knightly ideology associated with the order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>104</sup> The original patrons of the church were



Fig. 113 Jeruzalemkerk, Bruges, late fifteenth century (Photo: author)



in fact closely connected with Jan van Eyck. It has been speculated that the *Women at the Tomb* (Plate 24) was commissioned by the Adornos to commemorate their pilgrimage of 1427.<sup>105</sup> Pieter and Jacob Adorno were more certainly the likely patrons of two closely related paintings of St. Francis created by Jan van Eyck sometime around 1430.<sup>106</sup> Although virtually identical, one of the paintings, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, is of diminutive scale, in contrast to the other in Turin's Galleria Sabauda.<sup>107</sup> Anselme may have taken the painting with him on pilgrimage; St. Francis, in this context, would have represented the paradigmatic pilgrim. Like Tommaso Portinari, Anselme was a member of a lay group of the Franciscan order, called the Confraternity of the Dry Tree, which dated back to at least the late fourteenth century.<sup>108</sup> St. Francis' dedication to the Crucified Christ is reflected in Anselme's decision to develop a Calvary chapel in Bruges, elevated by stairs as in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.

The Adorno church, particularly as it was expanded in the 1470s, represents a significant departure from previous re-creations of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which had focused upon the symbolic forms of the Anastasis Rotunda encircling the Tomb of Christ. Rather than a suggestion of a likeness of the Rotunda, the Bruges church re-creates the experience of moving through the interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, climbing up fourteen steps to the Calvary chapel (approximating the eighteen steps in Jerusalem), descending to the place of Helena's discovery of the Cross, and stooping down to enter the small space of the Tomb of Christ.<sup>109</sup> The raised, octagonal Calvary chapel also has a door which leads into a space reserved for the Adorno family, furnished with a painting of the Crucifixion and a view of the Golgotha altar below. In the 1480s, the Golgotha altar was expanded in a final phase immediately preceding Anselme's death in 1483, being fitted out with three stone crosses, skulls, and the emblems of the Passion (Fig. 113).<sup>110</sup> Behind the Golgotha altar, the visitor must bend down to enter another chapel, re-creating the interior of the Tomb of Christ (Fig. 114). The space – of the same dimensions as the small chamber in Jerusalem – is covered with tiles each with three



Fig. 114 Tomb of Christ, Jeruzalemkerk, Bruges, late fifteenth century (Photo: author)

crosses, and has hooks in the ceiling from which originally hung lamps.<sup>111</sup> Through a wire screen, one looks upon the colored, sculpted figure of Christ laid out on a marble tomb slab.<sup>112</sup> On the exterior (Fig. 112), the entire polygonal choir appears as a tower surmounted by a small bulbous dome, given the distinctive profile associated with depictions of Jerusalem's sacred architecture, as in Jean Miélot's illuminations created for Philip the Good (Plate 25) or Hans Memling's *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, made for the Portinaris (Fig. 111).

The construction of a bulbous dome atop the Adornos' Calvary chapel in Bruges in the 1470s suggests an interest in alluding to the sacred architecture of the Holy Land, through association with a generalized idea of the architecture of the Mamluk Empire. Bulbous domes had apparently become associated with the idea of the architecture of Jerusalem, as well as the architecture of the Islamic empire of





Fig. 115 Tower of the Chapel of the Holy Blood, Bruges, third quarter of the fifteenth century (Photo: author)

the Mamluks more generally. Minarets that took the form of tall, square towers encircled by balconies, surmounted by small bulbous domes with crescents, were apparently the most distinctive feature of Mamluk cities like Cairo in the eyes of European pilgrims who sought to register difference in relation to their native cities.<sup>113</sup> In the third quarter of the fifteenth century, Bruges' most sacred building, housing the Holy Blood of Christ (Fig. 115), had been given its own prominent multi-storied tower capped by a bulbous dome.<sup>114</sup>

The resemblance of the Adorno family's church as expanded in the time of Anselme to Bruges' Holy Blood chapel is also suggestive of the ambitions of his patronage. Although not a part of Philip the Good's circle of knightly courtiers, Anselme Adorno achieved a new level of social status towards the end of his life, particularly through diplomatic missions and association with King James III of Scotland (r.

1460–88). On one of these missions, in 1469, the Scottish king knighted Anselme; when he traveled again to Scotland in 1477, Anselme dedicated the account of his pilgrimage to King James III.<sup>115</sup> It has been hypothesized that the construction of the royal chapel at Restalrig may have been a similar attempt to re-create the Church of the Holy Sepulcher under Anselme's influence.<sup>116</sup> Nothing, however, remains of the Scottish chapel. After his assassination in Scotland in 1483, Anselme's remains were transferred to the Jerusalem church in Bruges, installed in the nave along with his wife's.<sup>117</sup>

#### LEIDEN'S CALVARY CHAPEL AND HOLY SEPULCHER

The Jeruzalemkerk in Bruges may be one of the earliest and most prominent examples of a complex recreation of the features of the Holy Sepulcher, but there is evidence that it was not unique in the Low Countries. In Leiden, a wealthy patron – Wouter Ijsbrantszoon – stipulated in his will that a chapel dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher be constructed as part of an existing complex housing elderly men.<sup>118</sup> The will was made in 1467 and specifies that the construction include a Calvary chapel (*die Cruys capelle*) with the Holy Sepulcher (*Heilich Graf*), emphasizing how one will experience climbing up the eighteen stairs to Calvary (the same number as in Jerusalem), and then proceed to a chapel with a stone crib “in the manner of Bethlehem as accurately as possible.”<sup>119</sup> Wouter had recently been on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the measures said to be “in his office” were likely acquired on the journey. The intentions for the chapel suggest a fundamental similarity to the Jeruzalemkerk in Bruges. Although nothing of the chapel in Leiden survives, when Claes van Dusen (c. 1440–after 1514) visited Leiden he remarked that “I have been in many cities, but I have never seen the Holy Grave counterfeited better than in Leiden.”<sup>120</sup>

The “counterfeit” of Christ's Tomb in Leiden, like many similar examples, was later destroyed. These included a chapel in Amsterdam (c. 1490), whose foundations were only recently found, and one at Gouda (c. 1500), parts of which are still

extant.<sup>121</sup> The chapels constructed in Amsterdam, Gouda, and Leiden were all connected to the growing importance of pilgrimage confraternities in the Low Countries; the chapels provided a space for a collective display of devotion to the pilgrimage.

Members, having completed the pilgrimage, were all Knights of the Holy Sepulcher. Although one originally had to be of noble birth to be knighted while in Jerusalem, by the end of the fifteenth century this requirement was no longer strictly followed.<sup>122</sup>

## THE CONSPICUOUS NOBILITY OF DEDICATION TO HOLY LAND ARCHITECTURE



### THE RUCELLAI SEPULCHER IN FLORENCE AND IMAGINED CRUSADER GENEALOGIES

Throughout Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century, wealthy patrons commissioned architectural re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher as conspicuous displays of nobility and dedication to the idea of a crusade. For the Florentine banker, Giovanni Rucellai (1403–81), this was closely tied to the aggrandizement of his family’s fictive crusading history.<sup>1</sup> Giovanni describes his ancestor, Messer Ferro, as a member of the “knights of the order of Knights Templar,” remarking upon his family’s special devotion to the protection of pilgrims and holy places; from this invented tradition he also claimed the origin of the family epithet, *de’ Templari* (of the Templars).<sup>2</sup> Rather than go on pilgrimage, Giovanni – as an undated letter to his mother attests – sent surveyors to Jerusalem to obtain the “correct drawing and measurements of the Sepulcher of Our Lord Jesus Christ.”<sup>3</sup> The chapel constructed in 1467 at the Church of San Pancrazio (Fig. 13) is one third the size of the Tomb in Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Otherwise there are significant departures from the Jerusalem Tomb: the canopy is halved in size and placed at the front (rather than the rear) and there is no plinth.<sup>5</sup> The architectural elements bear no resemblance to the contemporary Tomb in Jerusalem and are instead distinctly Florentine: fluted Corinthian pilasters carved with crisp precision, marble inlay composed of geometric motifs in patterns of black and white, and heraldic devices of the

Rucellai and Medici families – recently joined in marriage.<sup>6</sup> Inside, a single chamber contains a stone slab and a fresco with scenes of the descent from the Cross and Christ flanked by two angels. One panel within the chapel’s pavement contains an inscription, indicating the place where Christ was embalmed before entombment. The panel can be lifted to reveal a vaulted space below.<sup>7</sup> The Rucellai Sepulcher was placed within an existing chapel that was remodeled by the same architect.<sup>8</sup> An inscription over the door gives the date 1467.<sup>9</sup>

A papal bull of 1471 confirmed the special status of the chapel as a pilgrimage site in its own right, by granting visitors seven years’ plenary indulgence. When the Florentine Michele da Figline visited Jerusalem in 1489, he noted the resemblance of the Rucellai Sepulcher, made in the effigy (*facto a quelle effigie*) of the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup> A non-Florentine might have observed the significant departures from the original. Rather than any building in Jerusalem, the geometric patterns of black-and-white marble resemble Florence’s Baptistery, celebrated in the fifteenth century as a Roman temple and the primary relic of Florence’s ancient past.<sup>11</sup> The marble cladding tied the Sepulcher to the imagined antiquity of the Baptistery, linking Giovanni Rucellai’s own fictive claims to ancestral nobility with his Republic’s fictive ancient past.<sup>12</sup>

The Rucellai family was not alone among the Florentine nobility in inventing a history of participation in the crusades. Sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century, the Pazzi family famously



invented the tradition that their ancestor, Pazzo de' Pazzi, was the head of a Florentine army in the First Crusade.<sup>13</sup> More than just this, Pazzo was said to be the first of all the Crusaders to put his foot on the walls of Jerusalem, during the siege of the city. The family also claimed that upon his return to Florence he was received in triumph and donated to the city three pieces of the Holy Sepulcher. The annual commemoration of this event is known as the *scoppio del carro* (explosion of the cart). The descent of the Holy Spirit to Christ's Tomb – a ritual enacted every Easter in Jerusalem since at least the ninth century – undoubtedly inspired the Florentine celebration. A pilgrim (most likely Italian) illustrated the ritual occurring within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in a fourteenth-century manuscript (Fig. 83), showing the fire of the Holy Spirit as it enters into the oculus of the Anastasis Rotunda. In the Florentine version of the ritual, the cart played a central role as a relic of Pazzo's participation in the First Crusade; after being taken from home to home within Florence, there was a fiery display in the area between the Baptistery and cathedral. The cart, like the related relics of the Holy Sepulcher, and the very story of Pazzo's crusading career, were all inventions fabricated to celebrate the nobility of the Pazzi and the imagined participation of the Florentines in the crusades. The *scoppio del carro* continued to be financed year after year by the Pazzi family until 1864, when the task was given over to the Florentine commune.<sup>14</sup>

#### WILLIAM WEY'S CHAPEL AT EDINGTON

The decades of the 1460s and 70s also saw the construction of a chapel dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher in the English town of Edington, directly inspired by the pilgrimages of the Oxford fellow and theologian, William Wey (c. 1407–76).<sup>15</sup> Wey composed a book based upon two separate pilgrimages to Jerusalem of 1458 and 1462, made with the clear intent of allowing his readers to imagine the pilgrimage without making the journey. A copy seems to have been originally installed in the chapel along with a map of the Holy Land; the surviving manuscript and the 7-foot-long map are now both in

the Bodleian Library, Oxford.<sup>16</sup> The chapel, manuscript, and relics, all created in the period before Wey's death in 1476, represent a rare intersection of the various means of re-creating the pilgrimage, originally orchestrated together in a single space.<sup>17</sup> His will lists the objects left to the chapel, which is referred to as made in the "lyknes of the sepulkyr of our Lord at Jerusalem." These objects included, in addition to the book and the map, wooden models of pilgrimage churches, paintings of the Temple of Solomon, Mount of Olives, and Bethlehem ("clothe stayned wyth the tempyl of Jerusalem, the Movnte of Olyvete, and Bethleem"), and a reproduction of the veil of St. Veronica. A reliquary box contained various stones taken from holy sites:

[A] relyquary of box in the wheche be thys relyks. A ston of the Mownte of Calvery, a stone of sepulkyr, a stone of the hyl of Tabor. A stone of the pyler that over Lord was stowrhyd too [scourged at]. A stone of the place wher the crosse was hyd and fynde. Also a stone of the holy cave of Bethleem.<sup>18</sup>

The relics, like the chapel and its other accoutrements, were lost in the period of the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536–41).<sup>19</sup>

In the account of his pilgrimages, William emphasizes the turmoil of journeying, and he is notable for being among the first to provide practical advice, including how to change money and when to make use of a small chamber pot.<sup>20</sup> His journey is narrated in relation to the map, with notation of distances between places from Damascus to Hebron.<sup>21</sup> Although nothing is known of the precise forms of the chapel built in the "lyknes" of Christ's Sepulcher, it is possible that various sites were marked, corresponding to distances traversed within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.<sup>22</sup> This is suggested by the reference to colored images ("stained cloths") with scenes corresponding to locations within the church in Jerusalem, like Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene ("owre Lorde wyth a spade in hys hande"), which could have marked the chapel, or a Crucifixion, which may have marked the place of Golgotha, for example.<sup>23</sup> A cloth "stayned wyth thre Maryes and thre pylgremys" may have

been displayed with a re-creation of the Tomb Aedicule.<sup>24</sup> Additional images apparently envisioned other pilgrimage sites – and perhaps related buildings – within the chapel, including the Mount of Olives and Bethlehem, complemented by the corresponding relics from these locations.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps most remarkably, it seems that William Wey also had a series of wooden models of the pilgrimage churches made, as well as wooden boards corresponding to various dimensions of Christ's Tomb, body, and the Cross<sup>26</sup> The wooden models apparently included the Calvary chapel, the Church of the Nativity, the Church of the Ascension, and the Tomb of Mary, all to be left in the chapel after William's death.

Nothing else is known of the wooden models or the painted cloths that had been hung in the chapel, beyond what is said in the surviving manuscript. When William Wey made the pilgrimage in 1458, he was accompanied by a nobleman of Padua, Gabriele Capodilista (d. 1477). Capodilista's account of his journey, written after his return for the nuns of a Franciscan convent in his native city, included a drawing of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and a fold-out map of the Holy Land, both of which survive.<sup>27</sup> The drawing (Plate 29) is a view of the southern façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, comparable to the view in the Hours of René of Anjou, although notably less luxurious.<sup>28</sup> William Wey's written account of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher correspondingly commences with an account of the church as first encountered from the south. Wey notes, for example, the stone in the center of the paved square, marked with many crosses, where Christ rested carrying the Cross to Mount Calvary, as included in Capodilista's drawing.<sup>29</sup> It is unknown if Gabriele Capodilista created this drawing himself, or if he – perhaps like Wey – enlisted the services of a painter or architect. The French pilgrim Louis Rochechouart, who made the pilgrimage in 1461, noted in his account that to make the form of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher comprehensible, he had an architect, among the pilgrims when he visited, make a drawing.<sup>30</sup> The drawing does not survive.

After his description of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, William Wey describes the route to St. Stephen's gate, commencing with the place

where Christ impressed his face into Veronica's veil. The re-creation of Veronica's veil, noted among the objects held in the Edington chapel, may have been displayed in a corresponding location. From here, Wey notes the various locations along the street – which he refers to as the “street through which Christ ascended with the Cross as he suffered” (*strata quedam, per quam Christus ascendebat cum cruce ut pateretur*), including the houses of Pilate and Herod, the *Templum Domini* and *Templum Salomonis*, the Golden Gate, and finally the Gate of St. Stephen.<sup>31</sup> Within the manuscript, crosses indicate locations associated with plenary indulgences.<sup>32</sup> William Wey is particularly attentive to the materials of the sacred buildings that he encounters. This may reflect the ongoing influence of the Franciscan friars, who led pilgrims like Wey, directing their attention to sacred locations in Jerusalem. Wey's account commences by noting that the pilgrimage begins on Mount Sion; from there the friars accompany pilgrims to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and throughout the city.<sup>33</sup> Wey describes stones like the long black one where Christ's body was anointed, or the round white one where Christ had appeared to Mary Magdalene. Pilgrims to the Edington chapel could encounter corresponding relics taken from the same stones. Like Franciscan authors of the fourteenth century, particularly Niccolò da Poggibonsi, Wey also incorporates imaginative allusions to the animate traces of the sacred personages in the materials of the holy buildings. For instance, in Nazareth, he provides an apparently unique account of the column in the Cave of the Annunciation as being impressed with the image of Gabriel; when the rays of the sun at vespers touch a vestigial image of the angel's head, this reveals the hour when Christ was conceived from the Virgin Mary.<sup>34</sup>

William Wey's account suggests how fully the itineraries and features of the pilgrimage associated with the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land had become integrated into the basic idea of the experience throughout Europe, including his attention to the role of the friars directing pilgrims and the crosses marking related indulgences throughout his account.<sup>35</sup> William is also notable for using the term “stations” in reference to the holy places; in doing so, he is using a term that had previously been

found in brief, anonymous lists of the holy places and related indulgences, created in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that have been attributed to Franciscan friars.<sup>36</sup> The term station seems to supersede the previous indication of holy places, perhaps to emphasize locations where one pauses to meditate upon the related event, in a way encouraged by Franciscan piety.<sup>37</sup> Two anonymous English accounts written in the second half of the fifteenth century similarly refer to “stacions,” which are described as being shown to the pilgrims by the Franciscan friars and being marked by a sign of the Cross to indicate indulgences, and further declared in various European languages.<sup>38</sup> The practice of placing a cross in a manuscript to indicate indulgences – of which William Wey’s manuscript is one of the earliest known examples – seems to be a re-creation of the Franciscan placement of signs at the corresponding pilgrimage buildings in the Holy Land. It is possible that the same signs may have referred to the holy places as numbered stations.<sup>39</sup>

#### THE GERMAN TRANSLATION OF NICCOLÒ DA POGGIBONSI’S *LIBRO D’OLTRAMARE*

The middle of the fifteenth century witnessed an expanded interest in combining detailed descriptions of the Holy Land buildings with pictorial illustrations – or in the case of William Wey, also with architectural construction – as a way of substituting for the difficult pilgrimage. The manuscript illustrations of Jerusalem made for Philip the Good and René of Anjou were luxurious productions whose audiences were limited to a privileged few. William Wey’s chapel at Edington is an important example of the expansion of the audience for a re-creation of the architecture of the Holy Land that incorporated pictorial illustrations, as well as wooden models and a map.<sup>40</sup> In this period a German translation was created of the first fully illustrated pilgrimage account, created by an Italian Franciscan friar in the previous century, Niccolò da Poggibonsi’s *Libro d’oltramare*. The German translation was made c. 1450–67 for the patrician Muffel family of Nuremberg (BL Ms. Egerton 1900).<sup>41</sup>

The German version of Niccolò da Poggibonsi’s book is – unlike the other two copies made in

Florence in the same period – an anonymous version, whose association with Gabriel Muffel is known through a reference to the Nuremberg patrician having made the pilgrimage in 1467.<sup>42</sup> Whether or not Gabriel Muffel made the pilgrimage (which remains uncertain), the manuscript does not refer to his journey, but instead presents the account of an anonymous German pilgrim, closely based upon Niccolò da Poggibonsi’s observations. The 147 drawings are likewise all based upon the Italian precedents discussed in Part III.<sup>43</sup> The illustrations follow the Italian precedents exactly, including drawings of the Church of the Patriarchs at Hebron with its distinctive fountain (Plate 30), the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the Unction Stone, and the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem.<sup>44</sup> The extensive illustrations and vivid account first created by Niccolò da Poggibonsi could effectively allow its patrician patron to imagine seeing, touching, and experiencing the buildings and landscape of the Holy Land without making the journey.

#### MENTAL PILGRIMAGE AT THE FRANCISCAN CONVENT AT MAINZ

In Jerusalem, pilgrims from Germany, England, Italy, and elsewhere experienced the same choreographed pilgrimage in the fifteenth century, as they were led by Franciscan guides who spoke multiple languages and provided the relevant devotional information – including prayers to recite, for example – and perhaps also small pamphlets with appropriate information. In Europe, a network of Franciscan institutions provided another context for the dissemination of information on the pilgrimage, including for those who could not make the pilgrimage.<sup>45</sup> The Franciscan convent at Mainz was the likely setting for the production of a richly illustrated manuscript, made for an unknown patron in the 1470s.<sup>46</sup> The emphasis on the sites associated with Mount Sion suggests a connection to the Franciscan order.<sup>47</sup> Unlike the copies of Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi’s book, this manuscript is written on velium and its text is in Latin, with pen and ink drawings with color washes.<sup>48</sup> The architectural drawings and text bear no resemblance to any other surviving manuscript, and the book ultimately



seems to have been an original production. The unknown author combines an emphasis on visualizing sacred events – following the general pattern of the Franciscan *Meditations on the Life of Christ* – with a topographic sequence and evocation of architectural settings, situating these visionary experiences in the framework of an imagined walk through the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.

The Arsenal manuscript, like the illustrated guidebook probably made for Philip the Good discussed in the [previous chapter](#), incorporates prayers to be read at the sites. This suggests that the book's reader actively imagined being present at the described sites, saying prayers as if visiting the corresponding locations in Jerusalem or Bethlehem. The journey begins with an exterior view of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher ([Plate 31](#)); as the reader turns the page, he or she seems to enter the building, being shown a cut-away view of the same church.<sup>49</sup> The following sequence suggests that as one imagines the pilgrimage, its real physical setting, and the associated sacred events, one can effectively be transported to the past and be among the witnesses to the Resurrection, Nativity, or Ascension.<sup>50</sup> The Church of the Holy Sepulcher functions as the vital – if anachronistic – link between the present experience in Jerusalem and the life of Christ.

The drawing of the exterior of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher presents a suggestion of the conical vault above the Anastasis Rotunda, another dome above Calvary, and the church's bell tower, with a fantastic bulbous dome. The drawing of the interior is less specific, presenting a typical church with an altar in the place of the Tomb of Christ.<sup>51</sup> The accompanying text emphasizes the physical links between the place where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene after the Resurrection and the chapel where a pilgrim sees the Column of the Flagellation, reflecting the contemporary arrangement in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>52</sup> Illuminations depict the corresponding events, including the Flagellation.<sup>53</sup> After visiting various sites in Jerusalem, including the site of the Presentation of Christ and his Ascension, the pilgrim-reader proceeds to Bethlehem, to be – like the Magi – witness to the birth of Jesus.<sup>54</sup> The journey concludes with the *Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness* and the *Baptism of Christ* on one folio,

followed by Veronica and her veil, the Arma Christi, and a monstrance displaying the host.<sup>55</sup> The host, represented in the illumination with the shadow of the image of the Crucifixion, is referred to in the text as a *figura* (figure) of Christ's body. The final image of the host, following the instruments of the Passion and Veronica's veil, suggests that the preceding sacred buildings of Jerusalem and Bethlehem similarly could be regarded as constituting material figurations of Jesus Christ.

#### POPE SYLVESTER AND THE ORIGINS OF THE HOLY LAND INDULGENCES

The Arsenal manuscript incorporates red crosses to indicate indulgences. This is one of the first surviving examples of a practice apparently emanating from the activities of the Franciscan friars in Jerusalem. The practice is best attested in a book published by Leonardus Wild around 1470, *Peregrinationes totius Terrae Sanctae* (All of the Pilgrimages of the Holy Land), relating to the researches of Fra Christophoro da Varese on the indulgences of the holy places under the guardianship of the Franciscan order.<sup>56</sup> The research was reportedly undertaken during the custodianship of Francesco da Piacenza (1467–72) and resulted in the publication of an authoritative Latin account of the indulgences relating to the Holy Land pilgrimage, in which crosses are found throughout as visual markers for the plenary indulgence.<sup>57</sup> Special attention is given to the circuit within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the path from this church to the Gate of St. Stephen.<sup>58</sup>

The *Peregrinationes* is not an account of the pilgrimage experience, is not written in the first person, and is not necessarily the product of a single author. Even though the book became associated with Christophoro da Varese, the author – or authors – was likely drawing upon previous manuscripts composed since the beginning of the Franciscan Custody in the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>59</sup> A number of anonymous manuscripts in various languages have survived that provide similar listings of indulgences.<sup>60</sup> The publication of the book in multiple editions in Latin suggests an interest in bestowing an aura of established authority and antiquity on the

indulgences and the Franciscan Custody. Additional editions were published *c.* 1480, 1491, and 1493.<sup>61</sup>

The role of the printed *Peregrinationes* in stabilizing the authenticity of the Holy Land indulgences is also revealed in its emphasis upon Pope Sylvester (314–35) as the originating authority. Such references are scattered throughout manuscripts of the fifteenth century, but only become common in the later decades of the century, in a way that likely reflects the impact of the printed *Peregrinationes*.<sup>62</sup> The indulgences constituted perhaps the most important feature of the Franciscan promotion of the sanctity and significance of the buildings. The fiction of their papal origins and antiquity seems evidence of both their expanding popularity and a perceived need to provide – i.e., invent – an ancient historical origin for them. Allusions to Pope Sylvester as the original institutor of the indulgences likely emanated from the Franciscan friars on Mount Zion; the reference is almost always made in connection with a system of notation, in which indulgences are indicated by a Maltese cross.<sup>63</sup> This practice, as suggested before, is probably based upon the Franciscans placing such crosses at the holy places and distributing pamphlets with corresponding information to pilgrims.

Manuscripts in various languages with the information published, regularized, and historicized in the printed *Peregrinationes* could now be evaluated against a Latin source, whose antiquity claimed to originate in the time of Constantine and Helena.<sup>64</sup> For instance, an English manuscript incorporates the information of the *Peregrinationes*, illustrated and expanded with information drawn from another anonymous account of the pilgrimage.<sup>65</sup> The manuscript was created sometime in the last two decades of the fifteenth century; mention is made of the destruction of Otranto in southern Italy, sieged by Ottoman forces in 1480.<sup>66</sup> The manuscript combines an English and Latin text, both presented as eyewitness accounts.<sup>67</sup> The book describes a sequence through the landscape of the Holy Land, with prayers to recite at various locations and six full-page illuminations of events from the life of Christ.<sup>68</sup> The reader can imagine moving between the holy places, following the instructions provided in the text, for instance, to descend the stairs into the Cave of the Nativity, there recite a prayer (*Huic descendit in capellam cantus ymnum*) and imagine the Nativity as in the

accompanying illustration.<sup>69</sup> The imagined pilgrimage culminates with a visit to the Holy Sepulcher: Christ appears as a pilgrim at the Tomb Aedicule (Plate 32).<sup>70</sup>

## THE FIRST PRINTED PILGRIMAGE ACCOUNTS

In the 1470s, the first printed pilgrimage accounts were published, beginning with a book of well-established popularity printed in Germany, originally written by Ludolph von Suchem (or Sudheim) *c.* 1350, describing his journey of 1336–41.<sup>71</sup> Burchard of Mount Zion's account was printed in 1475 in Lübeck with a view of Palestine, centered upon an idealized round city of Jerusalem (Fig. 116).<sup>72</sup> In general, the first printed books that sought to illustrate Jerusalem did so within the context of well-established traditions. This first printed map of Jerusalem likewise had an archaic air. The map was associated with the fourteenth-century pilgrim known as Burchard of Mount Zion, although its precise origins remain unclear.<sup>73</sup> Jerusalem is presented as a circular walled city with concentric walls as viewed from the west, with the Mount of Olives behind and Bethlehem on the right (to the south).<sup>74</sup>

Throughout the first decades of printing in Europe, books on the pilgrimage written by contemporaries coexisted with those based upon older manuscripts. Santo Brasca's was the first contemporary account to be printed with an illustration – a ground-plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 117) – when it was published in 1481. The inclusion of a ground-plan represents a remediation of a centuries-old tradition of hand-made drawings of the architecture in Jerusalem. The book's success is indicated by new editions published in 1487, 1497, and 1519.<sup>75</sup> Brasca's book incorporates the prayers and hymns to be recited, as recently disseminated through the printing of the *Peregrinationes*, and also emphasizes new indulgences granted by Sixtus IV (1471–84).

## NUREMBERG'S HOLY SEPULCHER AND WAY OF THE CROSS

The contemporary authors of the first printed pilgrimage books were consistently members of an





Fig. 116 Palestine, *Rudimentum Novitiorum*, Lübeck, 1475 (Photo: The National Library of Israel, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Shapell Family Digitization Project and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography – Historic Cities Research Project)

international aristocracy. The public dissemination of their accounts paralleled an interest in participating in the perceived nobility of dedication to the Holy Land and the crusading cause. The potential for the new medium to expand upon the possibilities of experiencing the Holy Land within the context of a book continued to be explored in close conjunction with the manuscript culture of pilgrimage. In the 1470s and 1480s, these possibilities were most actively explored by patricians of Germany, particularly Nuremberg and Mainz. The creation of books on the pilgrimage was also closely related to the patronage of architectural projects dedicated to Jerusalem. Like Bruges earlier in the century, the city of Nuremberg emerged as a focal point for recreating the Holy Land; in contrast to Bruges, where Philip the Good and his crusading ambitions dominated the scene, it was a group of interconnected

patrician families who sought to demonstrate their nobility, piety, and power through conspicuous acts of devotion to Jerusalem and its sacred architecture, which included both the production of books (hand-written and printed) and architectural projects. The patricians of Nuremberg derived their special relationship to Jerusalem from their protection of the imperial relics, which included the lance of St. Maurice.<sup>76</sup> The relics, legendarily acquired by Charlemagne, had been periodically displayed in the Frauenkirche (Our Lady's Church) since 1361 and then were permanently installed in the nearby church of the Heilig-Geist-Spital (Holy Spirit Hospital) from 1424 until 1796.<sup>77</sup> The relocation of the imperial relics from Prague, where they had been installed since the middle of the fourteenth century, was probably motivated by threats from both radical Hussites and westward pushing Ottoman troops.<sup>78</sup>



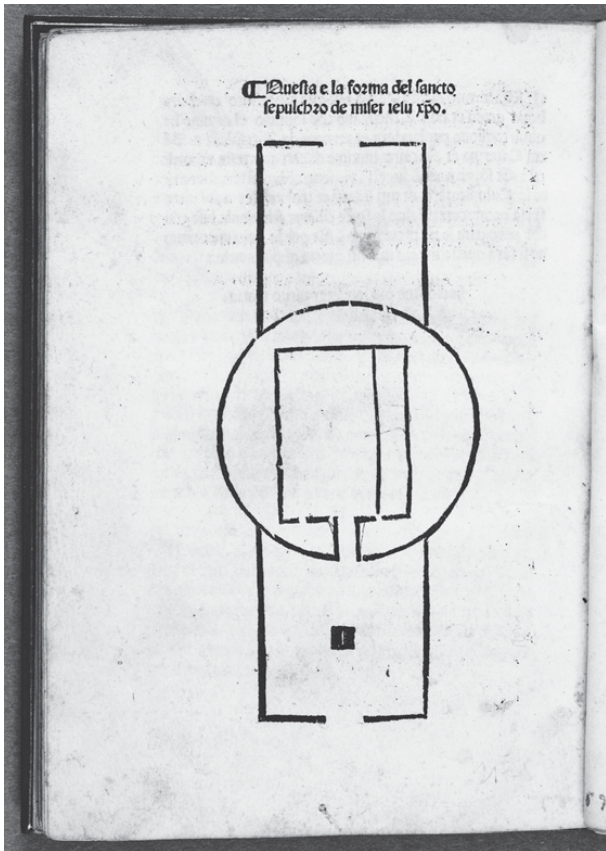


Fig. 117 Santo Brasca, Ground-plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, *Viaggio in Terrasanta*, Milan, 1481, fol. 58v (Photo: Huntington Library, San Marino, CA)

Within the Heilig-Geist-Spital, the imperial relics were placed within an exceptional metalwork casket (1438–40) known as the *Sarch* (coffin).<sup>79</sup> In 1459, the Ketzels family, a prosperous merchant family who arrived from Augsburg in the 1430s and aspired to the Nuremberg patriciate, patronized a chapel re-creating the Holy Sepulcher within the court of the Heilig-Geist-Spital, where the imperial relics were then kept.<sup>80</sup> The re-creation of the Tomb Aedicule constructed at the center of this chapel survived until World War II.<sup>81</sup> The Ketzels family took great pride in the tradition of pilgrimage within their family.<sup>82</sup> In addition to the sculptural and architectural projects commissioned by Georg and Martin Ketzels, various members of the family commissioned medals, grave slabs, paintings, and tapestries celebrating their pilgrimage history.<sup>83</sup>

The imperial relics, enshrined in a tomb-like casket at the center of Nuremberg, formed the basis of Nuremberg's identity with Jerusalem, cultivated

throughout the fifteenth century by the patricians of the city (along with the Ketzels, who aspired to that class).<sup>84</sup> The development of Nuremberg's Kreuzweg, or Way of the Cross, most likely emerged from this context. The Kreuzweg incorporated existing buildings in Nuremberg: the House of Pilate was identified with the northwestern city gate, and the route proceeded west of the city to end at the cemetery of St. John. The earliest version of the installation – which became more elaborate in the first years of the sixteenth century, as we will see – may have employed crosses or other simple markers to indicate the stations.<sup>85</sup> The measures between locations from St. Stephen's Gate to Mount Calvary were said to have been taken by Martin Ketzels, during a pilgrimage to Jerusalem of 1476.<sup>86</sup> It was later claimed that Martin had made an earlier pilgrimage when he first took measures but lost them, prompting the second pilgrimage.<sup>87</sup> The association of the Ketzels family with the creation of Nuremberg's Kreuzweg, cited only in later periods, may reflect the growing significance of the family's well-known dedication to the Holy Land pilgrimage, rather than their actual patronage.<sup>88</sup> In fact the first surviving evidence of the development of Nuremberg's Kreuzweg relates to the pilgrimages of two of Nuremberg's most prominent patricians, Sebald Rieter the Younger and Hans Tucher, who made the journey together in 1479.

#### THE PILGRIMAGE MAP OF SEBALD RIETER THE YOUNGER

While the Ketzels family patronized architectural projects relating to the Holy Land pilgrimage as a demonstration of their family's piety, other prominent families of Nuremberg in the same years focused on the potential for books to achieve the same goal, perhaps with a broader audience in mind. The idea of commissioning a book on the pilgrimage with detailed eyewitness description may have been particularly inspired by the recent creation of the German translation of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'oltremare* for the Muffel family (Plate 30), discussed above. Gabriel Muffel was closely connected to members of other patrician families of that city who documented

their pilgrimages and offered the experiences of their journeys for others, especially as a way of publicizing their combined piety and exceptional wealth.<sup>89</sup> The Muffel, Rieter, and Tucher families were all interconnected through marriage; Hans Tucher – who accompanied Sebald Rieter the Younger (1426–88) on his pilgrimage of 1479 – married Felicitas Rieter in 1482, and the Muffel and Tucher families had intermarried for several decades.<sup>90</sup> Gabriel Muffel's second wife, whom he married in 1485, was Katharina Tucher. The pilgrimage manuscripts made for these Nuremberg families also reflect a shared book culture.<sup>91</sup> An addendum found in the German version of the *Libro d'oltramare* associated with the Muffel family was also incorporated into the pilgrimage accounts of Sebald Rieter and Hans Tucher.<sup>92</sup>

A drawing detailing the pilgrimage sites of Jerusalem (Fig. 118) has been associated with Sebald Rieter the Younger since the seventeenth century.<sup>93</sup>

In contrast to the illustrations in the Muffel family manuscript, the large folio incorporates the primary pilgrimage buildings and pathways of Jerusalem into a single view from the Mount of Olives. And in contrast to earlier fifteenth-century views of Jerusalem produced by artists in the Burgundian Netherlands, the city is viewed from the east rather than the west, and the inscriptions provide detailed information regarding the pilgrimage sites. Who made the drawing and its ultimate purpose are unknown; it is possible that it was a preparatory work for another book or painting.<sup>94</sup>

The inscriptions found throughout the panoramic drawing associated with Sebald Rieter the Younger's pilgrimage provide the names for the buildings in the Holy Land.<sup>95</sup> At the center, the Dome of the Rock standing prominently on the platform of the Temple Mount is identified as the Ecclesie Sarazeni (Church of the Saracens).<sup>96</sup> The Aqsa Mosque to



Fig. 118 Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, BSB Cod. Icon. 172 (Photo: BSB)



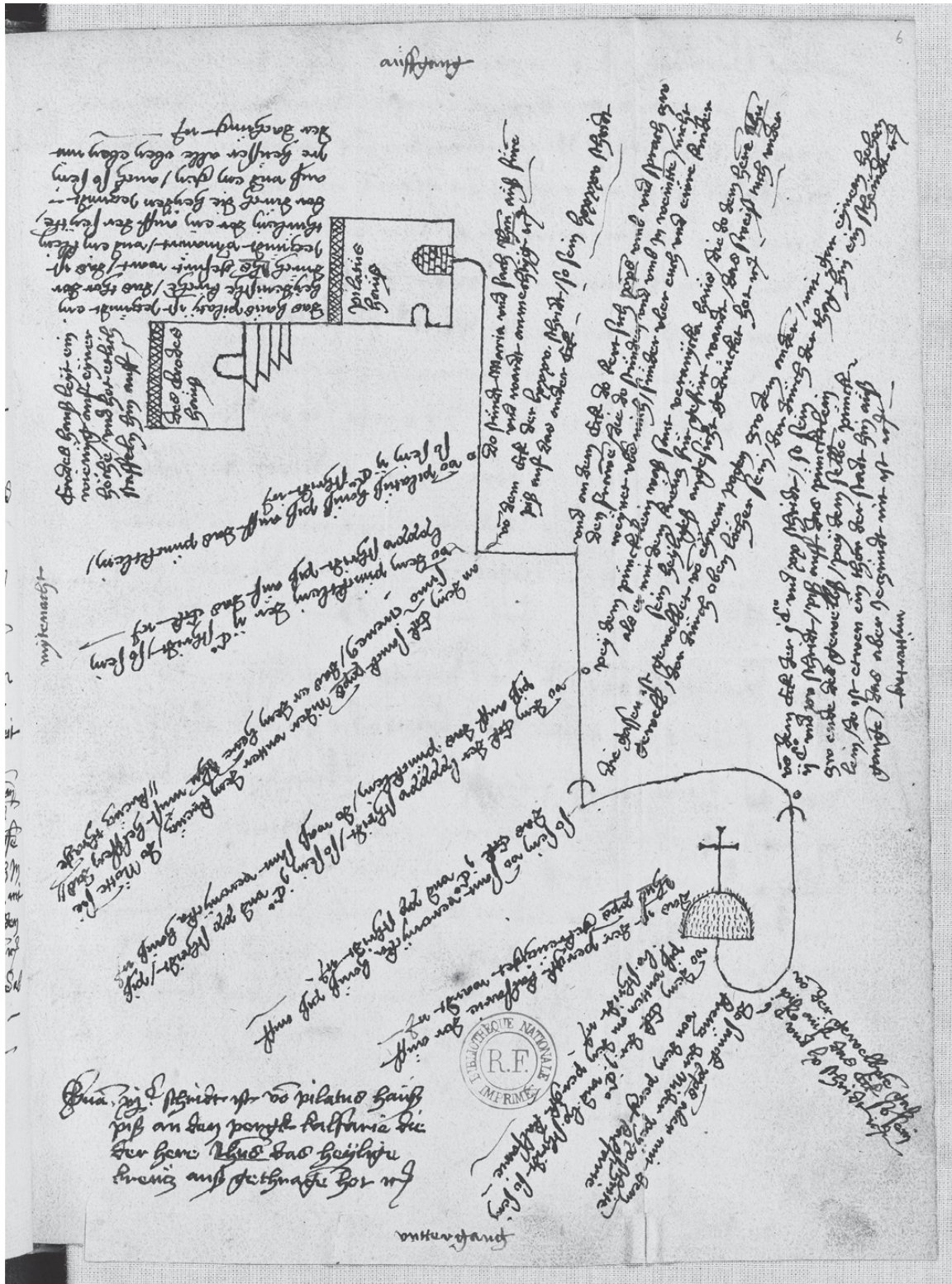


Fig. 119 Copy after Endres Tucher, Letter describing and illustrating the Way of the Cross in Jerusalem, BNF Rés O2f. 13 ad 1, fol. 6r, sixteenth century (Photo: BNF)



the south is given the name acquired during the Kingdom of Jerusalem, *Templum Salomonis*, and the dome above the crossing has been given a bulbous profile, echoing the *Ecclesie Sarazeni*. The allusion to the “Saracen” identity of the Dome of the Rock is complemented by the inclusion of a crescent atop the building’s dome and on two minarets on the Temple Mount.<sup>97</sup> The large cross atop the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which has been rotated to be seen as first encountered by pilgrims – from the south – may represent an invention designed to counter the crescents.<sup>98</sup> The Golden Gate in front is inscribed as the *Porta ubi Christus intrauit* (Gate where Christ entered) and is the setting for the scene of Christ’s Entry at the *Arbor palmarum* (palm tree).

The right portion of the map is devoted to the places associated with Christ’s path to Mount Calvary. From the east, we first see St. Stephen’s Gate, and we read from bottom to top along the pathway. The drawing is the first known detailed visualization of the spatial and architectural articulation of the Way of the Cross in Jerusalem in a single image, and its creation parallels the physical construction of the *Kreuzweg* in Nuremberg in the same period. Buildings like the *Ecce Homo* arch which had previously been illustrated in a series of drawings in Niccolò da Poggibonsi’s *Libro d’oltramare* are imagined in a continuous sequence from east to west. First on the right, the House of Pilate is shown with a prominent stairway, identified as *Scala Sancta Maria* (Stairs of St. Mary), perhaps alluding to the *Scala Santa* in Rome. Immediately adjacent is the *Ecce Homo* arch spanning the way, “above which Christ was placed ...” (*Hic supra fuit ponitur Christus ...*). Another stairwell connects to the *Domus Herodes* (House of Herod), from which point a pathway branches off to the north towards another gate through which pilgrims enter. The Church of St. Anne is identified as “where St. Mary was born” (*ubi nascitur Sancta Maria*). Beyond the *Ecce Homo* arch, Christ gives Veronica the veil imprinted with his portrait (*Hic dedit Jhesus illa mulier Veronica*). Another inscription, corresponding to a circle marked by the path, indicates where Mary came after Christ was led to Calvary (*Hic venit Maria post Christum quando eum duxit ad montem Calvarie*).

The path disappears into a gate (erroneously labeled *Porta Aurea*, Golden Gate) and on the

other side continues around to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The southern façade of the Holy Sepulcher is recognizable due to its open vault of the Anastasis Rotunda, with an inscription indicating the *Sepulcrum Christi* (Sepulcher of Christ), and a tall bell tower capped by a large cross. A crucifix, accompanied by an inscription (*Mons Calvarie*), also tops the dome above Calvary – another fiction, likewise emphasizing the Christian identity in contrast to the surrounding Islamic buildings. In the courtyard in front, Christ falls with the Cross heavy on his back, and a crowd berates him. The image of Christ falling under the weight of the Cross would be the leitmotif of the sculptural group created for Nuremberg’s *Kreuzweg* in the early sixteenth century, as we will see. Nearby, a group of veiled witnesses are the Three Marys, who will soon enter the church to see his empty tomb as the first pilgrims. An inscription in the piazza in front of the church – anachronistically imagined as present during the life of Christ – notes the location where Christ fell (*Hic cadit Christus in terra de dolore et pena sua*), corresponding to a marker in the pavement of the courtyard, noted by pilgrims throughout the fifteenth century. Individual chapels within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher are also indicated, including *Capella de angelo* (Chapel of the Angel), *Johannes baptista* (John the Baptist), and *Sancta Maria Madalena* (St. Mary Magdalene). In the left-hand portion of the drawing, a separate trajectory is marked out, tracing a path from the Garden of Gethsemane below the Temple Mount up to Mount Sion in the south. Near Mount Sion St. Matthew is shown being taken as a disciple – alluding to the Apostolic mission that formed the basis of the Franciscan activities in Jerusalem.

Within Rieter’s drawing, the Temple Mount is depicted as a fortified area, protected by Mamluk guards, reflecting inaccessibility to Christian pilgrims. The fortified appearance also relates to recent construction carried out under the Mamluk administration. The Temple Mount had always been an elevated area of the city accessible through certain gates; under the Mamluks, a series of buildings were constructed around the perimeter of the platform, especially madrasas devoted to Sunni Islamic theology. These buildings had been founded by various sultans and officials since the

Mamluk take-over of Jerusalem, but most recently it was the Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya, founded by Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay (1468–96) after a visit of 1475, constructed along its western border. Such madrasas manifested a literal and metaphorical barrier against non-orthodoxy and apostasy, and created a clear visual boundary between the Islamic Temple Mount and the Christian city.<sup>99</sup>

This view of Jerusalem associated with the pilgrimage of 1479 made by both Sebald Rieter the Younger and Hans Tucher is the first known visualization of the city as seen from the Mount of Olives. The drawing reflects a growing emphasis on this view in the pilgrimage experience as recounted in the fifteenth century. For instance, William Wey – writing in relation to his pilgrimages of 1458 and 1462 – had explained for his reader the significance of the view, as providing a way of visually accessing buildings on the Temple Mount and at the beginning of the Way of the Cross that could not be physically visited by Christian pilgrims:

There one can see the place which has many indulgences but into which pilgrims cannot enter. They include, the house of Pilate, the Templum Domini, the Templum Salomonis, the house in which the most blessed Mary was born, and the Golden Gate. Into none of these places can pilgrims have entrance. Also on that mountain the city of Jerusalem in its entirety and the aforementioned Golden Gate can be seen.<sup>100</sup>

Pilgrims generally emphasize that from this point the city opens up; the implicit contrast is with the reality of closure and a denial of entrance into the sacred center of the city.<sup>101</sup> The map associated with Sebald Rieter the Younger re-creates this view, incorporating these central but inaccessible buildings into a larger Christian terrain, marked out by the events in which Christ shed his blood – along the path to Calvary – and bounded on the south by sites associated with the contemporary Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. Such a view not only provided the basis of an imaginary pilgrimage, through which one might imagine walking the street from St. Stephen's Gate to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, or along

the valleys and mountains to the east and south. It also claimed the inaccessible, Islamic center of the city by visualizing a repossession of the entire city – a repossession that had been imagined throughout the century by various would-be crusaders, but never fulfilled.<sup>102</sup> In the 1480s, some pilgrims writing about the journey, like Felix Fabri, would claim that the indulgences relating to the sanctuaries on the Temple Mount could be gained by simply viewing them from the Mount of Olives.<sup>103</sup>

Although the original intended function of the drawing associated with Sebald Rieter the Younger is unknown, it is certain that the panoramic view of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives had a direct impact on paintings made in the 1480s. The association with Sebald Rieter is fairly loose; moreover, given the close relations of the accounts created by Sebald Rieter and his travel companion, Hans Tucher, it remains possible that the drawing was instead made by or for Hans Tucher, or for both Nuremberg pilgrims. One of the related paintings is in fact an altarpiece commissioned by the Tucher family in 1483, for the tomb of Adelheid Tucher-Gundelach.<sup>104</sup> The artist who created the Tucher altarpiece for Bamberg's Church of St. James evidently based his view of Jerusalem directly upon the drawing, as the overall arrangement and specific architectural details closely correspond, while the inscriptions are omitted.<sup>105</sup>

#### THE PRINTED PILGRIMAGE ACCOUNT OF HANS TUCHER

Although Ludolph von Suchem's fourteenth-century account was the first pilgrimage book to be published in print c. 1470, it was the book of the Nuremberg patrician Hans Tucher that was the first major contemporary account to be printed when published in 1482.<sup>106</sup> The six editions published between 1482 and 1486 reflect the success of the book, and its text was widely used by authors who composed new books in the same decade, including Felix Fabri and Bernhard von Breydenbach.<sup>107</sup> Tucher emphasizes that the pilgrimage was made for the salvation of his soul, and refers to Pope Sylvester as the origin of indulgences, reflecting the recent

dissemination of Franciscan books on the subject.<sup>108</sup> The German book was first composed in manuscript format; passages closely relate to both Sebald Rieter the Younger's account and sections from the Muffel family's manuscript based upon Niccolò da Poggibonsi's book.<sup>109</sup>

Hans Tucher also composed letters during the pilgrimage, sent to family members, documenting his studies of the architecture and topography of Jerusalem, which would be the basis of his book.<sup>110</sup> One of the letters, dated August 6, 1479 and written to his brother, Endres Tucher – a member of the Carthusian order – is preserved in a copy now in Paris.<sup>111</sup> The manuscript includes an analysis and drawing of the distances along the Way of the Cross (Fig. 119). The diagram, presumably made by Hans Tucher in the original letter, which is no longer extant, creates a conceptual mapping of the distances and directions corresponding to a pilgrim's movement along the Way of the Cross. A line traces the path from Pilate's House to Calvary (*wegess und der gassen zu Jerusalem von des Pilatus hauss pis auf den pergk Kalfarie*), indicated by a small hill with a cross; the line bends and turns, connecting to different doors and stairways within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Along this path, inscriptions are written on the diagonal, so that the reader seems engaged in the dynamic movement charted out in the diagram and further described in the letter.<sup>112</sup> Hans indicates that there are a total of 1,050 paces between Pilate's House and Calvary, which – he asserts – is the same distance from the western tower of Nuremberg to St. John's Cemetery.<sup>113</sup> In other words, the studies of Hans Tucher in Jerusalem, likely made with Sebald Rieter at his side, confirmed the identity of Nuremberg and Jerusalem and the precise correspondence of their native city's Kreuzweg to the Way of the Cross.

In the letter of August 6, 1479, Hans Tucher also compares the experience of visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem to the movements within the St. Sebaldus Church in Nuremberg. The St. Sebaldus Church was perhaps the most significant church in Nuremberg, in which the patrician families were active patrons and also buried.<sup>114</sup> When Hans Tucher left for the pilgrimage at the age of fifty-one, he was already an Elder Mayor

of the city; within the Nuremberg council he had responsibility for the affairs of St. Sebaldus.<sup>115</sup> Hans therefore had a personal interest in publicizing Nuremberg's relationship to Jerusalem and the particular importance of St. Sebaldus. Hans notes that the two churches do not have the same dimensions, but he emphasizes that moving from chapel to chapel within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is similar to the experience of visiting the church in Nuremberg. The "likeness" (*gleichnuss*) between the two churches was not formal, but spatial and experiential, according to Hans.<sup>116</sup> This concept was expanded in the printed version of his book, where he again focuses on the similarity of moving between chapels, while noting that the church in Nuremberg is not truly like the one in Jerusalem (*dem temple nit gancz gleich ist*).<sup>117</sup> There is no known historical relationship between the construction of St. Sebaldus and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher; Hans Tucher does not claim that the former was built according to some likeness of the latter, but instead implies some fundamental relationship owing to Nuremberg's special sanctity.

Given Hans Tucher's interest in demonstrating Nuremberg's relationship to Jerusalem, it is remarkable that in both the letter to his brother written during the pilgrimage and in the printed version of his account he denies the authenticity of the Holy Sepulcher chapel recently constructed under the Ketzler family in Nuremberg's Heilig-Geist-Spital.<sup>118</sup> In the letter of 1479, Hans details the discrepancies between the Nuremberg and Jerusalem Sepulchers, citing specific differences in dimensions and scale.<sup>119</sup> The denial of likeness is even more remarkable given his previous assertion in the same letter that the St. Sebaldus church was like the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, despite the differences in their dimensions.<sup>120</sup> When Hans analyzes the relationship of Nuremberg's Kreuzweg to Jerusalem's Way of the Cross, he also omits any reference to the Ketzler family. It seems possible that Hans Tucher was interested in promoting Nuremberg's broader relationship to Jerusalem and in asserting his own family's special dedication to the Holy Land pilgrimage. While the Ketzler Sepulcher comes up short, Hans Tucher does note the similarity of the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem to the church in Eichstätt (Figs. 43 and 44).<sup>121</sup>



## COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER

When Hans Tucher compares a pilgrim's movement within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to visiting St. Sebaldus in Nuremberg, he is drawing upon a technique of description that uses an audience's collective experience of a shared architectural environment, in order to bring to mind otherwise unseen buildings. For Tucher's German audience, those familiar buildings included the Sepulcher in Eichstätt, the Ketzels chapel in the Heilig-Geist-Spital, and St. Sebaldus Church in Nuremberg. Rather than using pictorial illustrations in his book, Tucher depends upon such comparisons to allow his reader to imagine visiting the pilgrimage churches in Jerusalem. This descriptive technique reflects an expanding interest in finding ways of identifying the everyday experiences of one's own city with the sacred architecture of Christ's Jerusalem. By the time that Hans Tucher was writing, there was a pervasive understanding that a number of churches throughout Europe had been built "in the likeness" of Christ's Holy Sepulcher, including those from the early period of the crusades – as in Eichstätt – or more recently – as in Nuremberg.

When pilgrims like Tucher traveled to Jerusalem, they were alert to potential correspondences, analyzing buildings and landscape with the expectation of finding signs of likeness. And yet Tucher, like his contemporaries, invokes likeness in a manner substantially different from pilgrims of past centuries. In his comparison of the Ketzels Sepulcher and the one in Jerusalem, he focuses on discrepancies between exact dimensions of architectural features, while in his comparison of St. Sebaldus and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, he emphasizes the spatial and kinetic identity of the two buildings. Tucher's conception of likeness is at the same time extremely literal and extremely expansive; a building constructed as a re-creation of the Holy Sepulcher, like that founded by the Ketzels family, is said not to be a true likeness, because of the lack of precise correspondence of dimensions, while St. Sebaldus, whose forms had no historical relation to the church in Jerusalem, could be perceived as a likeness, due to the similar complexities of movement as somatically

experienced by the pilgrim. The intermediate possibility was not addressed: of a generalized relation, in which essential forms, mediated by memory and description and not necessarily apprehended through immediate visual or bodily experience, could be the basis of a likeness.<sup>122</sup>

The attention to detailed description of architectural forms and spatial experiences, typical of pilgrimage accounts from the fourteenth century on, seems to have fed into a new critical precision in how well-read pilgrims like Hans Tucher received the sacred architecture of the Holy Land. Hans Tucher's evaluation of the relation of the Ketzels Sepulcher and the Tomb Aedicule in Jerusalem implies a point-by-point comparison, as if the buildings were standing side by side. The geographical and conceptual distance has collapsed, and with it the idea of symbolic forms mediating between here and there. Other pilgrimage accounts of the second half of the fifteenth century suggest that Hans Tucher's attitude was typical. Gabriele Capodilista is one of the first pilgrims to employ the descriptive technique. In this case, coming from Padua, Gabriele compared the choir and encircling chapels of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to Sant'Antonio, the Franciscan church of his native city. Based upon the correspondence of this particular architectural feature, he asserted that the Jerusalem church "resembled very much" the Paduan church.<sup>123</sup>

It is in fact typical in pilgrims' accounts of the second half of the fifteenth century to find assertions of likeness between the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the author's native church, dependent upon a single corresponding architectural feature. Ulrich Leman, who came from St. Gall, compared the paved square in front of the church in Jerusalem to that of the cathedral in his home town.<sup>124</sup> Writing about his pilgrimage of 1480, Santo Brasca compared the same church in Jerusalem to San Lorenzo in his native Milan. Writing for Antonio Landriani, the Milanese ducal treasurer, he imagines that his reader can more clearly understand the church in Jerusalem by reference to the familiar church in Milan. The Holy Sepulcher – we are told – "resembles very much" the Church of San Lorenzo in Milan. While the two churches both have chapels behind the choir, and particularly one chapel

below the church dedicated to Our Lady, like that of San'Aquilino in Milan, Santo Brasca also notes significant discrepancies.<sup>125</sup> Attention to apparent correspondence is accompanied by attention to divergence. We might imagine the conversations among pilgrims from various cities, like Milan, Nuremberg, and Padua, converging upon Jerusalem. As each claimed resemblance to this or that building of their home town, the interest in comparison also became more detailed and more exacting; at the same time the Holy Sepulcher could be found to be like any church, anywhere.

The search for identity became more literal and exacting as the results became more ambiguous, at the moment when exactness seems to have been desired more than ever before. To say that a single part of a church, but not the rest, is like the Holy Sepulcher suggests that the very act of comparison is lacking, and the potential for "likeness" must remain unfulfilled.<sup>126</sup> The Florentines Michele da Figline and Zanobi di Antonio del Lavacchio were together in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 1489.<sup>127</sup> When writing about the journey, both noted some correspondence of the aisles and overall size with the Florentine Church of Santo Spirito (Holy Spirit), recently constructed according to designs by Filippo Brunelleschi. They also observed that the area of the high altar was quadrangular in Santo Spirito while the same area was curved in the Jerusalem church. Zanobi particularly noted that while both had a dome over the crossing, the one in Jerusalem was not in the center. Both authors also compare the Holy Sepulcher to the Florentine Baptistery, noting that it is not as wide or tall, but is vaulted "almost to that figure" (*quasi à quella figura*).<sup>128</sup>

#### BERNHARD VON BREYDENBACH'S *PEREGRINATIO IN TERRAM SANCTAM*

Pilgrims who compared various European churches to the complex Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the second half of the fifteenth century generally focused on specific features, of the choir or aisles of the crusader church, the shape of its dome, or the space of the piazza in front, to cite a few examples. Pictorial representations of the Church of the Holy

Sepulcher created throughout the fifteenth century likewise sought to envision the complexities and details as seen when the pilgrim first arrived in the southern piazza, looking at the exterior of the building. The *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Pilgrimage in the Holy Land), printed in Mainz in 1486, created by the pilgrim Bernhard von Breydenbach and the artist Erhard Reuwich, gave priority to the pilgrim's view of the facade from the south (Fig. 120), as observed by Felix Fabri: "If anyone wishes to see the form of this church, let him look at the 'Pilgrimage' written by ... Lord Bernhard de Braitenbach ... where he will be able to see its image drawn clearly as if he were standing in the courtyard and beholding it with his eyes."<sup>129</sup> The Tomb Aedicule is presented as if viewed upon



Fig. 120 Erhard Reuwich, Façade of the Holy Sepulcher, Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, Mainz, 1486, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 19.49.3, Rogers Fund, 1919 (Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

entering the Rotunda (Fig. 121). The particularities of the first image manifests the exterior appearance of the complex material building as a prelude to entering the spaces of the church. The corresponding text of the book describes movement through the church, drawing especially upon Hans Tucher's book.<sup>130</sup>

Felix Fabri, who made the pilgrimage in 1483 along with Bernhard von Breydenbach, likewise drew upon Hans Tucher's account, reportedly carrying the book on his journey; Felix's description of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, for example, is a translation from German to Latin of Tucher's.<sup>131</sup> As Felix remarks, the primary innovation of Bernhard, who "with artful fashioning made a figure to depict the monument of the Lord" (*artificiati effigiatione fecit figuram dominici monumenta depingi*), was to use printing in disseminating the pictorial image of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>132</sup> Mainz had been a major center for the development of printing in Europe earlier in the century.<sup>133</sup> When Bernhard made the pilgrimage in 1483, taking the artist Erhard Reuwich with the specific intent of creating an illustrated book, he was already a canon of Mainz Cathedral and would become dean soon after. In a way comparable to members of the patrician elite of Nuremberg like Hans Tucher, the affluent canon of Mainz sought to create a book that would demonstrate his combined

nobility and piety, as well as ingenuity.<sup>134</sup> While the view of the southern façade had a number of precedents in hand-made books, the isolated perspective view of the Tomb Aedicule seems to draw primarily upon a tradition of architectural re-creations, as in Eichstätt, Nuremberg, and Florence.

The most lavish aspect of Bernhard's printed book are the pull-out woodcuts, which fold out to show the entirety of the Holy Land in a single view (Fig. 12) and in another the city of Venice (Fig. 68).<sup>135</sup> The immediate precedent for the representation of Jerusalem in the first pull-out woodcut is the pen-drawn map associated with Sebald Rietter the Younger's pilgrimage of 1479 (Fig. 118).<sup>136</sup> Like that large drawing, the Temple Mount is viewed from the Mount of Olives, giving visual access to the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. The rest of the view is a composition that merges this perspective with a map of the region, as viewed from the west. The Holy Sepulcher, seen behind the Temple Mount, is shown as if from the south, rotated as in the map of Sebald Rietter's account.<sup>137</sup> Unlike the pen-drawn map, there is no clear delineation of the Way of the Cross (as indeed it would not have been easily visible from the Mount of Olives). The depiction of Jerusalem is densely filled with inscriptions, indicating locations of significant events. Printing

Fig. 121 Erhard Reuwich, Tomb of Christ, Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, Mainz, 1486, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 19.49.3, Rogers Fund, 1919 (Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)





allowed for a new scale of replication of increasingly complex images that folded into them some of the discursive potential of textual description.

Within the panoramic view of Jerusalem, the scale of the Temple Mount has been exaggerated, as the Temple of Solomon takes on the visual and conceptual center.<sup>138</sup> The Islamic identity of the building is not registered, either through the inscriptions – which employ the crusader names associated with the Latin conquest of the city in 1099 – or the use of crescents, which are absent from the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. Breydenbach's presentation of Jerusalem in the woodcut and accompanying account of the pilgrimage is framed at the beginning and end of his books by pleas to rouse support for a crusade.<sup>139</sup> These were heard throughout Europe, as the *Peregrinatio* was rapidly translated into German, Dutch, French, and Spanish, in addition to being available in the widely read Latin edition.<sup>140</sup>

#### THE SANCTIFICATION OF VENICE'S MARITIME EMPIRE

The pull-out woodcut of Venice (Fig. 68) in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* is in fact the largest illustration of the book. The German author seemed intent upon amplifying the place of Venice in the combined landscape of pilgrimage and crusades. Venetians had for centuries cultivated the unique identity of their city as a liminal territory – not quite in Italy – marking the passage to the Holy Land, where sacred relics drawn from pilgrimage sites, most famously the blood of Christ in San Marco, initiated the pilgrimage. A special hospice for pilgrims to Jerusalem was founded in 1409, expanding into a foundation of tertiary Franciscans. A Holy Sepulcher chapel was constructed as part of the convent's church, beginning in 1484.<sup>141</sup> Nothing remains except four sculpted angels and a porphyry altar, perhaps associated with the Unction Stone, all relocated to the Church of San Martino.<sup>142</sup> The construction of the chapel, attributed to a nun's dream and finished – it was said – with the help of angels, could possibly have been completed shortly after Breydenbach and Reuwich would have left the city to return to Germany.

In the story of his pilgrimage, Breydenbach focuses upon Venice not only as an extension of the Holy Land, but also as a bulwark against the expansion of the Ottoman Empire; a series of woodcuts envision Venice's maritime empire, presented as the Christian frontier against Ottoman expansion.<sup>143</sup> Woodcuts illustrate Parenzo (in modern-day Croatia), Corfu, Modone (in modern-day Greece), Candia (Crete), and Rhodes. In the latter, Reuwich has carefully incorporated depiction of the damage recently done to the towers in the Ottoman siege of 1480. Breydenbach also incorporates reports of the siege of Rhodes and the Venetian loss of the colony at Negroponte (which occurred in 1470), together with an account of the loss of Constantinople to the Ottomans.<sup>144</sup> Breydenbach culls from other sources to present a history of Islam, a biography of Muhammad, and a refutation of the Qur'an.<sup>145</sup> In this context, Venice and its maritime empires are presented as the Christian territory which stands in the face of the general threat of Islamic heresy.

Against the backdrop of a looming Ottoman threat, Breydenbach's woodcuts of Venice's maritime empire cut out a continuous sacred space from Venice to Jerusalem. In this respect the German nobleman's conception of Venice's place in the Holy Land reflects fundamental changes in the status of its maritime empire. Franciscan friars and Hospitallers contributed to a process of sanctification, through which the territories that made up the sea-based pilgrimage route were re-imagined as part of an expanded conception of the Holy Land. The Hospitallers, who by this period were more pervasively known as the Knights of Rhodes, cultivated the connections of their headquarters on the Venetian island to Jerusalem's sacred architecture. Although nothing seems to survive, the Knights of Rhodes had a recreation of the Holy Sepulcher constructed in their cemetery on the island, as attested by a pilgrim who visited in the sixteenth century.<sup>146</sup> The Knights also accumulated relics of the Passion in the Church of San Giovanni del Kollakion, such as fragments of the True Cross, a piece of the Crown of Thorns, and in 1484 the arm of St. John the Baptist.<sup>147</sup> In the same period Franciscans established at Candia drew pilgrims' attention to a fragment of the Golden Gate in their church dedicated to St. Francis.<sup>148</sup> Numerous

other examples of relics acquired in the latter part of the fifteenth century suggest that, perhaps in direct response to threat of loss to the Ottomans, the sacred connections of the maritime territories linking Venice to Jerusalem were asserted in the last decades of the fifteenth century.<sup>149</sup>

Venetian territories nonetheless continued to be eroded by Ottoman advances, as fortresses at Modone and Corone fell to the Turks in 1499. Venetian and Ottoman antagonism came to a climax in the war of 1499–1502, which concluded with an armistice. It was in this context that the Venetian painter Vittore Carpaccio (c. 1465–1525/6) was asked to depict the story of St. George, the paradigmatic crusader.<sup>150</sup> The series of paintings begun in 1502 was made for the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (Confraternity of St. George of the Slavs), originally founded in 1451 for Venice's Dalmatian colony. The members were active participants in various battles against the Ottomans, particularly aiding in the defense of Rhodes in 1480.<sup>151</sup> In the *Triumph of St. George* (Fig. 122), Carpaccio draws directly from Reuwich's panoramic woodcut of Jerusalem, most notably his depiction of the Temple of Solomon, in order to set the stage for the triumph of St. George, the quintessential champion of Christianity.<sup>152</sup> The painting reframes the Islamic Dome of the Rock in terms of the triumph of the Christian saint, staging an

imagined Christian possession of Jerusalem within Venice's own sacred landscape.<sup>153</sup>

#### GÖRLITZ

With the printing of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* in 1486, artists and architects had a new potential source for re-creating the architecture of Christ's Sepulcher. This was, as we have seen, a period in which pilgrims had become more exacting in their descriptions of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, revealing a distinctive interest in precision and comparison of buildings elements. Reuwich's woodcut made possible a new kind of claim of likeness, which could now be evaluated by comparison with Breydenbach's book. The first surviving example is the Holy Sepulcher constructed in Görlitz, as part of a larger configuration of chapels dedicated to pilgrimage locations constructed in a park setting (Fig. 123). The Tomb Aedicule (Fig. 124), which is unusually found in the open air – iconically isolated like Reuwich's image of the Sepulcher – was constructed sometime after the publication of Breydenbach's book, being completed around 1500.<sup>154</sup> The Tomb is one fifth the scale of the original in Jerusalem and incorporates the interior rectangular chapel reached through a low opening. The connection of the features of the Tomb, which



Fig. 122 Vittore Carpaccio, *Triumph of St. George*, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice, 1502 (Photo: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY)





Fig. 123 Jerusalem chapels, Görlitz, late fifteenth century (Photo: author)

overall appear to closely correspond to Reuwich's woodcut, is especially suggested by the curious pair of tablets with urns. These seem to be misinterpretations of the balustrade that Reuwich represented on the façade.<sup>155</sup>

The other chapels at Görlitz were likely also constructed in the last two decades of the fifteenth century, although the origins of the complex would become ascribed to the local pilgrim Georg Emerich, who had returned from the pilgrimage to his native town in 1467.<sup>156</sup> Distances between the various chapels were said to equal the relative distances in Jerusalem, as measured by Georg. The re-creation of the Calvary chapel perhaps also reflects immediate dependence upon Reuwich's woodcut. In contrast to the Calvary chapel in Bruges, the one in Görlitz is reached by an external stairway, perhaps in imitation of the exterior stairway depicted by Reuwich on the southern façade of the Jerusalem church. Inside, the upper chapel has three holes in a stone block to mark the site of the crosses (Fig. 125). A slit in the

floor also re-creates the crack in Golgotha, through which Christ's blood traveled to Adam's skull.<sup>157</sup> The wall of Adam's chapel below has a corresponding opening in the wall (Fig. 126). Within the city of Görlitz, the west portal of the Church of St. Peter was embellished in the 1490s and identified with Pilate's House, and subsequently used in re-enactments of the Passion.<sup>158</sup> Stations also were added to lead up an adjacent hill, marked by columns with images corresponding to relating events from the Passion of Christ. From here, one can see another hill identified as the Mount of Olives, as well as Gethsemane and a river – the Launitz – identified with the Cedron.<sup>159</sup>

#### CLOISTERED READING AUDIENCE: FELIX FABRI AND THE *ZARDINO DE ORATION*

The book printed by Bernhard von Breydenbach made the pilgrimage pervasively available for those who could not make the journey, in the same way





Fig. 124 Tomb of Christ, Görlitz, late fifteenth century (Photo: author)

that an architectural re-creation, as constructed in Görlitz, could only do in a localized fashion. Breydenbach's book, like Tucher's and similar works printed from the 1480s onward, was eagerly acquired by those who wished to have the experience of the journey vicariously. The last decades of the fifteenth century witnessed the elaboration of conventual complexes, in which nuns – particularly in Germany – used information about the Holy Land supplied by pilgrims in order to imagine the somatic and visual experience of the pilgrimage in the context of a cloister. Many of the women in these convents also had direct connections to the patrician culture of Germany, having themselves originated in Germany's highest classes. Felix Fabri (1441–1502), a Dominican who made the pilgrimage in 1480 and 1483, is one example of a direct conduit of information between the men who made the pilgrimage and their cloistered associates.<sup>160</sup> In 1488 he composed a



Fig. 125 Calvary chapel, Görlitz, late fifteenth century (Photo: author)

version of his account for an audience of Dominican sisters in his hometown of Ulm.<sup>161</sup> Felix tells us that having returned from his first journey, he studied books written on the subject of the Holy Land before making the pilgrimage again in 1483. With a cloistered reading audience in mind, he writes in a long-standing tradition of authors conceiving of the pilgrimage in terms of the experience of immersion in books. Fabri expands upon the centuries-old idea of finding fragmentary inscriptions of Christ's form, to imagine a fully somatic engagement with the physical traces of Christ's earthly presence. In addition to his descriptions of the traditional imprints and inscriptions like the footprints on the Mount of Olives, Fabri describes a bodily experience with Eucharistic resonance. At the stone in the Church of the Ascension, Felix describes a pilgrim pouring wine into the hollow, licking out the liquid as he kissed the footprints, which were then miraculously



Fig. 126 Interior, Adam's chapel, Görlitz, late fifteenth century (Photo: author)

refilled.<sup>162</sup> Felix describes himself and his fellow pilgrims bowing down and placing different parts of their bodies against the “holy imprint,” finally measuring it with their fingers.<sup>163</sup> He refers to a rock on the Mount of Olives where Christ fell becoming like wax and receiving the imprints of his body's figure.<sup>164</sup> In the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, he also describes the columns in Helena's chapel, moist with sweat and tears, as they mourned Christ's sacrifice – a feature first described and illustrated in the fourteenth century (Fig. 86).<sup>165</sup> He weaves together references drawn from numerous previous pilgrims and such authors as Adomnán and Niccolò da Poggibonsi with descriptions of the buildings made by his contemporaries, like Hans Tucher. The journey becomes a richly interactive intertextual experience in which the body can be imagined encountering the living testaments to past events.

The Dominican sisters at Ulm who were Felix Fabri's primary audience, like other cloistered nuns, would have been well versed in the meditative techniques which promoted an active engagement with the memory of Christ's life in the Holy Land. In addition to the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, which circulated in numerous manuscript copies in various languages after its initial composition in the early fourteenth century, shorter guides for meditative prayer encouraged cloistered readers to use their imaginations to enter the Jerusalem of Christ's time. The *Zardino de Oration* (Garden of Prayer), first written in 1454 and printed in Venice in 1494, exemplifies

this active form of meditation, which asked for its readers to use their physical environment, including familiar buildings and people, in order to fully understand the sufferings of Christ.<sup>166</sup> The unknown author asks his readers to focus on the events associated with the Way of the Cross in Jerusalem, proceeding from Mount Sion to Calvary:

The better to impress the story of the Passion on your mind ... it is helpful and necessary to fix the people and places in your mind: a city, for example, which will be the city of Jerusalem – taking for this purpose a city that is well known to you. In this city find the principal places in which all the episodes of the Passion would have taken place – for instance a palace with the supper room where Christ had the Last Supper ... and that of Caiaphas ... and the room where he was brought before Caiaphas and mocked and beaten. Also the residence of Pilate ... also the site of Mount Calvary, where he was put on the Cross and other like places ... And then too you must shape in your mind some people, people well known to you, to represent for you the people involved in the Passion ... every one of whom you will fashion in your mind. When you have done all this, putting all your imagination into it, then go into your chamber. Alone and solitary, excluding every external thought

from your mind, start thinking of the beginning of the Passion, starting with how Jesus entered Jerusalem on the ass. Moving slowly from episode to episode, meditate on each one, dwelling on each single stage and step of the story.<sup>167</sup>

The city which the author of the *Zardino* asks the readers to imagine is a spatial sequence structuring meditation, in a way that suggests mental movement through the city of Jerusalem. The sequential activity of meditation brings the city into existence, through reference to memory of a local environment.

The meditative activities of cloistered nuns for the most part left no material traces. The biography of a certain Eustochia (1434–85), an abbess of the Observant Franciscan convent near Messina, is one document testifying to the practices outlined in the *Zardino*. Her biographer recounts that Eustochia – who significantly took the name of the paradigmatic pilgrim and contemporary of Jerome – re-enacted the Passion of Christ both in her mind and in the space of her convent. The biographer implies that she physically arranged the holy places within the convent, perhaps using small pictures to indicate the Cenacle or Mount Calvary, for example.<sup>168</sup>

#### CONVENT AT WIENHAUSEN

The exhortations for cloistered nuns to find in their surrounding architectural environments an image of Christ's Jerusalem closely related to the use of physical props as aids in meditative exercises. At the convent at Wienhausen, a combination of prayer guides, pilgrimage souvenirs, sculptural installations, and relics transformed the German convent into the setting for imagined journeys to Jerusalem. In this context, the architectural features of the existing convent substituted for locations associated with Christ's sufferings, culminating at Mount Calvary. The convent, founded in 1228 by Duchess Agnes of Landesberg, was among the wealthiest in Germany, with many of its nuns belonging to the nobility. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the convent had become subject to criticisms, regarding the amassment of nuns' private money. During the abbacy of Katharina

(1422–66), the convent was renovated with the first known incorporations of Jerusalemic features.<sup>169</sup> Katharina was reportedly motivated by a vision of St. Anne, who instructed her in the renovation of the extravagant quarters. A painted oak sarcophagus with a sculpted figure of the dead Christ in the same material was installed within a chapel dedicated to St. Anne, which was used by both the nuns and parish communities.<sup>170</sup> The painted sarcophagus is thought to have been made at the end of the thirteenth century, while the sculpted figure of Christ was likely made by 1448, when indulgences were granted to its pilgrims. After a fire, the *Grabeschristus* (Sepulcher of the Lord) – as it was called – was moved to the nun's choir.<sup>171</sup>

The use of a sculpted effigy of Christ, especially in liturgical performances at Easter, was not uncommon; other known examples include sculpted, life-size effigies housed in a sarcophagus at the Bridgetine abbey church in Mariager (c. 1500) and at the Kerteminde church in Funen (c. 1520).<sup>172</sup> Wienhausen's effigy is one of the earliest known examples and played a significant role in the overall identification of the convent with Christ's Jerusalem.<sup>173</sup> The identification may have ultimately originated with Duchess Agnes, the first abbess, who brought back a blood relic of Christ after a pilgrimage to Rome.<sup>174</sup> It was in the second half of the fifteenth century that the existing features of the convent became the subject of guidebooks to imagined pilgrimages to the Holy Land. The nuns of Wienhausen both created and used manuscripts which in themselves affirmed the status of the convent as a pilgrimage site. One fifteenth-century manuscript still at Wienhausen begins:

O special soul, when you shall determine to walk in the footsteps of Christ ... take care to follow in his footsteps in spirit and body, to visit devotedly the actual locations where the spiritual suffering occurred.<sup>175</sup>

The book continues to invoke locations in the cloister, like "our staircase" and "our sepulcher" – referring to the oak *Grabeschristus* – within a choreographed series of movements, tracing out the path to Calvary.<sup>176</sup> Graffiti scratched into the wooden arm of Christ were likely created by pilgrims, and



the wound in the side shows signs of having been repeatedly cut open.<sup>177</sup> An uncut paper with eight identical illustrations of the Veronica suggests that such items were distributed as tokens to pilgrims.<sup>178</sup> In 1953, over 100 items were discovered under the floorboards of the convent, which included other kinds of pilgrim badges, amulets, and devotional books, all from the fifteenth and sixteenth century.<sup>179</sup>

### THE POOR CLARE CLOISTER AT VILLINGEN

The objects discovered under the floorboards of the convent at Wienhausen had been hidden to protect them from iconoclasts during the Reformation. It is likely that other convents in the period had similar objects and books that were destroyed. The rare survivals suggest a wide range of possible forms that enclosed nuns may have created to imagine a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In the Cistercian cloister of Bebenhausen near Tübinga, incised lines are presented as measures of the sepulchers of Christ and the Virgin, as indicated in the inscription (which also includes the date 1492).<sup>180</sup> The relative austerity of the Cistercian order accounts for this distinctly abstract manifestation of the pilgrimage. In the Bickenloister in Villingen, associated instead with the Franciscan order, numerous objects survive, originally created to transform the convent in the Black Forest into the setting for imagined journeys to both Jerusalem and Rome. The Villingen cloister, first founded in the thirteenth century, had adopted a rule modeled upon the Third Order of the Franciscans; the nuns were then joined by Poor Clares in 1305, whose own convent had been destroyed by fire.<sup>181</sup> The residents were only subjected to strict enclosure in 1480. As part of the ongoing reform of the convent, Abbess Ursula Haider (d. 1498) was transferred from a convent that followed the Second Order of St. Francis.<sup>182</sup> Under Ursula, Villingen's convent was transformed into a space for the Poor Clares to experience the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. From 1491, painted plaques – eventually numbering over 200 – were created, identifying pilgrimage sites in both the Holy Land and Rome, along with a list of indulgences.<sup>183</sup>

Only 70 of the 210 tablets survive, but the content of the lost tablets is known from a description

of 1659 in the cloister's archive which incorporates instructions for their use, specifically during Holy Week.<sup>184</sup> Most plaques refer to a place in both Jerusalem and Rome; for instance, one identifies the locations where the Holy Cross was found in Jerusalem and the station in Rome of St. Cyriacus Martyr. Most the pairings have no obvious correlation, with some exceptions, such as the inscription referring to both Pilate's House and Santa Prassede in Rome, carved not onto a flat tablet, but onto a stone column. The inscription therefore referred to both the original location of the Column of the Flagellation in Jerusalem and the location of a large fragment in Rome.<sup>185</sup> In addition to the plaques, a chronicle written 1637/8 suggests how Abbess Ursula envisioned the relation of the cloister to the Holy Land:

She taught the novices eagerly ... how they should connect all locations, passages, rooms, locks, buildings, in sum all nooks and crannies of the monastery to our Lord's bitter Passion and death ... the common room is likened to the hall where our dear Lord had his last supper. The dormitory they shall see as the Valley of Jehoshaphat.<sup>186</sup>

As at Wienhausen, and instructed in the *Zardino de Oration*, the different spaces of the convent are to be perceived in terms of Jerusalem, their identities activated through movements mimicking Christ's actions.<sup>187</sup> The locations were drawn from books, as indicated by the cloister chronicle, which reports that a representative of the nuns purchased for the sisters a Latin guide that included the pilgrimage locations in both the Holy Land and Rome.<sup>188</sup> The Latin guide was reportedly translated into German by two nuns and the list of stations and indulgences was corrected by a Franciscan friar.<sup>189</sup> The chronicle also refers to images "of many beautiful churches" being designed. They were apparently first made on sheets of parchment and then later tablets of stone.<sup>190</sup> The entire refashioned convent was consecrated on August 29, 1491. The original locations of the stations were lost. The convent was heavily damaged in the Thirty Years War (1618–48) and rebuilt beginning in 1655.<sup>191</sup>

## THE NUREMBERG CHRONICLE

While meditative techniques continued to expand the possibility for any space to become Jerusalem, certain cities wished to permanently identify their urban spaces with Jerusalem. The citizens of Nuremberg, in particular, continued to assert the primacy of their city as a New Jerusalem and symbolic center of imperial Germany. The historical relation of Nuremberg to Jerusalem was laid out in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (Book of Chronicles), printed in Nuremberg in 1493, and better known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* traces the history of the world from creation through the present day, its 1,809 woodcuts illustrating various cities in a succession of great empires that rise and fall, culminating in Nuremberg's ascendancy.<sup>192</sup> History is figured as a series of displacements, with a primary sequence from Jerusalem to Rome and Nuremberg. Each phase of history is presented in the woodcut illustrations of the *Liber Chronicarum* in a topographic view, as history unfolds through a succession of capital cities. The image of Jerusalem recurs, reflecting its centrality to biblical and Roman history. In the context of Solomonic history, the woodcut figures a round city with a central, elevated Temple,

inscribed *Templum Salomonis* (Temple of Solomon) (Fig. 127).<sup>193</sup>

Another woodcut in the *Liber Chronicarum* illustrating the destruction of Jerusalem (Fig. 128) draws more directly upon recent sources, in particular the view of Jerusalem associated with the Nuremberg patrician Sebald Rieter the Younger (Fig. 118). The woodcut envisions contemporary Jerusalem in the destruction of the city by the Romans in AD 70; the Herodian Temple is anachronistically shown to have the contemporary features of the Temple Mount, including the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, each with bulbous domes and crescents as in the drawing associated with Sebald. Behind, one sees the southern façade of the Holy Sepulcher. Although showing a historical event, the references to contemporary architecture, as well as the contrasting features of Islamic and Christian architecture in the city, imply a desire for the destructive renewal of the city and its architecture in the context of an anti-Islamic crusade.<sup>194</sup> The architecture of Christ's Tomb stands behind, triumphant over the city, as the Jewish Temple is destroyed, fulfilling Christ's prophecy.

The destruction of Jerusalem ultimately makes way for Nuremberg to emerge as a new center of universal history.<sup>195</sup> The special associations of Nuremberg with Jerusalem, as recently elaborated

Fig. 127 Michael Wolgemut, Jerusalem, from Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg, 1493 (Photo: The National Library of Israel, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Shapell Family Digitization Project and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography – Historic Cities Research Project)

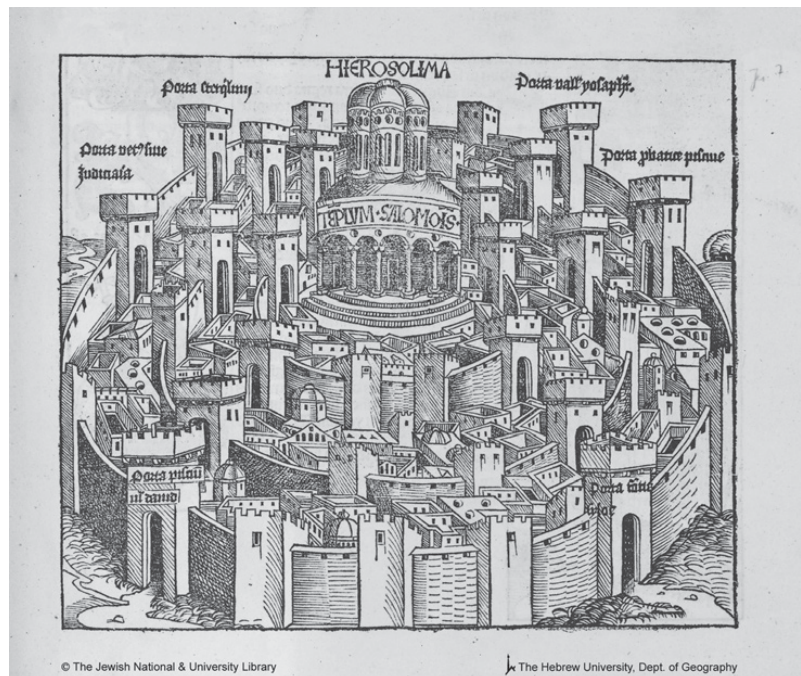






Fig. 128 Michael Wolgemut, Destruction of Jerusalem, from Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg, 1493 (Photo: The National Library of Israel, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Shapell Family Digitization Project and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography – Historic Cities Research Project)

through the actions of members of its aristocracy, like Sebald Rietter the Younger and Hans Tucher, had cultivated the city's sacred status. As stated by Willibald Pirckheimer, Nuremberg was – when Schedel's book was printed – the “navel of all of Europe,” inheriting Jerusalem's ancient status as the *umbilicus mundi* (navel of the world).<sup>196</sup> Although idealized in one woodcut, the multiple images of Jerusalem suggests the volatility of the idea of the city and its sacred architecture through time. Simultaneously idealized and known through eyewitness description, the image of Jerusalem is something negotiated between real description, as known from recent publications enumerating the features of the contemporary city like in Breydenbach's pilgrimage account, and the imagined heavenly city of Revelation. The idea of Jerusalem continued to be

subject to negotiations between the Christian, Jewish, and Islamic identities of its sacred architecture, both within and outside the world of printing. The idea of the Temple of Solomon, in particular, would continue to be subject to re-evaluation, never fixed or absolute; its meanings and forms, once rendered primarily through physical acts of destruction and reconstruction, could now be unmade and remade through the acts of incision, printing, and publication.

#### ADAM KRAFT'S SCULPTED PANELS FOR NUREMBERG'S KREUZWEG

In the woodcut illustration of Nuremberg published in the *Liber Chronicarum*, the artist has depicted a



small pillar with a plaque of the Crucifixion in close proximity to the three crosses of Calvary outside the walls of the city (Fig. 129). This may be an allusion to the Kreuzweg that had been developed in the preceding years.<sup>197</sup> Around 1505, the prominent Nuremberg sculptor Adam Kraft (d. 1508/9) created a series of sculpted panels to expand the Kreuzweg. After returning from his pilgrimage of 1498, Georg II Ketzler (1463–1533) founded a memorial tablet for his family in the Johanneskirche at the cemetery.<sup>198</sup> The forms of the markers used at the various stations before this point are unknown.<sup>199</sup> They could have been more simple versions of similar plaques, as suggested in the *Liber Chronicarum* woodcut. Woodcuts depicting Christ's Seven Falls had also been published in Nuremberg since the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>200</sup> Kraft's own relief panels have been disassembled and are now in the German

National Museum.<sup>201</sup> The seven stations were: Jesus encounters his mother; Simon of Cyrene carries the Cross; Jesus addresses the women of Jerusalem; Veronica wipes the face of Jesus; Jesus is struck by bystanders (Fig. 130); Jesus falls; and Mary holds the dead body of Jesus.<sup>202</sup> The last three stations were located in the St. John Cemetery, which stood for Mount Calvary. Each sculpture showed Jesus on the point of falling beneath the Cross; for this reason, the sculptural group was also known as the "Seven Falls."<sup>203</sup> The total distance traversed was 1,100 paces. The sculptural group of the Deposition was placed in the later round funerary chapel known as Holzschuherkapelle (Fig. 131), commissioned by the patrician Holzschuher family in 1513.<sup>204</sup>

Georg II Ketzler is a likely candidate for the patronage of Kraft's panels.<sup>205</sup> In the 1490s and early 1500s, the Ketzler family continued to advertise their



Fig. 129 Michael Wolgemut, Nuremberg, from Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, Nuremberg, 1493, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1981.1178.29, The George Khuner Collection, Gift of Mrs. George Khuner (Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



Fig. 130 Adam Kraft, *Christ Falls on the Way to Calvary*, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, c. 1505 (Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY)



Fig. 131 Holzschuherkapelle and cemetery, Nuremberg, early sixteenth century (Photo: author)

devotion to the pilgrimage. After making the pilgrimage in 1503, Michael Ketzler commissioned a painting that incorporated a group portrait of eight Ketzler pilgrims in the order of when they made the pilgrimage, shown beneath a landscape with the pilgrimage churches in Jerusalem.<sup>206</sup> The painting was destroyed in a fire in 1974 and is only known through a photograph published in 1927, also now lost.<sup>207</sup> The landscape incorporated views of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, with pilgrims' ships in the foreground, and battles, relating either to biblical events or the crusades.<sup>208</sup>

#### THE WAY OF THE CROSS IN GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS

From the last decade of the fifteenth century, the Way of the Cross was widely imitated throughout Germany, in many cases probably directly inspired by Nuremberg's Kreuzweg. The proliferation of the Way of the Cross in Germany confirmed Hartmann Schedel's vision of world history, which posited a historical continuum from Palestine to Germany with Nuremberg ultimately at the center. In Bamberg, seven reliefs were mounted on individual pillars, set along the route leading outside the city to the Johannisfriedhof.<sup>209</sup> A series of seven stations with sculpted stone figures of Christ's Passion covered about 2 kilometers from Ribeauvillé to



Dusenbach; the stations were later dismantled and the sculpture moved to a church at the parochial cemetery of Ribeauvillé.<sup>210</sup> The creation of the stations was attributed to a local pilgrim, Maximin II (d. 1517), who made the pilgrimage with Bernhard von Breydenbach in 1483–4.<sup>211</sup> For many cities, the precise forms of the spatial markers are unclear.<sup>212</sup> In Cologne, a Holy Sepulcher chapel was reportedly erected by Johannes Mentenbauer from 1496, from which a series of sculpted images of the Falls of Christ led to Calvary outside the Gereonkirche.<sup>213</sup> In Trier, a series of pillars reportedly traced a path from Pilate's House to Golgotha, leading from the cathedral through the main market to the outskirts of the city. The Way of the Cross was reportedly created in 1498. The imperial city became an integral part of the Empire's sacred landscape, when Emperor Maximilian rediscovered and displayed the robe worn by Christ, recovered by soldiers at the Crucifixion, kept in Trier's cathedral since 1196.<sup>214</sup>

A Kreuzweg at Lübeck was ascribed the foundation date of 1465 by the seventeenth century.<sup>215</sup> The Lübeck Kreuzweg is associated with Heinrich Constein, and like the arrangement in Nuremberg, connects an existing church – St. Jacobi – to an area standing for Calvary, in this case an elevated hill, which came to be known as Jerusalemberg. The distance between the two is now given as 1,650 meters, and the pathway culminates with a sculpted relief of the Crucifixion. Only a second of a larger series of original plaques now survives.<sup>216</sup> The similarities of the Nuremberg and Lübeck Ways of the Cross suggest a mutual inspiration, and other sources suggest that the latter may have only been commenced in the 1490s, with a foundation later ascribed to Constein.<sup>217</sup> The creation of such installations of the Kreuzweg in additional German cities perhaps reflects an interest in participating in the sacral realm of the Holy Roman Empire, whose symbolic center was Nuremberg.

Similar installations were constructed in the Low Countries. In Louvain/Leuven (just east of Brussels), a series of stations with bas-relief markers were set at intervals along the Wijngaardstraat (now the Brusselstraat). The stations were reportedly first laid out according to the measures taken by the pilgrim Pieter Sterckx upon his return from Jerusalem in 1505, and development continued with the construction of the Calvary chapel in 1510 under Jan Frerard outside the walls of the city.<sup>218</sup> The city remained a bastion of Catholicism in the Reformation. The stations were still in existence in 1568 when they were described in a pamphlet by Pieter Calentijn.<sup>219</sup> There are records that other towns in the Netherlands, like Nijmegen, Wageningen, and Elburg, employed a more abstract version of the stations, marked simply by seven crosses.<sup>220</sup> In Switzerland, a Hospitaller knight erected a series of pillars marking out the way to Calvary in the town of Fribourg; a related official document of 1516 refers to Pierre d'Englisberg's inspiration as a similar establishment in Rhodes – the Hospitaller headquarters – although historical records of this are scant.<sup>221</sup> Versions inspired by Nuremberg's with sculpted plaques continued to be more typical.<sup>222</sup> In the Bavarian town of Volkach, three surviving reliefs, dated by inscription to 1520/1, were likely part of a series of seven inspired by Nuremberg's Kreuzweg, or the related woodcuts.<sup>223</sup> In 1521, another publication emanating from Nuremberg made available the images of the Seven Falls more directly based upon Adam Kraft's reliefs, in a book entitled *Die Geystlich Strass* (The Spiritual Way). The full title invokes the Seven Falls as the basis of a spiritual pilgrimage to the Holy Land: "I am called the way of the soul, well known in the Passion of Christ... Wouldst thou exactly perform this pilgrimage, thou hast psalms set down for thee to say: hast thou a desire to visit the Holy Land, all there is there thou mayst find here at hand."<sup>224</sup>



## THE FRANCISCAN ORDER, PAPACY, AND SYMBOLIC POSSESSION OF THE HOLY LAND



### CAIMI'S VARALLO

The re-creations of the Way of the Cross that proliferated throughout Germany and the Netherlands in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries pointed towards the growing importance of the somatic experience of the pilgrimage, which could be deployed either in urban, public spaces or the enclosed setting of a private house or convent. Within the context of an imagined engagement with the physical setting of the Holy Land, the related buildings were often not perceived as material or physical entities, but as spatial markers. Contrary to this trend, the Franciscan Custody continued to advocate the fundamental importance of the material buildings associated with sites of the bodily presence of Christ and Mary. The Franciscan foundation known as the Sacro Monte di Varallo, or Sacred Mount of Varallo, reconnected the somatic and spatial experience of the pilgrimage with the forms of the sacred buildings in the Holy Land. The complex was first founded by the Franciscan Bernardino Caimi (1425–99/1500) as a physical re-creation of the sanctuaries of the Holy Land under the Franciscan Custody, to be the setting for pilgrimages made by religious and lay people alike. Pilgrims who came to Varallo were guided by Franciscan friars who acted as spiritual arbiters of the pilgrimage, as they did in the Holy Land.

Varallo is located in the Piedmont region of Italy; the specific site chosen was a hilltop whose remoteness and difficulty of access could simulate features of the pilgrimage journey (Fig. 132). Caimi had been

in Jerusalem in 1476; when he returned to Italy in 1481 he petitioned Pope Sixtus IV – a Franciscan – regarding the foundation. Caimi is thought to have been impressed by the increasing danger of the pilgrimage due to war with the Ottoman Empire, as witnessed firsthand.<sup>1</sup> Caimi obtained papal permission in 1486, and the first three chapels dedicated to the Sepulcher, Calvary, and Ascension were completed by 1493.<sup>2</sup> Works continued into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that would vastly expand the scope and ambitions of the sacred mountain, to the extent that the original chapels associated with Caimi have been largely obscured. Caimi's initial conception of the sacred mountain is reflected in a sermon composed around 1488, *De passione Domini* (On the Passion of the Lord), in which he asks his audience to imagine seeing with “bodily eyes” (*oculis corporeis*); the subject of this visionary experience is explicitly the settings for the events, as Caimi states: “I first saw the house to which Christ was dragged ... Second I saw the house to which Christ came and where he was anointed by Magdalene ... Fifth I saw the house to which Christ came and where he ate with his disciples.” The sermon continues in this way, enumerating the locations in order of the events of the Passion.<sup>3</sup>

Of the original three chapels, only the sepulcher built in 1491 survives largely intact.<sup>4</sup> Outside the entrance, a rock from Golgotha was installed in a niche outside the entrance (Fig. 133).<sup>5</sup> The chapel re-creates the experience of stooping down to enter the small space of the Tomb Aedicule (Figs. 134 and 135).<sup>6</sup> This

Fig. 132 Sacro Monte of Varallo, founded 1486  
(Photo: author)



Fig. 133 Entrance to the Holy Sepulcher chapel, Sacro Monte of Varallo, 1491 (Photo: author)



Fig. 134 Holy Sepulcher chapel, Sacro Monte of Varallo, 1491 (Photo: author)





Fig. 135 Tomb of Christ, Sacro Monte of Varallo, 1491 (Photo: author)



Fig. 136 Chapel of the Transfiguration, Sacro Monte of Varallo, late fifteenth century (Photo: author)

particular chapel would have been visited at night by candlelight, mimicking the first pilgrims, who visited the Tomb of Christ immediately following his death.<sup>7</sup> The round chapel once dedicated to the Ascension remains, although its interior has been entirely altered reflecting rededication to the Transfiguration (Fig. 136).<sup>8</sup> A sculpted plaque of Christ's footprints was said to be taken from the Mount of Olives.<sup>9</sup> Little is known of the original Calvary chapel, although there are references to a subterranean portion dedicated to the Cross.<sup>10</sup> The unknown author of a guide to the sacred mountain at Varallo printed in 1514 refers to climbing eighteen steps to reach Calvary, precisely corresponding to the church in Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup>

Although many of the original chapels have since been changed, Caimi's original intent seems to have been the reproduction of the experience of moving between the chapels within the Church of the Holy

Sepulcher.<sup>12</sup> A Chapel of the Apparition of Christ to Mary Magdalene and his mother corresponded to the same locations in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.<sup>13</sup> The guide of 1514 indicates that a relic of the Column of the Flagellation was placed in the same chapel, re-creating the arrangement in Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup> Caimi's original conception likely also included a re-creation of the Unction Stone, which was an important spatial marker in the sequence of chapels between Calvary and the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem.<sup>15</sup> A life-size sculpted group representing the Lamentation, centering upon Christ's placement upon the Unction Stone, is now in Varallo's Pinacoteca (Fig. 137); it is thought to have been installed in the last years of Caimi's life, perhaps replacing an earlier (and no longer extant) re-creation of the Unction Stone.<sup>16</sup> The sculptural representation of the event, occurring in the real





Fig. 137 Lamentation group, Pinacoteca, Varallo, late fifteenth century (Photo: author)

space of the viewer, is a departure from the tomb effigies typical in Northern Europe. The inspiration was likely the polychrome terracotta sculptural groups made by Guido Mazzoni (c. 1445–1518) in the 1470s and 80s; his life-size, highly emotive figural groups center upon Christ laid out upon the Unction Stone, placed on the floor in the space of the viewer.<sup>17</sup> Caimi and his fellow Franciscans at Varallo could have seen such groups in the Observant Franciscan church at Busseto, as well as at Milan or Venice, the latter already being noted by pilgrims in the early 1490s.<sup>18</sup>

From 1493 to 1514, when the first guide to the sacred mountain at Varallo was written, the chapels grew in number from three to twenty-eight, and would subsequently continue to grow to the current forty-three.<sup>19</sup> Among the first to be added were the Tomb of Mary, the Chapel of the Nativity, the Chapel of the Annunciation, and Pilate's Palace.<sup>20</sup> While the original Chapel of Pilate's Palace has been completely lost, the other chapels survive. The Bethlehem chapel (Fig. 138) is the best preserved, having been refashioned in latter periods with a sculpted tableau of the Nativity. Most striking, perhaps, is the small set of curved steps that lead to the entrance (Fig. 139), imitating an aspect of the chapel in Bethlehem generally omitted in pilgrimage accounts (Fig. 140).<sup>21</sup>

The original Cave of the Annunciation has been identified with a small ruined building, apparently no longer used after the creation of a new Chapel

of the Annunciation in the mid sixteenth century; the guide of 1514 refers to a *capeleta concavata* (carved out chapel).<sup>22</sup> The same guide refers to chapels dedicated to the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin.<sup>23</sup> The small rectangular building of the Tomb of Mary (Figs. 141 and 142), which has fallen into disrepair and cannot be entered, can be viewed from the outside perched on the edge of the mountain.<sup>24</sup> The idea of re-creating the Tomb of Mary especially related to Caimi's association with the Observant Franciscan Order, which had been given custody of Assisi's Porziuncula – closely linked to the Tomb of Mary – earlier in the fifteenth century.<sup>25</sup> More generally, the emphasis on simplicity throughout Caimi's Varallo related to the tenets of the Observant movement.<sup>26</sup> When the Milanese chancellor visited Varallo in 1507, he made note of the “simplicity of design” (*fabricate simplicitas*) and “masonry without contrivance” (*sine arte structura*) that seemed to distinguish Varallo from more lavish re-creations of Christ's Sepulcher, for example the Rucellai chapel in Florence.<sup>27</sup> The addition of chapels dedicated to the Tomb of Mary and Nativity also more closely aligned the sacred mountain at Varallo with the role of St. Francis in instituting the Franciscan relation to the architecture of the Holy Land, both in his dedication to the Porziuncula and the re-creation of Christ's Nativity at Greccio.

All of the Holy Land buildings re-created at Caimi's Varallo had previously been well described



Fig. 138 Bethlehem chapel, Sacro Monte of Varallo, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Photo: author)



Fig. 139 Exterior staircase, Chapel of the Nativity, Sacro Monte of Varallo, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Photo: author)



Fig. 140 Exterior staircase, Chapel of the Nativity, Bethlehem, possibly twelfth century (Photo: author)



Fig. 141 Tomb of Mary, Sacro Monte of Varallo, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Photo: author)



Fig. 142 The Tomb of Mary at the Sacro Monte of Varallo, from *La nuova Gerusalemme, o sia, Il S. Sepolcro di Varallo Sesia, Varallo, 1740*, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 89-B3667 (Photo: author)

in the context of books written by Franciscans. Those that were re-created for the first time – like the Church of the Ascension – had precedents in detailed descriptions and illustrations in Niccolò da Poggibonsi’s *Libro d’oltramare* (Plate 22 and Fig. 102).<sup>28</sup> The pilgrimage to Varallo was itself closely related to the practice and expectations of experiencing the Holy Land through an illustrated guidebook, as especially suggested by the publication of a guidebook to Varallo published in Milan in 1514.<sup>29</sup> In the prefatory octaves, the Virgin Mary is presented as the model and guide on the pilgrimage, who at the end of the experience will offer intercession.<sup>30</sup> The author speaks of Varallo as having “the figure” of the Holy Land, and “resembling” its sacred places (*di Varale ha tal figura / Di Terra sancta i lochi a somigliato*).<sup>31</sup> The guide is indicative of the relics showcased in the earliest buildings, including the footprint of Christ and a fragment of the Column of the Flagellation, both moved when the chapels became the setting for sculpted tableaux, figuring scenes from the life of Christ.<sup>32</sup> As originally conceived, Caimi’s Varallo offered its pilgrims a space to enter the sacred buildings of the Holy Land and encounter the primary traces of Christ’s life on earth: the Column of the Flagellation that had received his blood and imprints of his hands and face, the stone of Golgotha, and the footprints left on the Mount of Olives. In its simplicity, the pilgrimage experience offered at Caimi’s Varallo closely accorded with that described



and imagined by numerous pilgrims – for example William Wey and Felix Fabri – who still sought out a direct bodily encounter with the material traces of Christ’s body.

The sacred buildings and relics brought together on the remote mountain in Varallo by Bernardino Caimi offered an ideal pilgrimage experience, where Christians could meditatively enter buildings without stopping to pay a Mamluk official an entry fee, touch the footprints of Christ – clearly marked, without having been rubbed away to near obscurity – and stoop down into the Tomb of Christ at night to see the flickering candlelight reveal the empty Tomb of Christ. The pilgrimage sites chosen by Caimi had become compromised – from a Christian perspective – by the demands of the Mamluk authorities in the Holy Land, who regulated when and for how long pilgrims could enter sacred buildings. At the Church of the Ascension, Mount of Olives, Tomb of Mary, and Chapel of the Nativity, Christian pilgrims continued to share the sacred spaces with Muslim pilgrims, while access to Pilate’s House was entirely denied. The latter, as re-created at Varallo, could be entered by any pilgrim. In the context of the ongoing wars with the Ottoman Empire, the re-creation of these most sacred buildings, purified, and restored to an imagined ideal state – as buildings inscribing the primary sites of Christ’s transformative bodily presence – provided the desired experience of an exclusively Christian pilgrimage, without the interference of Mamluk officials or Muslim worshippers.<sup>33</sup> Girolamo Morone, writing after his visit to Varallo in 1507, found the experience so satisfactory that he commented, “let the very trip to Jerusalem stop.”<sup>34</sup>

### SAN VIVALDO

The sacred mountain at Varallo represented an attempt to re-create the entirety of the Holy Land, incorporating the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the Mount of Olives, and Bethlehem, in addition to Christ’s Sepulcher. Caimi’s holistic re-creation of the sacred topography and architecture of the Holy Land reflected the full breadth of the Franciscan Custody, and its totalizing vision of the

territory sanctified by the lives of Christ and Mary. Franciscan friars in Tuscany followed in the footsteps of Caimi, founding a second sacred mountain in 1499, constructed over the course of the next fifteen years in a remote wooded region outside of Florence.<sup>35</sup> An existing thirteenth-century monastic foundation was transformed to become the setting for thirty-four chapels clustered on hilltops, of which only seventeen survive. As in Varallo, the landscape was identified with the topography of the Holy Land, being particularly focused on an existing valley that was identified with the Valley of Jehoshaphat.<sup>36</sup>

In May of 1497 the Commune of Montaione granted custody of an existing hermitage to the Observants, who joined this with the existing Franciscan foundation at San Lucchese in nearby Poggibonsi in 1499.<sup>37</sup> The Franciscan friary in Poggibonsi had been the residence for Niccolò da Poggibonsi, the author of the influential *Libro d’oltramare* composed in the fourteenth century and copied in and around Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century (Plates 18–19, 21–23).<sup>38</sup> The first two guardians of the monastery, Fra Cherubino Conzi and Fra Tommaso da Firenze, may have had firsthand experience of Jerusalem; Fra Cherubino had been guardian of the Franciscan monastery at Crete, while Fra Tommaso had spent three years as guardian on the island of Candia.<sup>39</sup> Although initially founded by a Franciscan friar and clearly inspired by the sacred mountain at Varallo, the complex created at Montaione would significantly depart from the spirit of simplicity and accessibility typical of the Franciscan order, as particularly cultivated by Bernardino Caimi. The sacred mountain of San Vivaldo was financed by noble Florentine families, who wished to demonstrate their dedication to the Holy Land and the crusading idea, while having the possibility of experiencing the purgative qualities of the pilgrimage without risking life and limb on the dangerous journey. The sacred mountain was primarily accessible to these families and was opened to all only on special feast days. A surrounding wall, financed by the Salviati family, protected the sacred mountain.<sup>40</sup> The sacred mountain at San Vivaldo also significantly registered the Florentine nobility’s support for the

Franciscan Custody and the real Jerusalem, especially in contrast to the influential preaching of the Dominican Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98) in the years 1494–8; the site was granted to the Observant Franciscans in 1499 shortly following Savonarola's execution, and represented a vindication of the Franciscan idea of the indulgenced pilgrimage to the Holy Land, especially as a mitigation of apocalyptic anxiety.<sup>41</sup>

The Bardi family, who also owned most of the land on which the sacred mountain was constructed, financed Christ's Sepulcher at San Vivaldo. A particular member of the family, Ilarione de' Bardi (1458–1507), had just become a Knight Hospitaller of St. John in Jerusalem and Rhodes, where he had fought against the Ottoman Turks in 1480.<sup>42</sup> The Pitti family paid for the Chapel of the Ascension (Fig. 143), an octagonal building with Christ's footprint and the correlating scene depicted in sculpted relief within a niche (Fig. 144).<sup>43</sup> The Michelozzi funded the construction of a Church of Our Lady of Sorrows, corresponding to the location where Mary swooned when she encountered Christ on his way to Calvary. The church in Jerusalem was in fact in ruins by this point. The House of Veronica (Fig. 145) was re-created for the first time at San Vivaldo, inspired by another building on the Way of the Cross, in this case one that had been perpetually inaccessible to Christian pilgrims.<sup>44</sup> The Church of Our Lady of Sorrows and the House of Veronica suggest an interest in both



Fig. 143 Chapel of the Ascension, San Vivaldo, Montaiione, early sixteenth century (Photo: author)

re-creating the architectural setting of Christ's sufferings on the way to Calvary, carefully tended by the Franciscans in Jerusalem, and in restoring the architecture of Christ's Jerusalem understood



Fig. 144 Footprint of Christ in the Chapel of the Ascension, San Vivaldo, Montaiione, early sixteenth century (Photo: author)





Fig. 145 House of Veronica, San Vivaldo, Montaione, early sixteenth century (Photo: author)



Fig. 146 Mount Sion, San Vivaldo, Montaione, early sixteenth century (Photo: author)

to have been lost as a result of the failed crusades.<sup>45</sup> Their re-creations outside of Florence also authenticated buildings whose recognition as sacred entities dated back only to the early years of the Franciscan Custody.

The sacred mountain at Montaione, in contrast to Caimi's Varallo, was also fitted out with painted terracotta installations, which transformed the chapels into theatrical stage sets in which visitors could enter. In the upper chapel of Mount Sion, the vaulted interior of the correlating building in Jerusalem becomes the setting for reliefs of both the Last Supper and Jesus washing his disciples' feet (Fig. 146), below which stood the tomb of David. In the *Ecce Homo* chapel, the pilgrim stands among the jeering crowd and witnesses Christ presented by Pilate (Fig. 147).<sup>46</sup> An upward ascent as if along the Way of the Cross leads to

the Calvary chapel, where the pilgrim enters to stand next to the Three Marys and then climbs up to join the crowd at the Crucifixion; below is the Chapel of Adam.<sup>47</sup> The Calvary chapel is separated from the Tomb Aedicule (Fig. 148), which is isolated in the open air, with a terracotta sculpture of Christ Entombed inside (Fig. 149).<sup>48</sup> In 1516, Pope Leo X granted indulgences to pilgrims who visited the sacred mountain of San Vivaldo, referring to some of the shrines which have not survived, including Bethlehem and the Temple of the Lord.<sup>49</sup> Additional chapels added in subsequent years included locations outside of Jerusalem, such as Nazareth, where the Annunciation is witnessed. As at Varallo, space is compressed, so that the entirety of the Christian Holy Land can be visited and perceived as a totalizing, purified entity, freed of any association with Islam.





Fig. 147 *Ecce Homo* chapel, San Vivaldo, Montaiione, early sixteenth century (Photo: author)

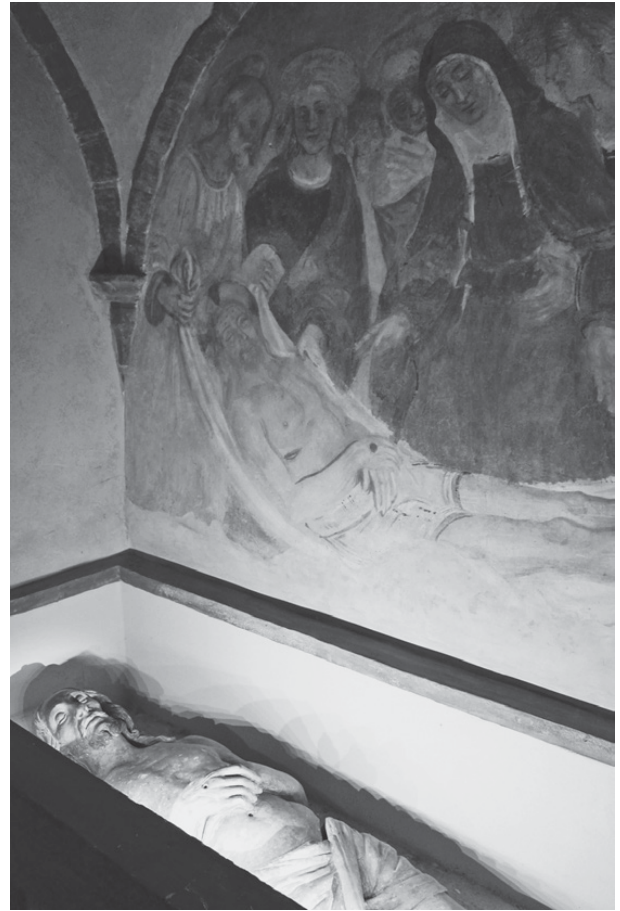


Fig. 149 Interior of the Tomb of Christ, San Vivaldo, Montaiione, early sixteenth century (Photo: author)

Fig. 148 Tomb of Christ, San Vivaldo, Montaiione, early sixteenth century (Photo: author)



## THE HOLY HOUSE OF NAZARETH AS PAPAL POSSESSION

The creations of the sacred mountains at Varallo and Montaiione answered a pervasive desire both to make the pilgrimage without impediment and to imagine the sacred buildings of the Holy Land freed from Islamic control. Repeated attempts to mount a crusade throughout the fifteenth century resulted only in failure. The promotion of the Holy House of the Virgin Mary in Loreto, located in the Marche region near the eastern Adriatic coast of Italy, is perhaps the most imaginative and successful example of a symbolic appropriation of the architecture of the Holy Land.<sup>50</sup> Theologians with the backing of the papacy claimed that a small chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary was in fact the material house where Mary lived and received the angelic message of Christ's birth, having been miraculously transported by angels from Nazareth to Italy. The moment of this miraculous transportation would be identified as 1290, the year before the Holy Land was lost to the Mamluks. Seeing that the Holy House was about to be destroyed, angels carried the building intact to its new home in Italy, selected for its particularly amenable qualities by the Virgin herself.<sup>51</sup> A small chapel dedicated to Mary had likely existed since at least the twelfth century, eventually housing a wooden statue of the Virgin and Child that became a popular focus of Marian devotion throughout the region (Fig. 150).<sup>52</sup> The story of the angelic transportation of the enclosing chapel was only coherently formed and propagated in the 1470s.<sup>53</sup> The fact that the simple chapel lacked foundations seemed confirmation of the story of its transportation from Nazareth.<sup>54</sup> At the same time that pilgrims seemed to be looking for precise identity and not finding it in comparisons between the Holy Sepulcher and related buildings in Europe, the story of the angelic transfer of the Holy House seemed to satisfy an interest in unequivocally encountering the Holy Land without making the dangerous journey.<sup>55</sup>

A church enclosing the existing chapel was constructed from c. 1470 under the patronage of Pope Paul II (r. 1464–71). The church, thought to have been designed by a Florentine architect, employs the same basic forms as the Marian cathedral of Florence, with

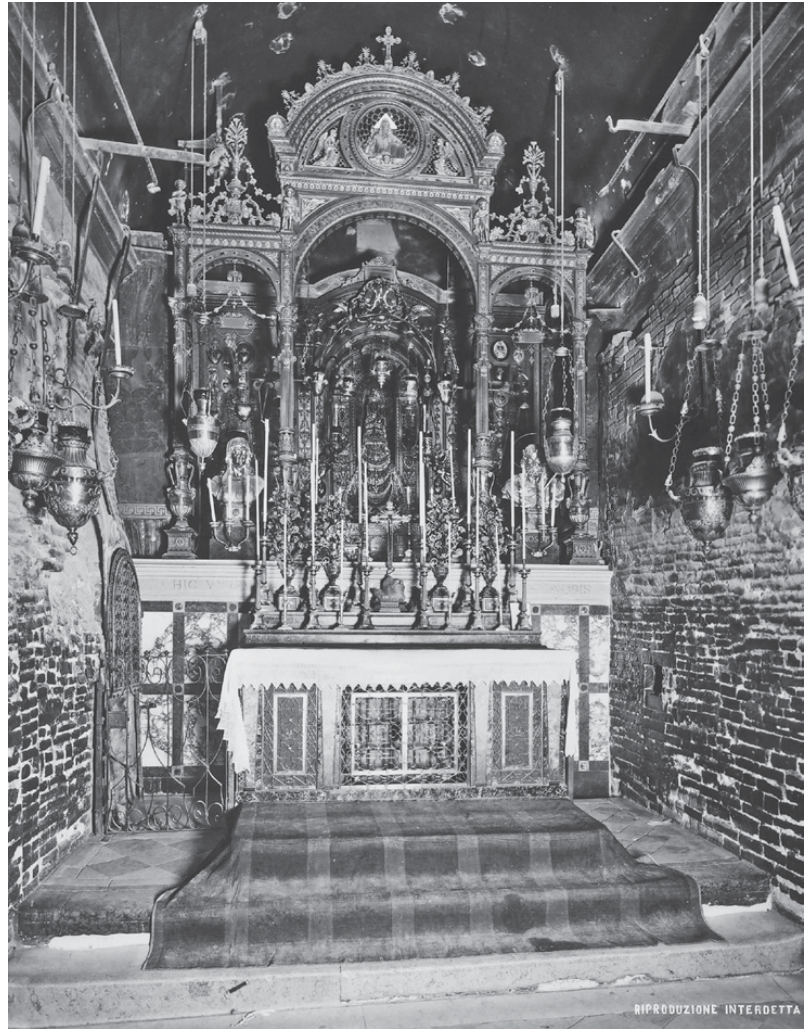
a massive dome surmounting an octagonal drum, joined with a basilica.<sup>56</sup> The forms of the chapel enclosed within are notably similar to the Franciscan shrine of the Porziuncula near Assisi, associated for centuries with the Tomb of Mary in Jerusalem. The Loretan Holy House had, however, no direct relation to the Franciscan order, which continued to promote dedication to the remains of Mary's residence in Nazareth. In fact, when the Franciscan friar Francesco Suriano wrote a treatise on the pilgrimage in 1485, he referred to the story of the angelic transportation of Mary's house to Loreto as not being "consonant with a sane intellect" (*consonante di sano intelletto*).<sup>57</sup> From 1448, when the Franciscans were expelled from Nazareth, they petitioned the Mamluk and then Ottoman authorities regarding possession of the Cave of the Annunciation in Nazareth and were finally rewarded with custody of the chapel in 1620.<sup>58</sup>

The Holy House in Loreto was explicitly outside the purview of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, and its existence and protection in Italy instead became ascribed to the papacy. Giacomo Ricci, who wrote one of the first histories of the Holy House in Loreto, composed between 1473 and 1477, emphasized that Mary had chosen Italy because it is the seat of the vicar of Christ, that is, the pope.<sup>59</sup> Ricci further suggests that the particular placement of the Holy House within the pontifical state, as Loreto was, rendered the entirety of the papal domain a new Palestine, substituting for the one now controlled by Muslims. The well-developed associations of Rome with Jerusalem and Bethlehem, from the Veronica at St. Peter's and the Scala Santa at the Lateran to the Holy Crib at Santa Maria Maggiore, took on an expanded scope now to incorporate Nazareth and therefore the entire territory corresponding to Christ's Incarnation, birth, and death.

What is perhaps most remarkable about the Holy House of Loreto is how quickly and widely the legend spread. Not only was the story of the angelic transportation known from Italy to England by the 1470s; by the following decade pilgrims from all over Europe even endeavored to include Loreto on their journey to the Holy Land. William Wey is the first known pilgrim to write about the Holy House in Loreto being from Nazareth in



Fig. 150 Interior, Holy House of Mary, Loreto  
(Photo: Alinari / Art Resource, NY)



the account of his pilgrimages of 1458 and 1462.<sup>60</sup> An anonymous English pilgrimage account also from the second half of the fifteenth century refers to a church in Loreto “which hath iii tymes bee meoved myraculusli bi angelis and so now ston-dith in Itali called Sancta Maria de Lorent.”<sup>61</sup> The attention of English pilgrims to the Loreto legend may reflect the importance of a Marian shrine at Walsingham near the eastern coast of England, originally founded in the twelfth century but only in the second half of the fifteenth century clearly regarded as a re-creation of Mary’s house in Nazareth.<sup>62</sup> Other early pilgrims who incorporated Loreto into their pilgrimage were those originating in the Netherlands. Jehan from Tournay, in his journey of 1488–9, followed a common order for those coming from the north, visiting Venice,

Rome, Loreto, and then returning to Venice before going to Jerusalem.<sup>63</sup> Georges Lengherand, who made the pilgrimage in 1486–7, emphasizes that Loreto and its Holy House are located in papal territory, reflecting a pervasive understanding that while angels were credited with the movement of the Holy House, those who protected it now were acting under the pope.<sup>64</sup>

#### SIXTUS IV, THE HOLY HOUSE, AND TEMPLE

Although Pope Paul II had first enlarged the cult of Loreto with a bull of 1470, it was Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84) who brought the Holy House under the immediate dependence of the Holy See in 1476.<sup>65</sup>



When Bernardino Caimi had petitioned Sixtus IV regarding the foundation of the sacred mountain at Varallo, the pope – a Franciscan who had acted as the minister general of the order in 1464 – was cultivating what might be viewed as a papal custody of the Holy Land on Italian soil. In 1476 Sixtus IV had also made a fundamental contribution in favor of the doctrine of Mary’s Immaculate Conception, authorizing the introduction of the feast. The doctrine held that Mary had been conceived without the stain of original sin; it had been actively promoted by the Franciscan order since the thirteenth century. The idea of her Holy House, freed from contamination of Muslim control and worship by the volition of Mary herself, who exceptionally could effect such miracles, provided an apt demonstration of this theological doctrine. The House was described not only as the setting for the Annunciation, but also the place where Mary had been born and grew up; Mary’s life was henceforth disassociated from the Church of St. Anne in Jerusalem, now a madrasa inaccessible to Christian pilgrims.<sup>66</sup>

The growing fame and significance of the Holy House in Loreto throughout all of Christendom represented a symbolic victory for the papacy, who could now claim authority over a significant part of the sacred architecture of the Holy Land that armies had failed to free. The legend also denied the past destruction of the sacred building in the crusades, attributing the ruinous state left in Nazareth to the remnants of the angelic transfer. In Rome, at the center of papal authority, a similar symbolic appropriation of the Temple of Solomon refocused attention on the papal seat as the primary site for the transfer of the sanctity of Jerusalem. Sixtus was responsible for the reconstruction of the private papal chapel, known after him as the Sistine Chapel, completed between 1477 and 1480. The chapel was significantly given the proportions of the Tabernacle within the Temple of Solomon, as described in the Old Testament.<sup>67</sup> The architecture of the Temple in Jerusalem is more obviously invoked in a fresco, among those commissioned by Sixtus IV in 1480, depicting events in the lives of both Moses and Christ. The Temple in Jerusalem is the focus of the *Consignment of the Keys* (Fig. 151), showing the moment when Jesus hands the keys to

Peter, authorizing the Apostle and his successors to be his representative on earth. The fresco, by Pietro Vannucci (1446/50–1523) – known as Perugino – was completed around 1482. Architecture dominates the scene; a massive octagonal building surmounted by a golden dome stands in the center of a vast esplanade. Inscriptions running across the flanking triumphal arches from left to right allude to the Solomonic identity of the building: “You, Sixtus, inferior to Solomon in riches but superior to him in devotion, have consecrated this immense temple” (*immensu[m] Salomo[ni] templum hoc quarte sacraſti ... Sixte opibus dispar religione prior*).<sup>68</sup> The moment of the transfer of the keys represents the transfer of the seat of Christendom from Jerusalem to Rome.

The fresco posits a more particular symbolic transfer, by alluding to the salient features of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem: the octagonal ground-plan, four porches facing the cardinal directions, and golden dome. At the same time, other features of Perugino’s pictorial vision suggested a transformation of the Solomonic Temple into a Roman building, composed of the same architectural orders and white marble as the ancient triumphal arches, which are in themselves distinctive symbols of imperial Rome. The symbolic appropriation is framed in terms of imperial triumph, as the Islamic building is recast as being within papal domains. The fresco effects the kind of triumphal transformation of the Dome of the Rock accomplished by the crusaders in 1099 and desired throughout the fifteenth century, including when Pope Sixtus IV had proclaimed a crusade against the Ottomans in 1472–3 – unsuccessful like all the rest.<sup>69</sup> Although not physically achieved, the fresco in the Sistine chapel effects a visual appropriation of a building to which Christian pilgrims continued to be denied entrance.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, a number of architectural features of St. Peter’s were rediscovered to have origins in Christ’s Jerusalem.<sup>70</sup> The Colonna Santa (Holy Column) was identified as part of the original Temple of Jerusalem, specifically one against which the youthful Christ had leaned while teaching in the Temple.<sup>71</sup> The significance of the Porta Santa, or Holy Door, was also reasserted around 1500 – in this case, explicitly in anticipation



Fig. 151 Perugino, *Consignment of the Keys*, Sistine Chapel, Rome, 1481–3 (Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY)

of the Jubilee.<sup>72</sup> Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503) announced that the traditionally walled-up door, located on the far right side of St. Peter's, would be opened for the Jubilee. The pilgrim Nikolaus Muffel of Nuremberg, who visited Rome in 1452, provides one of the fullest accounts of the Porta Santa.<sup>73</sup> He indicates that many believed the doors were in fact the same as those of the Golden Gate in Jerusalem, through which Christ entered on Palm Sunday. The doors were said to have been transported to Rome by Titus and Vespasian, along with the treasures from the Jewish Temple. When the doors were still open, according to Muffel, passing through the sacred portal cleansed any sinner, even a murderer.<sup>74</sup> During the Jubilee, Alexander VI had a portion of the wall opened, making a passage to the Chapel of the Veronica.<sup>75</sup> The link with the Porta Santa rendered more explicit that achieving proximity to the figure of Christ in the form of the Veronica at St. Peter's was

like entering Jerusalem, to be placed in the presence of the material traces of Christ's Crucifixion. The associations with Jerusalem continued to expand into the sixteenth century, as for instance indicated by the Franciscan Fra Mariano from Florence, who – in the reign of Julius II – asserted that the four columns of Veronica's altar had not only been brought by Titus from the Temple of Solomon, but also had later been filled with earth from Golgotha and Christ's Sepulcher by Helena.<sup>76</sup>

#### MARY'S EARTHLY RESIDENCES

When the Sistine Chapel was consecrated on August 15, 1483, the papal chapel was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Both the Temple of Solomon and the Holy House of the Virgin were the most important Marian buildings associated with her Immaculate status. The

buildings in Jerusalem and Nazareth represented her earthly residences and sacred enclosures through which her untouched status had been preserved. According to the apocryphal biography of Mary, widely known since its incorporation into Jacopo da Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (Golden Legend) compiled around 1260, Mary resided in the Temple of Solomon between the ages of three and fourteen.<sup>77</sup> The story provided a historical basis for the metaphor for Mary's body as the Tabernacle and Temple; Mary was presented at the Temple, cultivating her unique devotion to God, as she metaphorically became the Tabernacle and vessel for the Incarnation of the divine on earth. In the debates about the Immaculate Conception, the ancient idea of Mary as the Temple was invoked with a new force. Sixtus IV had articulated this theological concept in 1448, while still a Franciscan friar known as Francesco della Rovere:

Solomon ... built a large and splendid temple ... and when it was built there was no sound of hammer or axe or other metal tools. Who can doubt that the Temple of the Lord (Templum Domini) was none other than the glorious Virgin Mary? In whose most sacred flesh and pure receptacle and prepared container of God one must firmly believe that there was no need for hammers, that is, of contact with sinners.<sup>78</sup>

The renewed awareness of the architecture of the Temple Mount in relation to Mary's life likely relates to the efforts of Franciscan friars in Jerusalem and also the related books disseminating Franciscan meditative techniques, namely the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*. In this, the story of Mary's residence in the Temple is elaborated with colorful details. Since the fourteenth century, manuscripts on the indulgences relating to the pilgrimage cite the Dome of the Rock (Templum Domini), due to its identification with Mary's presentation at the age of three and her wedding to Joseph at the age of fourteen.<sup>79</sup> Ludolph von Suchem, writing c. 1350, incorporates one of the earliest references to this identification in the period after the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem – when the Templum Domini was first associated with the residence of Mary. Ludolph's account became

widely disseminated when it was printed c. 1470.<sup>80</sup> William Wey similarly incorporated reference to the Templum Domini being the setting for Mary's presentation and betrothal.<sup>81</sup> Anselme Adorno likewise refers to Mary's residence in the Temple, where she piously attended to needlework.<sup>82</sup> Other pilgrims identify the adjacent Aqsa Mosque as the place where Mary resided, understood to be part of the overall Temple of Solomon represented by the buildings on the esplanade. This is reflected in the woodcut of 1493 illustrating the destruction of Jerusalem in the *Liber Chronicarum*, in which the Aqsa Mosque is inscribed as the *Templum Marie* (Temple of Mary) (Fig. 128).

#### PERUGINO'S AND RAPHAEL'S MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN

Perugino's fresco in the Sistine Chapel belongs to a series of images of the Temple of Solomon, which present the features of the Dome of the Rock without any visible associations with Islam. Most important among them are Perugino's *Marriage of the Virgin* (Fig. 152) and Raphael's similar but more famous altarpiece depicting the same event (Fig. 153), both created for towns located within the Papal States.<sup>83</sup> Perugino's altarpiece was created for the chapel housing the wedding ring of the Virgin in Perugia Cathedral in 1501, while Raphael's was created for a chapel dedicated to St. Joseph in the Franciscan Church of San Francesco at Città del Castello (signed and dated 1504). Both Perugino and Raphael envision the moment of Mary's betrothal, which – according to the Proto-Gospel of James, *Legenda Aurea*, and contemporary pilgrims – occurred at the Templum Domini in Jerusalem. In both versions, Mary is accompanied by the Temple's virgins; rather than the seven virgins pertaining to Jewish tradition, the virgins number six. The number likely alludes to the Vestal Virgins of Rome, as part of a larger symbolic translation of Mary's residence from Jerusalem to Rome.

The setting vacillates between the Vestal Temple in Rome and the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, collapsed into an imagined whole, just as Perugino had previously suggested a symbolic merging of





Fig. 152 Perugino, *Marriage of the Virgin*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen, 1500–4 (Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY)

Jerusalem and Rome in the Sistine fresco.<sup>84</sup> Also as in Perugino's Sistine fresco, the Temple's features echo the most distinctive forms of the Dome of the Rock, as would be recognized by pilgrims and those familiar with pilgrimage accounts, which – by this point, included the widely disseminated image of the Temple in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* as well as the *Liber Chronicarum*. Both painters also connect the earthly architecture of the Temple to the role of Mary as a gateway to heaven, by showing the central door of the Temple open and passing through to blue sky.<sup>85</sup> Among Mary's many epithets was *porta coeli*, or gate of heaven.

#### THE TEMPIETTO AND NEW ST. PETER'S

Perugino's and Raphael's visions of Mary's betrothal, although made for Umbrian churches, participated in a transformative process initiated under the patronage of Sixtus IV for the Sistine Chapel in Rome,



Fig. 153 Raphael, *Marriage of the Virgin*, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, 1504 (Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY)

through which the Islamic Dome of the Rock was symbolically transformed into a Romanized Temple of Solomon. Raphael's vision of the Temple departs from Perugino's precedent in the Sistine Chapel by omitting the four portals and octagonal ground-plan, adopting instead a sixteen-sided ground-plan that is midway between the real Temple in Jerusalem and a circular Temple. Bramante's Tempietto (Fig. 154), constructed in the same years in Rome, is the culmination of this transformation. The construction of the Tempietto on the Gianicolo, marking the site of St. Peter's crucifixion, refocused the symbolic forms of the Temple within the context of Rome's sacred landscape and the story of the transfer of Jerusalem to Rome via Peter.<sup>86</sup> In miniature form, the Tempietto retrospectively imagines the origins of the ideal architecture of the Temple as being in Rome, at the place where Peter was crucified, as Peter was assimilated to the image of the crucified Christ and Rome



Fig. 154 Bramante, Tempietto, Rome, founded 1502 (Photo: author)

became Jerusalem. The Tempietto concretizes a transferal of the image of the Temple from Jerusalem to Rome that was only hypothesized by Perugino in his fresco made for the Sistine Chapel.

Sixtus IV had first sought to revitalize the monastery connected to the defunct Church of San Pietro in Montorio in 1472. Sixtus ceded the monastery to a fellow Franciscan, Amadeo Menes de Sylva (d. 1482), a native of Portugal who had joined the Observant Franciscan order upon arrival in Italy in 1452. Amadeo, who was known for his fiery preaching in favor of a crusade, sought royal patronage for the renewal of the church and monastery; already in 1480 King Ferdinand of Aragon wrote to Amadeo to express his intention of founding a church where St. Peter was martyred.<sup>87</sup> This took the form of the small commemorative chapel, now known as the Tempietto, in the center of the monastic cloister. The foundation date for the Tempietto was 1502,

significantly the ten-year anniversary of Ferdinand's conquest of the kingdom of Granada, which ended centuries of Islamic rule on the Iberian peninsula.<sup>88</sup> The victory was widely regarded as a significant triumph in the larger struggle against Islam, and Ferdinand – who, along with his queen, Isabella, earned the title Catholic Monarchs bestowed by Alexander VI – set his sights on Jerusalem.<sup>89</sup> Cristoforo Colombo (1451–1506) claimed to have advised the monarchs to spend “the profit of this my enterprise on the conquest of Jerusalem,” in 1502 specifically promising “you are assured a certain victory in the enterprise of Jerusalem if you have faith.”<sup>90</sup> The Tempietto articulates the goal of such a conquest, namely possession of Jerusalem's Temple of Solomon and a united Christian empire under Spanish leadership.<sup>91</sup> Like Perugino and Raphael, Bramante fuses an ancient Roman temple, presenting a triumphal restoration of an ancient type not constructed since



the fall of the Roman Empire – a peripteral temple of the Doric order – and the elevated dome on a drum of the Dome of the Rock, eliding Rome with Jerusalem and Peter with Christ.<sup>92</sup>

The place of Peter's crucifixion evoked a variety of associations with the foundation of the Roman church and the transfer from Jerusalem to Rome, including a parallel with the rock of Golgotha where Christ's cross was placed in Jerusalem, the foundation rock of Solomon's Temple, and Peter's very identity as the rock (*pietra / Pietro*) upon which Christ founded the church.<sup>93</sup> The scale of the Tempietto is significant in this regard; the building offers itself as a model, manifesting the gestational stage of New St. Peter's, planned by Bramante in the same years to be the Temple of Solomon reborn in Rome.<sup>94</sup> Bramante's design for New St. Peter's is best known from the foundation medal of 1506, which evokes the image of the Temple founded upon the rock. The frontal elevation shows a massive dome and a pair of tall bell towers, of which only the central dome raised on four piers would be realized.<sup>95</sup> The framing bell towers suggest an interest in recuperating simultaneously the image of the Temple in Solomon in Jerusalem and Hagia Sophia in Constantinople – now framed by tall minarets – both under Islamic control.<sup>96</sup> A bull of 1507 publicized the intentions of Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) to realize the renovation initiated by his predecessor, Sixtus IV, also della Rovere.<sup>97</sup> In the same year, Egidio da Viterbo (1472–1532) characterized Sixtus as the new King David, commanded by

God to leave the rebuilding of the Temple to a successor from his tribe: Julius, the new Solomon.<sup>98</sup> In the remaining years of his reign as pope, the call for a new crusade resounded among members of the papal court.<sup>99</sup> The related ambitions to restore the Temple were symbolically enacted in the same years not only in Rome, but also in Loreto.

#### ENSHRINING THE HOLY HOUSE OF LORETO

Following upon his success designing both the Tempietto and New St. Peter's, Julius II gave the architect Donato Bramante the task of creating a marble enclosure for the Holy House of the Virgin in Loreto, in addition to rebuilding the adjacent Apostolic Palace.<sup>100</sup> In the same year of 1507, Julius II issued a bull officially stating that the building in Loreto is the material house from Nazareth in which the Virgin Mary was nurtured and Christ conceived.<sup>101</sup> The space outside the church took on the form of a colonnaded forum (Fig. 155), suggesting a restoration of the imperial Roman grandeur associated with the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem, rather than the humble setting of Mary's life in Nazareth. The small rectangular sanctuary where the Incarnation occurred, nested within a marble enclosure, in turn nested within the massive basilica (Fig. 156), suggested comparison with the Tabernacle and the Holy of Holies within the Temple of Jerusalem, once

Fig. 155 Basilica of the Holy House of Mary, Loreto, late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Photo: author)





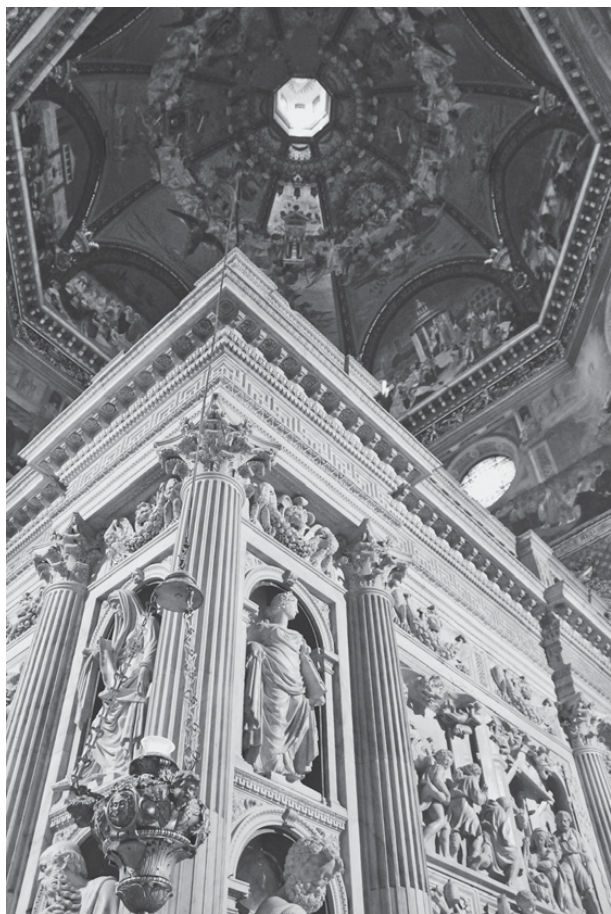


Fig. 156 Interior, Basilica of the Holy House of Mary, Loreto, late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Photo: author)

more renewed under an emperor: Julius II.<sup>102</sup> The marble structure encasing the humble house pertained to a tradition of triumphal arches of ancient imperial Rome rather than anything in Nazareth, and may have suggested something of the imperial triumph associated with the transfer of the treasures of the Jewish Temple from Jerusalem to Rome.<sup>103</sup> Among the marble panels adorning Bramante's marble sheath, carved in high relief by Andrea Sansovino (c. 1467–1529), are scenes from the Life of the Virgin emphasizing her connections to the Temple.

Julius II may have also sought to emulate his namesake, Julius Caesar, who had constructed a temple in his new Roman forum dedicated to *Venus Genetrix* – *Genetrix* referring to Venus as sacred mother and generator of life, the pagan prototype for Mary as the mother of God.<sup>104</sup> The interest in connecting the Holy House of Loreto to a restored

imperial Rome under the aegis of Julius II is further suggested by the foundation in 1507 of a church in the midst of the former Forum of Trajan in Rome, dedicated to Santa Maria di Loreto (St. Mary of Loreto).<sup>105</sup> The Marian church replaced a chapel on the site, already dedicated to the image of the Madonna of Loreto.<sup>106</sup>

#### MARIAN CHURCHES ALONG PILGRIMAGE ROUTES BETWEEN ROME AND LORETO

Beginning in the reign of Julius II, Marian churches constructed throughout Umbria and the Marche developed a continuous sacred landscape between the papal territories in Rome and Loreto. These central-plan Marian churches seemed to manifest in physical form the ideal temple envisioned by both Perugino and Raphael, so closely associated with Mary's life and her body. Together, these images and buildings suggest an ongoing process of symbolic appropriation of the Temple as Mary's residence, parallel to the phenomenon of imagining the Virgin's Holy House freed from Islamic control in Nazareth and relocated on Italian soil. The Tempio di Santa Maria della Consolazione in Todi (Fig. 157), constructed 1508–17, exemplifies this type of central-plan church in which a centralized, domed building enshrines a miracle-working image of Mary. Inscriptions emphasize Mary's role as both a healing mother and gate of heaven (*porta coeli*).<sup>107</sup> The altarpieces by Perugino and Raphael, which had recently envisioned this epithet of Mary in terms of the architecture of the Temple of Solomon, were made in close proximity to Todi, also in the Umbrian region between Rome and Loreto incorporated into the Papal States.<sup>108</sup>

Central-plan churches dedicated to Mary had been constructed for centuries, but in the church in Todi pilgrims were offered a place to encounter Mary's living presence, especially as embodied in the icon through which her presence was occasionally manifested.<sup>109</sup> The church in Todi like closely related churches throughout the Umbrian region and beyond was constructed in response to Mary's miraculous appearance, and contributed to a growing sense that Mary was immanent in the Italian



Fig. 157 Santa Maria della Consolazione, Todi, 1508–17 (Photo: author)

landscape. Another example, in the Marche region on the pilgrimage route from Rome to Loreto, is the sanctuary of Macerato (Fig. 158), near Visso, built from 1528.<sup>110</sup> The octagonal church encloses a re-creation of Mary's Holy House in Loreto (Fig. 159), replacing an earlier chapel with a miracle-working statue of the Virgin.<sup>111</sup> There were numerous other churches and shrines in the region which independently re-created the Holy House or the Temple, as Marian residences in which the pilgrim could directly encounter Mary's presence.<sup>112</sup> Later in the sixteenth century, the octagonal Church of Santa Maria della Neve (St. Mary of the Snow) in Norcia, constructed 1565–71 and ruined in an earthquake of 1997, housed a miracle-working image of Mary.<sup>113</sup> In Spoleto, also on the pilgrimage route known as Lauretana, Mary's Holy House with its fresco of the Madonna di Loreto was re-created and enshrined in

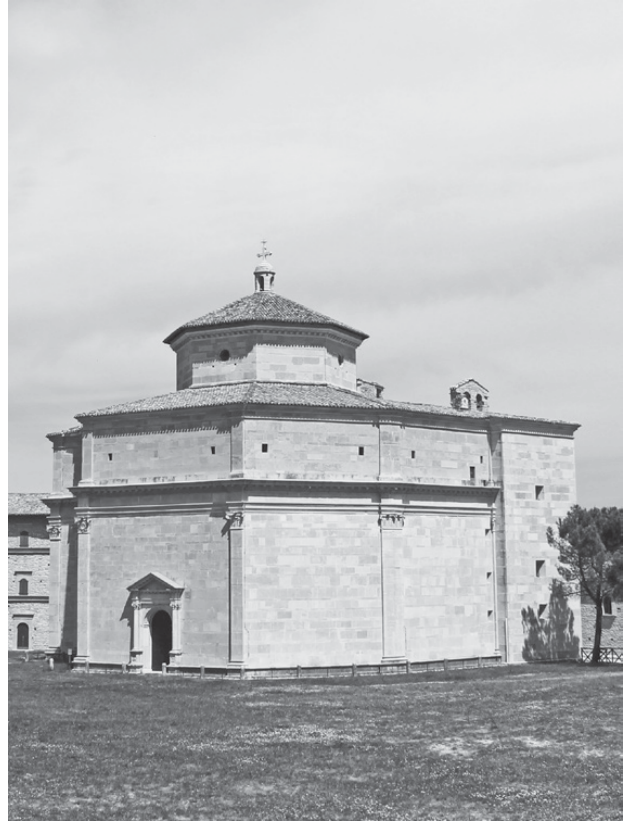


Fig. 158 Sanctuary of Macerato, near Visso, begun 1528 (Photo: author)

a Greek-cross church, intended to have a cupola that was never constructed (Fig. 160).<sup>114</sup> The construction of the enclosing church was especially motivated by the observation in 1571 of the movement of Mary's eyes in the fresco.<sup>115</sup> Construction started the following year, patronized by Spoleto's bishop, Fulvio Orsini (1500–81).<sup>116</sup>

The re-creations of Mary's residences in Jerusalem and Nazareth, constructed throughout the papal territories in the sixteenth century, provided a new way of figuring Mary's bodily presence and imagining buildings to have a sacred status comparable to those originally set in the Holy Land. The many Marian churches constructed in response to her miraculous appearances may have been constructed by men and designed by architects, but in their pristine, ideal forms, they offered simultaneously a vision of heaven and a material incarnation of Mary's unmediated presence. This symbolic possession of Jerusalem and Nazareth challenged the





Fig. 159 Interior, Sanctuary of Macerato, near Visso (Photo: author)



Fig. 160 St. Mary of Loreto, Spoleto, begun 1572 (Photo: author)

reality of Islam's presence in the Holy Land and rendered the papal territories of Italy a new Christian Holy Land.

#### LORETO AND VARALLO

Because the Holy House in Loreto was outside the purview of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land and its promotion was undertaken primarily by the papacy, the Franciscans at first remained peripheral to the development of the Loretan pilgrimage and re-creations of the Holy House. The construction of a chapel dedicated to Madonna di Loreto on the pilgrimage road in Roccapietra (Fig. 161), immediately outside of Varallo, represented the first attempt to incorporate the growing popularity of devotion to the Holy House into the pilgrimage to

the Franciscan sacred mountain.<sup>117</sup> A portico wraps around the chapel's three front sides, protecting a series of soft-hued frescoes, depicting the life of the Virgin.<sup>118</sup> Among them, is the story of Mary saving her house in Nazareth from threatening Muslims, as well as other scenes from her life, like the marriage of the Virgin.

The Loreto chapel near Varallo was not formally part of the sacred mountain, but offered its pilgrims a way of expanding their pilgrimage en route to Varallo to incorporate dedication to Mary's miraculous house. The frescoes visualized the potential for a sacred building associated with the Virgin Mary to be transported to a new location; on the heights of the sacred mountain above, pilgrims could encounter the Tomb of Mary, the Church of the Ascension, the Sepulcher, and the Cave of the Nativity.<sup>119</sup> Although Caimi's original foundation involved no



Fig. 161 Church of the Madonna of Loreto, Roccapietra, late fifteenth and early sixteenth century (Photo: author)



claims for the miraculous transportation of its buildings, the growing significance of the Loreto legend expanded the possibilities for imagining the miraculous nature of re-creating the sacred architecture of the Holy Land.

#### EXPANSION OF THE SACRED MOUNTAIN AT VARALLO

As pilgrimage to the Holy Land waned in the first decades of the sixteenth century, pilgrimages within Italy increasingly substituted for the journey to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. Whereas once before pilgrims from all over Europe came through Italy to leave for the Holy Land, Loreto and Rome or Varallo in the north increasingly became final destinations. In Loreto and along the related pilgrimage route to Rome, pilgrims were offered places rendered sacred through moments of unmediated encounter with Mary. The Holy House in Loreto was likewise offered to the pilgrim as an unmediated sacred entity, presented as the real thing, rather than a re-creation or likeness of a distant sacred building. In the sacred mountain at Varallo, whose scope was dramatically expanded in the same years, pilgrims were offered a distinctly different experience: pilgrims participated in a self-conscious re-creation, mediated by the book culture of pilgrimage, which

emphasized movement and sensory engagement as one takes on the role of Mary or the Magi.<sup>120</sup> Changes to the sacred mountain engendered a new experience, mediated by a long tradition of pictorializing events from the lives of Christ and Mary, now brought to life in the real space of the pilgrim. The substitutional pilgrimages in Loreto and Varallo equally reflect an insistence upon emotional immediacy, although accomplished in distinctly different ways.

The primary artist first responsible for the expansion of the Franciscan sacred mountain at Varallo was Gaudenzio Ferrari (1471–1546), who produced life-size polychrome sculptures and illusionistic wall-paintings that transformed the pilgrimage buildings praised for their simplicity into interactive stage sets.<sup>121</sup> At first the sculptures were made of wood, some likely before the arrival of Ferrari, but once an oven for baking clay was established, the figures were made of terracotta. The visitor could walk among sculpted figures, many with real clothing and hair, with faces painted in flesh-tones, contoured to maximally express emotions ranging from anguish to awe. In the Chapel of the Crucifixion (Fig. 162), a curved wall with fictive frescoes blurred the line between two-dimensional illusion and sculpted representation, while contributing to the dynamic movement of the visitor, who was drawn into the crowd around the crucified Christ.<sup>122</sup> The chapel is reached by a set of stairs, re-creating the kinetic experience of climbing to



Fig. 162 Crucifixion chapel, Sacro Monte of Varallo, c. 1514–20 (Photo: author)



Fig. 163 Christ in the Tomb, Holy Sepulcher chapel, Sacro Monte of Varallo, early sixteenth century (Photo: author)

the Calvary chapel in Jerusalem; as in books of the fifteenth century, the idea of moving through the original setting in Jerusalem activates the space for the narrative of Christ's life.<sup>123</sup>

While Caimi's conception of re-creating the architecture of the Holy Land pertained to a focus on architectural forms, traces of Christ's body, and fragmentary relics, the expanded Varallo of Ferrari's time focuses on the dynamics of movement, emotion, and full material embodiment. In the Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher, the pilgrim now could be witness to Christ's body still entombed (Fig. 163), which he or she might touch, as indicated in the guide of 1514.<sup>124</sup> Christ's head – adorned with real

hair and the bloodied Crown of Thorns – rests on two pillows of brocade fabric, and nearby a figure of Mary Magdalene knelt weeping.<sup>125</sup> In the Cave of the Nativity (Fig. 10), the pilgrim might reach out and cradle the newborn infant, offering a permanent version of the Nativity tableau created at Greccio by St. Francis of Assisi. An aperture in the wall links the chapel to the scene of the arrival of the Magi, made c. 1519.<sup>126</sup> Originally pilgrims could walk among the procession as they imagined becoming the Magi in Bethlehem.

The spaces of Caimi's pilgrimage buildings, evocative of the real pilgrimage in Jerusalem, were now filled with the illusion of life. The incorporation



Fig. 164 Last Supper chapel, Sacro Monte of Varallo, c. 1514–20 (Photo: author)



of objects from the sphere of everyday life suggested an absence of boundaries between art and life, and the Holy Land and Italy.<sup>127</sup> The chapels also provided an origin point for familiar traditions in pictorial representation; recent depictions of the Last Supper, including Leonardo da Vinci's in Milan, could now be experienced in real space at Varallo (Fig. 164).<sup>128</sup> The wooden figures have moveable limbs and are dressed in linen, dripped in plaster, while on the table there are real ceramics.<sup>129</sup> The original location of the Last Supper tableau (Fig. 165), now found in a hotel on the sacred mountain, re-created the space of the Cenacle in Jerusalem.<sup>130</sup> The setting for the Annunciation in Nazareth is revealed to be like a contemporary home, with a washing stand, basin and jug, and piece of soap.<sup>131</sup> The wooden statues of Mary and Gabriel from the time of Ferrari were also relocated; the current chapel was constructed in 1572 as a re-creation of the Holy House in Loreto.<sup>132</sup> The sculptural installations at Varallo reified visionary experience, offering a spiritual experience in the realm of the mundane. It was not only the distant Holy Land that was made accessible to all, but also the visionary experiences once the reserve of monastic spirituality.<sup>133</sup>



Fig. 165 Original Chapel of the Cenacle, Sacro Monte of Varallo, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Photo: author)



## CALVARY MOUNTS AT ROMANS AND DOBBIACO

In the midst of the expansion of the sacred mountain at Varallo, a similar complex was created in the French town of Romans, on an important route to Paris, likewise employing a combination of spatial-architectural re-creation of the Holy Land and sculptural installations manifesting related scenes from the life of Christ. The foundation of the Mont Calvaire, or Mount Calvary, at Romans is documented as occurring on October 1, 1516. A resident of Romans, the merchant Romanet Boffin, first patronized the creation of a Way of the Cross, composed of seven pillars marking out the distances between the pilgrimage stations of Jerusalem.<sup>134</sup> Boffin had reportedly journeyed to Fribourg, where a similar installation had inspired him.<sup>135</sup> Earlier in the same year, as known from a bull of Leo X (March 4, 1516), the Franciscans had been permitted to construct a religious house at Romans. The construction of the Franciscan convent and Way of the Cross both commenced in 1517.<sup>136</sup>

An account of the history of the Mount Calvary at Romans, written by the mid sixteenth century, also draws attention to the involvement of Franciscans. Two friars, Ange de Linx, a native of Beauvois, and Laurens Morelli of Savoy reportedly came to Romans after spending several years in the convent

of Mount Sion in Jerusalem. They could confirm that the Mount Calvary of Romans “resembled” the holy city (*estre semblable a la sainte cité*).<sup>137</sup> It may have been these or other Franciscan friars in residence at Romans who encouraged Boffin to expand the Way of the Cross, originally a series of seven pillars, into a number of chapels with sculptural installations, similar to that which was being created in Varallo in the same years. Woodcuts illustrate Calvary inside the Franciscan convent, with three crosses at the summit and various chapels, including a small round Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 166). On March 27, 1517, permission was obtained to construct a Chapel of Bethlehem, with a representation of the birth of Jesus (destroyed in 1562).<sup>138</sup> The other chapels included Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives, the House of Annas, the House of Caiphas, and the House of Herod. Many of the original chapels were houses given to or purchased by Boffin in 1516–17. Additional stations marked events along the Way of the Cross, including the first Fall of Christ, placed at the exit of the church, and a garden was dedicated to the holy women.<sup>139</sup> Sculpted re-creations of Christ’s Entombment were popular in France and the Low Countries throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but the Romans Mount Calvary would have represented a significant departure, employing a spatial interactivity and engagement with an architectural setting. Sculpted representations of

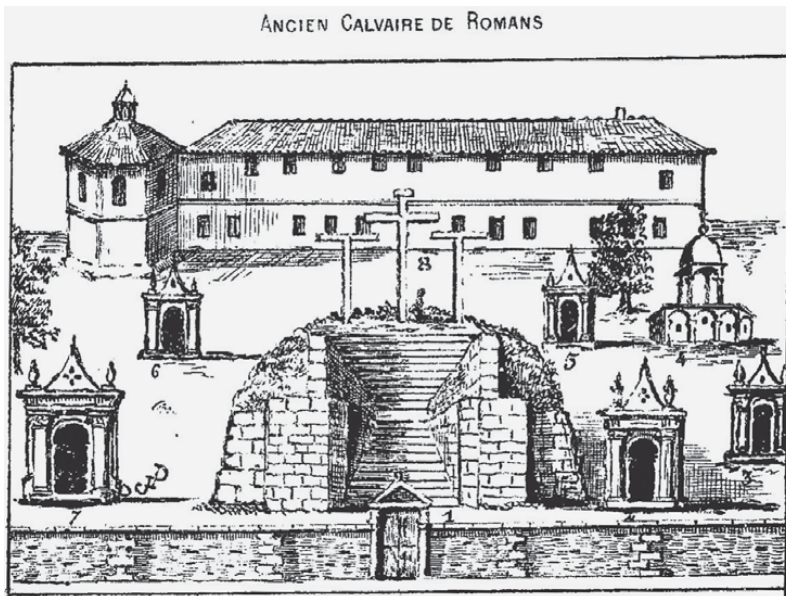


Fig. 166 Mount Calvary at Romans, from Ulysse Chevalier, *Notice historique sur le Mont-Calvaire de Romans*, Montbéliard, 1883 (Photo: Gallica / BNF – Public Domain)



Fig. 167 Holy Sepulcher chapel, Dobbiaco, begun early sixteenth century (Photo: author)

the mourning figures around Christ tended to be placed in recesses, as closed-off units separated from the viewer's space. On the eve of the Protestant Reformation, the Mount Calvary at Romans likely represents an attempt to disseminate Franciscan ideas north of the Alps.<sup>140</sup>

In Dobbiaco, in the Tyrol region, a similar Way of the Cross was constructed in the same period, commencing when Pope Leo X granted indulgences for the complex in 1514.<sup>141</sup> The area had been annexed in 1500 by Maximilian, the Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1493–1519), and was on the route of the *Via di Alemagna* (Way of Germany), linking the German countries of central Europe to Venice.<sup>142</sup> After the death of Maximilian in 1519, Kaspar and Christof Herbst, previously in Maximilian's entourage, became the patrons. Many of the sculptural installations were either remade or added in the seventeenth



Fig. 168 Tomb of Christ, Holy Sepulcher chapel, Dobbiaco, begun early sixteenth century (Photo: author)

century; chapels were dedicated to Pilate washing his hands, *Ecce Homo*, Golgotha, Christ carrying the Cross, where Mary fainted, Veronica with her veil, Christ falling under the weight of the Cross, Christ on the Cross, and the Crucifixion.<sup>143</sup> The emphasis on scenes of Christ falling under the weight of the Cross likely reflects the impact of the installations in Nuremberg and other imperial cities. The Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 167) is a round building with the Tomb of Christ inside (Fig. 168), remade either in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

#### WITTENBERG

The pontificate of Leo X (1513–21) witnessed a dramatic expansion of indulgences granted to a range of new pilgrimage destinations, including San Vivaldo in



Tuscany, Romans in southeastern France, Dobbiaco in the Tyrol, as well as the addition of indulgences to already existing foundations. Leo X also continued a policy established by his predecessor, Julius II, of authorizing the sale of indulgences, especially in order to finance the construction of New St. Peter's. Leo appointed the Dominican John Tetzel (1465–1519) as commissioner of indulgences for Germany in 1517, and it was the blatant selling of indulgences for the financial gain of the papacy and German ecclesiastics that prompted Martin Luther's preaching against Tetzel, ultimately contributing to the composition of his Ninety-Five Theses. Luther's choice of the doors of the Castle Church in Wittenberg as the location for the posting of his theses was significant in itself. The Castle Church, connected to the primary residence of the Elector Palatine of Saxony – then Frederick III the Wise (r. 1486–1525) – had become one of the largest collections of indulgenced relics, by 1520 including 19,013 items offering up to 20 million years of indulgences from the pope.<sup>144</sup> A number of the relics were from the Holy Land, particularly relating to Frederick's pilgrimage of 1493, which he made with Wolf Ketzler of Nuremberg.<sup>145</sup> Inside the Castle Church visitors would have encountered a re-creation of the Holy Sepulcher with a painted body of Christ, constructed sometime after Frederick's pilgrimage.<sup>146</sup> It was probably after Frederick's death in 1525 that the religious images and relics were removed; the Holy Sepulcher chapel was relocated to the castle and is now lost.<sup>147</sup> Despite his penchant for collecting both relics and indulgences, Frederick the Wise had supported Martin Luther and his calls for reform. His funeral monument installed in the Wittenberg Castle chapel in 1527 – designed by Lucas Cranach the Elder (c. 1472–1553) – was a simple plaque bearing the motto *Verbum Domini manet in aeternum* (The word of the Lord remains in eternity), the motto of the Lutheran Reformation.<sup>148</sup> The replacement of the previous relics and the Holy Sepulcher chapel with this plaque was a powerful testament to the Lutheran conviction of the absolute priority and unique eternity of the word of God.<sup>149</sup>

The Holy Sepulcher chapel at Wittenberg is thought to have resembled the chapel in Görlitz (Fig. 124), also likely constructed in the 1490s. The master builder Konrad Pflüger (c. 1450–1506/7) is associated with both Görlitz and Wittenberg in this

period. Frederick the Wise had a similar chapel constructed in his hometown of Torgau likewise associated with Pflüger, in a Chapel of the Holy Cross founded immediately before his departure for pilgrimage.<sup>150</sup> When Frederick returned, he had it furnished with a re-creation of the Holy Sepulcher. Hans Herzheimer, who traveled in Saxony between 1514 and 1519, reported that this Holy Sepulcher was an exact copy of the one in Jerusalem.<sup>151</sup> Torgau emerged as an important setting for many of the events associated with the development of the Protestant Reformation, finding Martin Luther in residence there, including in 1533 when he delivered sermons on the nature of Christ's humanity and divinity. The Chapel of the Holy Cross in Torgau was demolished in the same year.<sup>152</sup>

One of the last private family chapels dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher to be constructed in sixteenth-century Germany was in the Carmelite Church of St. Anna at Augsburg (Fig. 169), patronized in 1508 by Georg Regel. The chapel was closely associated



Fig. 169 Holy Sepulcher chapel, St. Anna, Augsburg, 1508 (Photo: Claudia Jung)



with the Fugger family – notorious for their involvement in selling indulgences – who in the same year had constructed their own chapel centering upon a sculpted group of the *Lamentation of Christ* in the church.<sup>153</sup> That the Holy Sepulcher chapel was not dismantled, in contrast to those in Wittenberg and Torgau, reflects the resistance of prominent Catholics in Germany (that is to say, the class of merchants and patricians, with the closest ties to the Holy Roman Empire); in fact the adjacent Fugger chapel remained a consecrated Catholic space, while the main altar of the church became Lutheran in 1525.<sup>154</sup> In the same year, the city of Görlitz joined the Reformation, while its Holy Sepulcher likewise was spared destruction, and even continued to serve as the setting for the re-enactment of Christ's Entombment – the only ritual not discontinued.<sup>155</sup> In other chapels, the symbolic significance was similarly neutralized through modification or discontinuation of related rituals, often entailing partial removal of elements, as at Konstanz (Fig. 32), where the effigy of Christ disappeared in the early years of the Reformation, or at Fulda (Fig. 5), where the altars in St. Michael's church were destroyed in 1525.<sup>156</sup>

North of the Alps, construction of new chapels dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher waned in the immediate aftermath of the Reformation. This has been attributed to a variety of factors, including the advent of printing, but undoubtedly the association of such chapels with the relic culture and abuse of indulgences was a factor.<sup>157</sup> Most significantly, the very authenticity of the Holy Sepulcher was called into question. In a pamphlet on *The Misuse of the Mass* (1522), Luther drew particular attention to the fraudulent nature of the Holy Sepulcher: "As for the tomb in which the Lord lay, which the Saracens now possess, God values it like all the cows in Switzerland."<sup>158</sup> The Holy Land pilgrimage was also ridiculed by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536). In the 1522 edition of the *Colloquies* published in Basel, a dialogue implicitly accuses the Franciscans in Jerusalem of deceiving gullible pilgrims.<sup>159</sup> A certain Adnoldus asks: "Is there anything worth seeing [in Jerusalem]?" To which a certain Cornelius responds: "To be frank with you, almost nothing. Some monuments of antiquity are pointed out, all of which I thought faked and contrived for the

purpose of enticing naïve and credulous folk. What's more, I don't think it's known for certain where ancient Jerusalem was."<sup>160</sup> When the French nobleman Greffin Affagart made the pilgrimage in 1533, he remarked that "the wicked rascal Luther" and Erasmus together had "attacked these journeys" so that "many Christians have withdrawn and grown cold, especially the Flemings and Germans who used to be more devout in traveling than all the others."<sup>161</sup>

From the perspective of reformers, re-creations of Jerusalem pilgrimage buildings, like the House of Veronica at San Vivaldo or the House of Pilate at Romans, perpetuated a broader culture of fraudulent relics, which encompassed the buildings in Jerusalem promoted by the Franciscan Custody. The central fraud, however, was understood to be the identification of the Holy Sepulcher as the site of Christ's entombment. The location of the church within the walls of Jerusalem contradicted the Gospel accounts of Christ's burial in a cave outside the city. At stake however was not just the historical authenticity of the Holy Sepulcher but the larger culture of pilgrimage promoted by the Franciscans, in which the material buildings associated with the lives of Christ and Mary was presented as a vital connection to sacred events. The fundamental significance of the topography of the Holy Land – its connections to the biblical accounts of the life of not just Christ but also Moses, Abraham, and other Old Testament figures – had become obscured by a morass of material excess and tangled fictions (in the view of reformers). The removal of the Holy Sepulcher chapel and related relics and subsequent replacement with the motto of *Verbum Domini manet in aeternum* in the Castle Church at Wittenberg is emblematic of the reformers' original response to the accumulated manifestations of dedication to the Holy Land and its sacred buildings in Europe: not violent destruction, but calculated acts of effacement, followed by reinstatement of the Word. Lucas Cranach's map of the Holy Land, thought to have been originally made for Martin Luther's 1524 translation of the Old Testament (Fig. 170), presented the topography of Syria, Israel, and Egypt not as the setting for a pilgrimage to Christ's Jerusalem, but as the physical counterpart of the Mosaic books of the Old Testament.<sup>162</sup> A version of Cranach's map



Fig. 170 Lucas Cranach, *Map of the Holy Land*, 1524 (Photo: The National Library of Israel, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Shapell Family Digitization Project and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography – Historic Cities Research Project)

appeared in the 1525 printing of the Old Testament in Zurich.<sup>163</sup> This initiated a practice of printing geographically realistic images of the topography of the Holy Land, in which signs of the indulgenced pilgrimage and the architecture of the Franciscan Custody have been effaced.<sup>164</sup> Such images would ultimately be found in hundreds of bibles published throughout Protestant Europe in the sixteenth century.<sup>165</sup> The dismantling of chapels re-creating the Holy Sepulcher was less immediate and less resolute;

the examples in Wittenberg and Torgau reflect the direct impact of Martin Luther, while in other cities and towns, Leiden, Antwerp, and Romans, for example, similar chapels would only be dismantled later in the sixteenth century.<sup>166</sup> The ongoing negotiation of the antagonistic views of Protestants and Catholics regarding the Holy Land and the sanctity of its architecture is perhaps best attested in the contemporary book culture of pilgrimage accounts, the subject of [Chapter 16](#).

PROTESTANT REFORMATION, OTTOMAN CONQUEST,  
AND CATHOLIC RENEWAL AFTER 1517



PILGRIMAGE GUIDEBOOKS AFTER 1517

In 1517 – the same year that Martin Luther posted his Ninety-Five Theses on the portal of the Castle Church at Wittenberg – the Ottoman Empire conquered Jerusalem and went on to take the rest of the Holy Land, ending the Mamluk sultanate. Throughout the early years of the sixteenth century, very few pilgrims are known to have risked the pilgrimage due to ongoing wars between various European powers and the Ottoman Empire. The Venetian loss of Rhodes in particular disrupted the traditional pilgrimage route.<sup>1</sup> Ottomans challenged the position of Christian pilgrims in the Holy Land more aggressively than the Mamluks had; for instance, in 1524, the Franciscans were driven from Mount Sion, and the Chapel of David’s Tomb became a mosque, which both Christians and Jews were forbidden to enter.<sup>2</sup> In the aftermath of the Reformation, calls for a crusade against the Ottomans to retake the Holy Land were made with a new intent of unifying Catholicism against all heretics, including Muslims and Protestants.

The book culture of pilgrimage accounts after 1517 reflects the ideological split between Protestants and Catholics regarding the status of the Holy Land and its architecture. In the Protestant North, the most popular pilgrimage book in these years was attributed to a certain Heer Bethlehem, whose original identity is unknown.<sup>3</sup> The Dutch book had first been printed in Antwerp in 1510 and then subsequently reprinted

in Leiden, Delft, and Antwerp, with at least seventeen printings in total.<sup>4</sup> There were also two printed French translations, dated *c.* 1550 and *c.* 1570.<sup>5</sup> Heer Bethlehem outlines a purely spiritual pilgrimage with no connection to the material buildings.<sup>6</sup> The pilgrimage is described in terms of distance between stations, presented in chronological order of the Passion rather than as encountered during the real pilgrimage. The pilgrimage is imagined as something which can be done anywhere, if the reader will “turn their hearts inwards towards God and devoutly and with compassion meditate on the holy places.” The effect, in terms of indulgences earned is said to be the same as having “corporeally visited all the holy places there.”<sup>7</sup> Heer Bethlehem organizes the spiritual journey according to the days of the week, as each day becomes identified with an event in the life of Christ; movement through time as through space is reimagined in terms of Christ’s life. Heer Bethlehem’s spiritual pilgrimage eschewed any thought of relics or other material distractions, and was therefore wholly above the reproach of Protestant reformers. In fact, the book seemed to answer Erasmus’ prescription for the role of books in substituting for the physical pilgrimage, as he wrote to the doctors of the Sorbonne in 1526: “in the past men of proved religion held that it was no great matter to go to Jerusalem; and I do not think that Christianity would be any the worse if nobody went to Jerusalem, but they sought the footsteps of Christ in books, and devoted their efforts and expense to the relief of the poor.”<sup>8</sup>



The Franciscan book which had most forcefully argued for the sacramental status of the buildings of the Holy Land was the *Libro d'oltramare* of Niccolò da Poggibonsi. The author, although now stripped of his identity, was once again given the opportunity to demonstrate the sacred nature of buildings from Jerusalem to Sinai when his book was printed in and around Venice in over sixty editions from 1518 to 1800. That the book was only published in Italian is another reflection of the broad split with the heavily Protestant North. We do not know who originated the idea of publishing the book in small, quarto format in Venice in 1518, entitled *Viaggio da Venetia al Santo Sepulchro et al Monte Sinai*.<sup>9</sup> An earlier printed edition of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's book had been published anonymously in Bologna in 1500, with the title *Viazo da Venesia al Sancto Iherusalem*.<sup>10</sup> In this first printed version, the original book made by the Franciscan friar from Tuscany had been transcribed into the Bolognese dialect and the drawings from the illustrated manuscript versions made into woodcuts. Although of reduced size, the vast majority of the woodcuts in the Venetian editions were based upon the previous illustrations, whether derived from the 1500 book or a manuscript or manuscripts is unknown.<sup>11</sup> Significantly, a later preface asserts that the author belonged to the Franciscan order, invoking the authority of the friars in all things

pertaining to the Holy Land pilgrimage, particularly the indulgences.<sup>12</sup> Among the woodcuts based upon the manuscript precedents are illustrations of the *Ecce Homo* arch, and the Calvary chapel in the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>13</sup> In the face of attacks on the sacred status of the Holy Land, the Franciscan book offered an eyewitness, authoritative testament to the ongoing miraculous transformations witnessed in the materials of buildings, from the column in the Cave of the Nativity grasped by Mary during the Annunciation (Fig. 171) to the columns in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher that continually wept over the Passion of Christ (Fig. 172).

New woodcuts in the 1518 edition of the *Viaggio da Venetia* drew from Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*, including illustrations of the Temple of Solomon, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Tomb Aedicule, as well as the cities and islands associated with Venice's maritime empire.<sup>14</sup> The book also incorporated a new section on relics in Venice. This reasserted the importance of the real pilgrimage, suggesting that one does not just go to Venice to leave for the pilgrimage, but instead that one goes to Venice as part of the pilgrimage, where an abundance of relics provide the visitor with numerous opportunities for earning indulgences, before ever setting foot on a ship.<sup>15</sup> In Venice, pilgrims could encounter the bodies of St. Lucy, St. Helena, St. Theodore, St. Isidore, and the

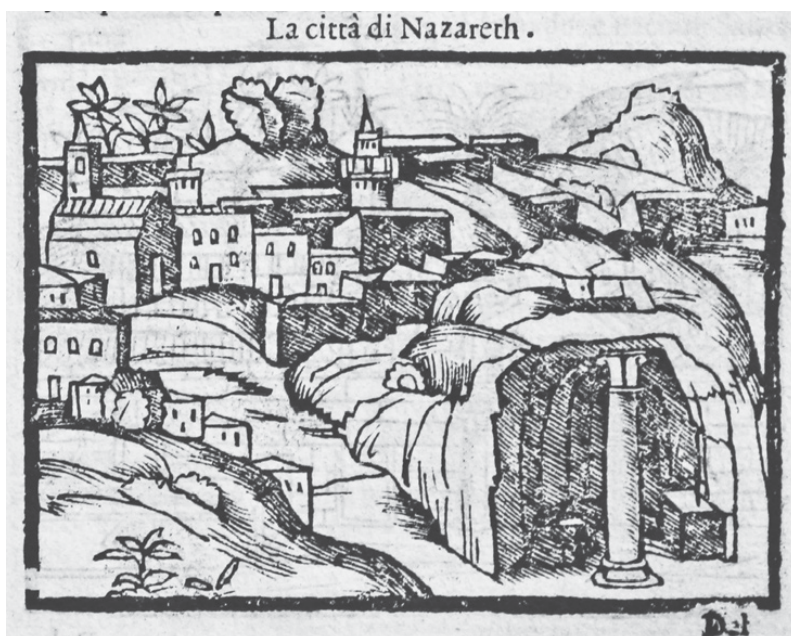


Fig. 171 Nazareth, *Viaggio da Venetia al Santo Sepolcro et al Monte Sinai*, Venice, 1606, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B1091 (Photo: author)



Fig. 172 Columns that weep over the Passion of Christ, *Viaggio da Venetia al Santo Sepolcro et al Monte Sinai*, Venice, 1606, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 88-B1091 (Photo: author)

bodies of the Innocents slaughtered in Bethlehem, as well as the blood of Christ in San Marco.<sup>16</sup> Altogether the book advertised and celebrated the combined culture of relics and indulgences so fiercely under attack by Protestant Reformers.

#### PAINTINGS FOR THE JERUSALEM CONFRATERNITIES IN UTRECHT AND HAARLEM

The *Viaggio da Venetia* and Heer Bethlehem's book represent two extremes, between which were those aware of the critiques of reformers who still made the pilgrimage and sought to reframe their devotion to the earthly sites of Christ's Crucifixion and

Entombment in the context of a spiritual experience. Despite Erasmus' critiques, the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem, for example, continued to hold central importance, especially as locations for the meditational pilgrimage which could be experienced anywhere. As in the past, when figural images of Christ became subject to criticism regarding a relation to idolatry, the architectural figuration of Christ resisted direct criticism. Artworks produced in Utrecht and Haarlem in the 1520s, 30s, and 40s underscore the possibility for the sacred buildings in Jerusalem and Bethlehem to create meditational spaces as a context for visionary experience that can be entered into anywhere and at any time.

The artworks produced in Utrecht and Haarlem which display devotion to the architecture of the Holy Land are also examples of a renegotiation of existing practices that pre-date the Reformation. Confraternities of lay pilgrims had become popular throughout the Netherlands, especially as a vehicle for elites to exhibit their shared devotion, wealth, and nobility.<sup>17</sup> Confraternities patronized chapels where they could meet and commemorate their collective participation in the pilgrimage. In Leiden, for example, funds had been given in 1467 for the construction of a chapel dedicated to the Cross which contained a re-creation the Tomb of Christ, as discussed in the [previous chapter](#).<sup>18</sup> A number of paintings were made for the chapel in subsequent years, including perhaps a portrait, thought to correspond to a surviving text panel naming sixteen Jerusalem pilgrims (the latest pilgrimage mentioned being in 1505).<sup>19</sup> Conjectures regarding the creation of such a painting for the confraternity in Leiden, situated in close proximity to the now lost re-creation of the Tomb of Christ, relate to surviving panels made for the similar confraternity in Utrecht, the oldest in the Netherlands (first referred to in 1394).<sup>20</sup> The brotherhood of pilgrims had similarly existed for decades in Utrecht, and their meeting place was a small hexagonal temple, referred to as *Templum Sepulchri Domini* (Temple of the Sepulcher of Our Lord) in documents of the period, with further reference to a re-creation of Christ's Tomb.<sup>21</sup> In 1520, a group from Utrecht made the pilgrimage; upon return, they commemorated their journey by commissioning





Fig. 173 Jan van Scorel, *Members of the Utrecht Jerusalem Confraternity*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, after 1525 (Photo: Centraal Museum, Utrecht)



Fig. 174 Jan van Scorel, *Members of the Utrecht Jerusalem Confraternity*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, after 1525 (Photo: Centraal Museum, Utrecht)



Fig. 175 Jan van Scorel, *Members of the Utrecht Jerusalem Confraternity*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1527–30 (Photo: Centraal Museum, Utrecht)

a group portrait, thought to have been made for their Holy Sepulcher chapel. Two panels by Jan van Scorel (1495–1562), dating after 1525, each portray twelve members of the Utrecht Jerusalem brotherhood (Figs. 173 and 174). The figures all carry palms; below, an illusionistic ledge displays their coats of arms.<sup>22</sup> In both, the figures face slightly to the right, suggesting that the panels were spatially arranged around a re-creation of Christ's Tomb within the confraternity's Holy Sepulcher chapel.<sup>23</sup> A third painting (Fig. 175), created 1527–30, depicting

additional members of the Utrecht confraternity, is of the same height as the previous panels, further suggesting that they were coordinated to interact within the chapel.

A slightly later panel painted in 1528–9 also by Jan van Scorel depicts the knightly Brotherhood of the Holy Land in Haarlem (Fig. 176). In contrast to the Utrecht panels, this incorporates an insert with a pictorial representation of the Tomb Aedicule in Jerusalem, referred to in the inscription as a “figure of the tomb of our Lord” (*de figuer van tgraf ons herein*).





Fig. 176 Jan van Scorel, *Members of the Haarlem Confraternity of Pilgrims*, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, 1528–9 (Photo: Public Domain)

The twelve members do not look in the direction of this architectural figure; instead their gazes tend away from the figure and have no shared focus. The subject of their vision is not in the realm of the physical or temporal, just as Christ's body is not depicted, but symbolized by the architecture of the Entombment and Resurrection.<sup>24</sup> The image of the Tomb is presented as a framed paper drawing, like the fictive notices attached to the ledge that name the subjects of the painting in the order of when they made the pilgrimage. The painter was in a unique position to create a faithful visual record of the pilgrimage, since he had gone to Jerusalem, as another inscription emphasizes: "I am Jan van Scorel, a painter / I was at the place where our Ruler / Jesus Christ died to deliver us."<sup>25</sup>

The paintings made for the Jerusalem confraternities of Utrecht and Haarlem are distinctly unlike any previous commemoration of the pilgrimage, with complex messages suggesting a sensitivity to critiques of both the real pilgrimage and the use of potentially idolatrous images in devotion. On the one hand, the group portraits celebrate the prestige of having made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem; on the other, the subjects are shown to be perpetual pilgrims in their hometowns. Between this is the tension of the pilgrims in motion, for one brief moment achieving physical proximity to Christ's

Tomb, and the claim of perpetual pilgrimage, as their one-time journey to Jerusalem is reframed in relation to the figure of the Tomb.<sup>26</sup> The panels in both Haarlem and Utrecht depict the idea of such a representation, rather than the material place or commemorative monument in Jerusalem, as the subject of a perpetual spiritual journey. Despite these subtleties, the devotional objects of such Jerusalem confraternities, like those in parish churches and religious houses, became the focus of iconoclastic activities. The disappearance of the chapels in Utrecht, Haarlem, and Leiden, and the related portraits presumably made for the Leiden confraternity, suggests that they may have been caught up in the image-breaking that occurred sporadically beginning in 1566.<sup>27</sup>

#### A PAINTING FOR THE JERUSALEM CONFRATERNITY IN AMSTERDAM AND HERMANN BORCULOOS' MAP

Around 1520, four members of the Brotherhood of Jerusalem in Amsterdam made the pilgrimage; upon their return the pilgrims commissioned an unknown painter to commemorate their journey.<sup>28</sup> For meetings the confraternity used the Chapel of St. Olof, the likely setting of the panel, which is now in the

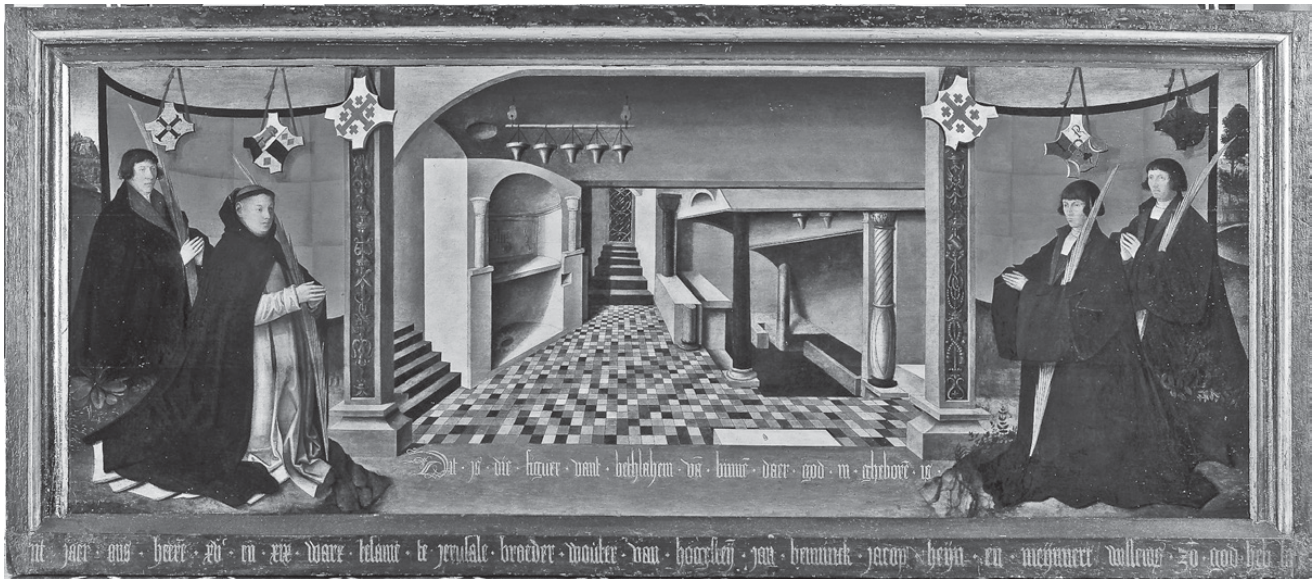


Fig. 177 *Four Members of the Amsterdam Jerusalem Confraternity at the Cave of the Nativity*, Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, 1520 (Photo: Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht)

Catharijneconvent in Utrecht (Fig. 177). The four pilgrims are shown at the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem, with its distinctive pair of curving stairs and off-center altar of the Magi. The location is identified by inscription: *Dit is die figuer vant Bethlehem van binnen, daer God in geboren is* (This is the figure of Bethlehem where God was born).<sup>29</sup> The panel is one step further removed from the material focus of the pilgrimage; rather than having the Tomb of Christ as its goal, the pilgrimage is focused on the space where Christ was born, presented as a figure by reference to the contours of the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The depiction of the pilgrims within this space not only commemorates their journey, but also suggests a redirection of their devotional focus, from images figuring events like the Nativity of Christ, to a visionary experience that is neither materialized nor visualized. In the place of a procession of richly dressed Magi, whose presence is invoked by the empty space of their chapel, are the humbly dressed pilgrims, kneeling in static prayer. The presentation of the chapel suggests deflection from a material focal point; the perspectival effect created by the tiled floor seems to recede to some focus, but instead points to a stairway that goes nowhere (much like the physical re-creation of the same chapel at the sacred mountain of Varallo; Fig. 10). A border and a

hanging cloth mark off the space that is the subject of devotion from the space inhabited by the pilgrims; we can see landscapes on either side, and it is in fact in this earthly space that the pilgrims kneel. As in the portrait created for the Haarlem confraternity, the fact that the gaze of the pilgrims is not on the earthly pilgrimage site is immensely significant, as it suggests an ongoing memory and participation in the pilgrimage through meditative prayer, to which the painting is a permanent testament.

The Cave of the Nativity was seldom the subject of pictorial representation; the scattered known surviving examples are connected to the illustrated versions of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'oltramare* (Fig. 88) and the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (Fig. 89). The unusual focus on the Cave of the Nativity suggests that the members of the Brotherhood of Jerusalem in Amsterdam, like their counterparts in Utrecht and Haarlem, wanted to refocus the subject of the pilgrimage, whether experienced or imagined, on meditational spaces. A printed broadsheet published in Utrecht in 1538 reflects these interests as well.<sup>30</sup> The twelve-sheet map of the Holy Land (Fig. 178) by Hermann Borculoos is framed by the Cave of the Nativity and Christ's Sepulcher, delimiting the landscape in terms of Christ's birth and death.<sup>31</sup>



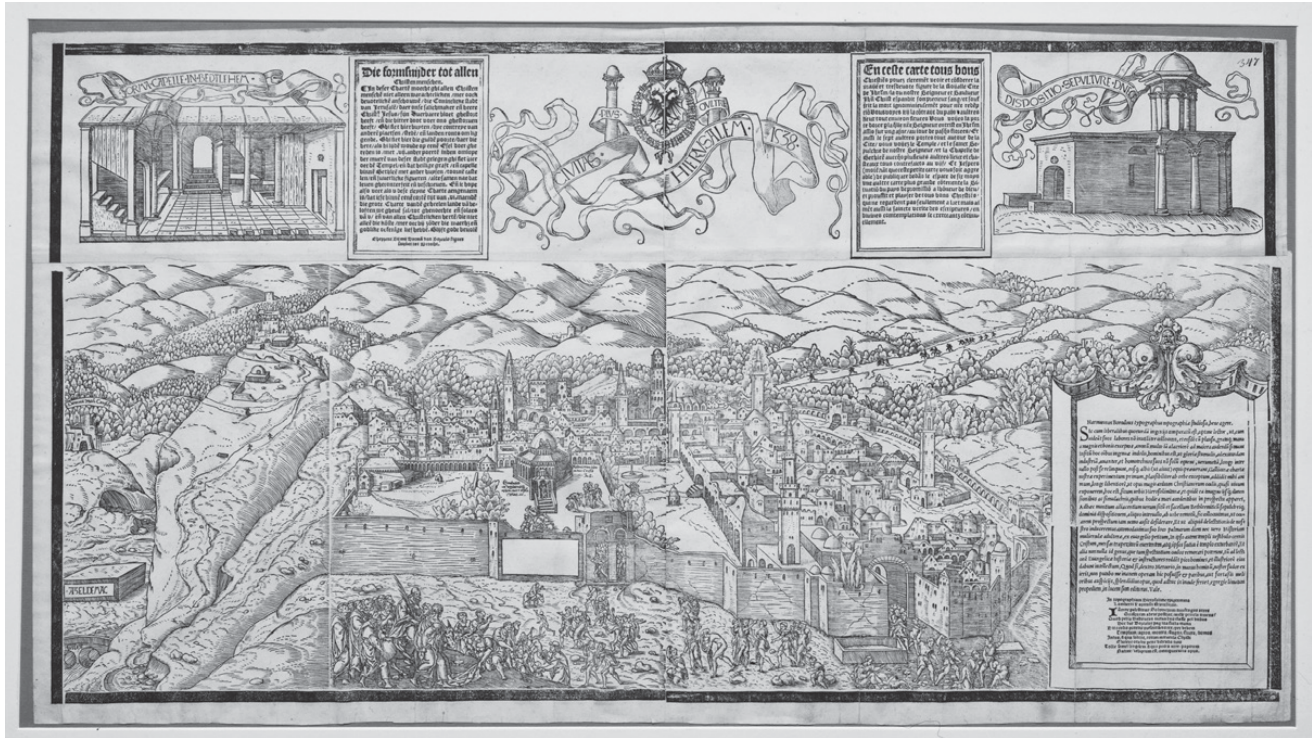


Fig. 178 Hermann Borculoos, *The City of Jerusalem and the Delineation and Description of all the Places of Palestine*, Utrecht, 1538 (Photo: Centraal Museum, Utrecht)

## DESTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION IN FRANCE

The works of art and chapels commissioned by confraternities in the Netherlands after the onset of the Reformation suggest a careful renegotiation of displays of dedication to the Holy Land pilgrimage. In France in the same period, interlocking histories of destruction and reconstruction of chapels associated with the Holy Land pilgrimage instead reveal the particularly violent nature of the confrontation between Protestants and Catholics. Rather than a renegotiation of pre-Reformation practices, acts of iconoclasm spurred on defiantly expansive reconstructions that reaffirmed dedication to the Holy Land pilgrimage promoted by the Franciscans. Two primary examples are Saint-Nicolas at Troyes and the Mount Calvary at Romans. In the Church of Saint-Nicolas at Troyes, chapels dedicated to the Sepulcher and Calvary were constructed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1524 they were destroyed by a great fire attributed to heretical factions within

the city (with foreign, i.e., German and Flemish, influence being particularly suspected, whether justly or not).<sup>32</sup> The chapels were not only reconstructed, but expanded to include life-size sculptural representations of the Flagellation, *Ecce Homo*, and Resurrection with related papal indulgences initially granted by Pope Clement VII (r. 1523–34).<sup>33</sup> This expansive reconstruction continued through the end of the sixteenth century, in a time when anti-Catholic thought was ruthlessly suppressed through book burning and executions in the city.<sup>34</sup>

The post-Reformation history of the Mount Calvary at Romans, originally initiated in 1516 – as discussed above – entailed an extended series of violent destructions and reconstructions. In 1548, the Franciscan convent was set on fire.<sup>35</sup> On Palm Sunday of 1562, Calvinists set fire to the stations on Calvary and damaged other parts of the complex. In the following month, the Franciscans abandoned their foundation and never returned. A number of the chapels were reconstructed in the seventeenth century, to only be destroyed again in the period of the French Revolution.<sup>36</sup>



## SEVILLE

The insistent materialism of dedications to the Holy Land pilgrimage in Spain as in France stands in striking contrast to developments in Germany and the Netherlands. In both Seville and Granada, architectural projects initiated in the 1520s emphatically ran counter to the trends of Northern Europe, reimagining Spain's increasingly mythic Christian past in connection to the sacred architecture and landscape of the Holy Land. In the early sixteenth century, Seville emerged as the hub of the empire of the Catholic Monarchs.<sup>37</sup> The Casa de Pilatos (House of Pilate) was initiated by Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera (1476–1539), marquis of Tarifa, following a pilgrimage to Jerusalem of 1518–20, and displayed personal familial wealth while also reinventing Seville's urban landscape in terms of Christ's Jerusalem.<sup>38</sup> The project began with the identification of Ribera's house with the House of Pilate. The building had been purchased by the Ribera family in 1483 after the previous *conversos* owners (converted Jews) were found guilty of heresy by the Inquisition.<sup>39</sup> On return from his pilgrimage, Fadrique must have already had some idea in mind of expanding his family's palace; he stopped in Genoa to acquire marble columns that would be used in the courtyard of the palace. The portico (Fig. 179), carved in 1520, commemorates the pilgrimage with an inscription exhibiting the names of Fadrique, his father, and wife, as well as three black Jerusalem crosses and a surrounding legend: *4 dias de agosto 1519 entro en Iherusalem* (August 4 1519 entered in Jerusalem). The newly acquired marbles were used to expand the existing courtyard; an undated red marble column, in an adjacent room identified as the Column of the Flagellation may date from this period (Fig. 180).<sup>40</sup>

In the following years, Fadrique extended the association of his family palace with Jerusalem throughout the entire city. In 1529, Clement VII granted the marquis the privilege of a jubilee indulgence, referring to any family member who would pray "in front of seven crosses."<sup>41</sup> This suggests that seven stations corresponding to the Way of the Cross were already in place by 1529. By the



Fig. 179 Portico, Casa de Pilatos, Seville, 1520 (Photo: Fundacion Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Seville)

seventeenth century, the story of Fadrique's pilgrimage had expanded in importance, to become the basis of Seville's imagined identity with Jerusalem. Fadrique was said to have discovered during the pilgrimage that the distance from the house of Pilate to Calvary exactly corresponded to the distance from his family home to the *Cruze del Campo* (Cross of the Countryside) in Seville.<sup>42</sup> Fadrique did in fact incorporate buildings of Seville into the series of stations corresponding to the Way of the Cross. The parish church of San Esteban was identified as the place where Christ had fallen for the first time under the weight of the Cross; the convent of San Benito marked where Veronica wiped Christ's brow; and a cross at the *Cruze del Campo* marked the end of the journey, standing for Mount Calvary.<sup>43</sup>



Fig. 180 Column of the Flagellation, Casa de Pilatos, Seville, 1481–1530 (Photo: Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Seville)



Fig. 181 Granada Cathedral, 1528–61 (Photo: Mathieu Lhotellerie)

### THE WAY OF THE CROSS IN SPAIN AND GRANADA CATHEDRAL

As the sixteenth century progressed, many stations representing the Way of the Cross in Jerusalem were dismantled or destroyed throughout Germany and the Netherlands. In the same period, their creation flourished in the Iberian Peninsula. After Seville, others were subsequently constructed at Sesimbra in Portugal (1542), Terzaga (before 1568), Alcorisa (c. 1570), Guadalajara (before 1575), Mondéjar (1515–81), Priego (1593), and at the Franciscan house of Santa Catalina del Monte in Murcia (1600).<sup>44</sup> Likewise, in a period when the creation of new pilgrimage accounts generally waned throughout Europe, new printed books published Spanish accounts of the Holy Land.<sup>45</sup> The Franciscan Antonio

de Aranda, who made the pilgrimage in 1529, argued in his account that no country is so similar to the Promised Land “as is our Spain.”<sup>46</sup> The Hieronymite Rodrigo de Yepes (*fl.* 1565–85), the confessor to the royal family, published an account of the Holy Land in 1583. Another treatise by the same author on the subject of Toledo compared that city’s landscape to Jerusalem, with a pair of plates illustrating their similarities.<sup>47</sup> The Islamic and Jewish histories of the Iberian peninsula were gradually effaced as fundamental links of the territory to the Holy Land were rediscovered (that is, invented).<sup>48</sup> In Granada, the primary city associated with the tenacity of Islamic rule on the peninsula, the cathedral incorporated features of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 181).<sup>49</sup> It was constructed on the site of the city’s previous mosque from 1528 until 1561. The altar was



unusually situated in isolation at the center of the rotunda, with a ciborium displaying the Eucharistic host, standing for Christ's Tomb in Jerusalem.<sup>50</sup> The micro-architectural ciborium, designed in 1528 but only realized early in the reign of Philip II (1556–98), significantly echoed the forms of the Tempietto in Rome.<sup>51</sup> The conquest of the Islamic kingdom of Granada in 1492, which had been commemorated in Rome with the construction of the Tempietto in 1502, continued to be viewed as an extension of a larger crusading movement, whose ultimate goal remained Jerusalem. Granada Cathedral was dedicated to Our Lady of the Incarnation; the cathedral framed the triumph of Christianity over Islam in the Iberian peninsula in terms of the sacred architecture of Christ's Sepulcher, to which the Catholic Monarchs repeatedly asserted their dedication in the face of all heretics, Muslim or Protestant. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, the history of Granada's own "sacred mountain" was rediscovered, encompassing a rich array of relics and martyrs' tombs (all invented); a related Way of the Cross, developed by the Third Order of the Franciscans, further asserted Granada's identity with the Holy Land.<sup>52</sup>

#### SÜLEYMAN'S JERUSALEM AND THE TOMB OF CHRIST REBUILT

Throughout the 1520s and 30s, years of intense warfare between the Ottomans and Hapsburgs, the Spanish monarch and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1516/19–56) repeatedly invoked his ultimate goal of a crusade to retake Jerusalem. Charles V's conquest of Ottoman Tunis in 1535 was presented as a triumph within this larger crusade, imagined as an extension of his own parents' victory at Granada in 1492. In 1538, rumors circulated that Charles was imminently planning to launch a crusade to retake Jerusalem.<sup>53</sup> It was in this context that the Ottoman sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66) initiated construction of a new fortified wall around Jerusalem.<sup>54</sup> This was also a period of relatively unrestrained Ottoman hostility towards the Franciscan Custody; friars of Mount Sion and Bethlehem were imprisoned in Damascus from 1537 to 1540.<sup>55</sup> Franciscans were nonetheless active throughout the Holy Land. A pair of frescoes

depicting Jerusalem under the Ottoman sultan were made for the Franciscan Church of Santa Maria degli Angioli (St. Mary of the Angels) at Lugano (Switzerland), presumably based upon a drawing made by a Franciscan friar or friars in Jerusalem. One fresco depicts the Mount of Olives (Fig. 182), while the other depicts Jerusalem (Fig. 183); neither corresponds to any known maps. Inscriptions, many of which have become damaged and are only partially legible, identify the primary buildings of the city.<sup>56</sup> The fresco of Jerusalem presents the city encircled by the new fortified walls, constructed by 1541.<sup>57</sup>

The identification of the Dome of the Rock as the *Moschea del Soldan* (Mosque of the Sultan) in the Lugano frescoes may also reflect Sultan Süleyman's assertion of the Islamic and specifically Ottoman possession of the building in the same years. Süleyman presented himself not only as the rightful possessor of the title of Caesar, deriving from his inheritance of ancient Constantinople, but also as Solomon, the biblical king who constructed the Temple at the site of the Dome of the Rock.<sup>58</sup> The Dome of the Rock emerged as the focus of Süleyman's building campaigns in the 1540s and 1550s, when the exterior gold-ground mosaics were replaced with distinctly Ottoman tiles of white, blue, and yellow.<sup>59</sup> A monumental charitable foundation built in 1552–7 in the name of Süleyman's wife, Hürrem Sultan (c. 1502/4–58) was also sited between the Dome of the Rock and the Holy Sepulcher, just off of the Way of the Cross.<sup>60</sup> Christian pilgrims referred to it as the hospital of Helena. This invention of a building otherwise unattested in the history of Jerusalem suggests an undercurrent of resistance to Süleyman's broader Ottomanization of Jerusalem, probably encouraged by the Franciscans.<sup>61</sup>

Süleyman most directly challenged the position of the Franciscan Custody in the city when he expelled the friars from their residence on Mount Sion in 1551.<sup>62</sup> They were subsequently granted permission to purchase a Georgian monastery of nuns in the northwest quadrant of the city, which they developed into the Latin Convent of St. Saviour.<sup>63</sup> While expelled from Mount Sion, the Franciscans turned their focus to their custody of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, where the Tomb Aedicule had fallen into disrepair. Under Boniface of Ragusa (d. 1582), superior of the Holy Land from 1551





Fig. 182 *Mount of Olives*, Santa Maria degli Angioli, Lugano, mid sixteenth century (Photo: author)



Fig. 183 *Jerusalem*, Santa Maria degli Angioli, Lugano, mid sixteenth century (Photo: author)

to 1560, the restoration was completed, being largely finished by 1555.<sup>64</sup> Funding was provided by Charles V and Philip II of Spain.<sup>65</sup> In the antagonism between the Ottoman administration and the Franciscan Custody in the middle of the sixteenth century, the respective restoration projects of the Dome of the Rock and the Tomb of Christ reflected the increasingly polemical nature of the possession of the primary architectural monuments

in Jerusalem associated with the originary identities of Islam and Christianity.<sup>66</sup>

#### LAINO BORGO

In 1556, a Dominican friar, Frate Domenico Longo, made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he would have seen the rebuilt Tomb of Christ, the “Hospital





Fig. 184 Tomb of Christ, Laino Borgo, begun 1557 (Photo: author)

of Queen Helena” near the Way of the Cross, and from the Mount of Olives the renewed Dome of the Rock. In the account of his pilgrimage, Domenico indicates that he was taken around the city by the Franciscan Guardian of the Holy Sepulcher, who would have been Boniface of Ragusa.<sup>67</sup> He returned to his native Calabria with drawings of the sacred buildings of Jerusalem.<sup>68</sup> In his account, Domenico also emphasizes that he took relics from various locations with his own hands, which became the basis of the complex dedicated to the Holy Land in Laino Borgo.<sup>69</sup> Like the Franciscans at Varallo and Montaione, the Dominican was motivated by the difficulties of the pilgrimage to create a sacred mountain where in this case southern Italians could experience the journey. The first chapels were begun in 1557 – initiated after he returned from his seven-month pilgrimage – including the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 184), the Cave of the Nativity with its distinctive column (Fig. 185), the Chapel of the Unction Stone, Calvary – with steps excavated into the rock – and the Ascension of Christ on the Mount of Olives (Fig. 186). Additional chapels were constructed at the end of the sixteenth century, including the Tomb of Mary and St. Mary of the Spasm, and still more in the eighteenth century.

The chapels have pictorial decoration as well as inscriptions, often alluding to the relics collected by Domenico during the pilgrimage.<sup>70</sup> In the Chapel of the Unction Stone, an inscription refers to the “true measure” of the stone where Christ’s body was placed and wrapped in the shroud.<sup>71</sup> In the round



Fig. 185 Cave of the Nativity, Laino Borgo, begun 1557 (Photo: author)

Chapel of the Ascension of Christ, the pavement presents an imprint of Christ’s foot (Fig. 187), with an inscription: “This chapel is on the summit of the Mount of Olives, and there is not other than the



Fig. 186 Ascension chapel, Laino Borgo, begun 1557 (Photo: author)

footprint of our Saviour.”<sup>72</sup> The decision to re-create a single footprint rather than a pair likely relates to Domenico’s recent experiences in Jerusalem.<sup>73</sup> The Franciscan *custos*, Boniface of Ragusa, seems to have been responsible for disseminating (or perhaps originally fabricating) a story that one of the footprints of Christ had been stolen by the Ottomans and taken to the Dome of the Rock. Boniface referred to this in his book, *Liber de Perenni Cultu Terrae Sanctae ...* (Book on the Perennial Cult of the Holy Sepulcher ...), written around the time of his restoration of the Tomb of Christ, that is *c.* 1555, but first printed in Venice in 1573.<sup>74</sup> He refers to the existing Church of the Ascension as the remnants of a larger church and monastery made under Helena: “in this chapel are enclosed the vestiges of the foot of Christ, imprinted into the stone ... The other it has been reported to be at the Temple of Solomon, and

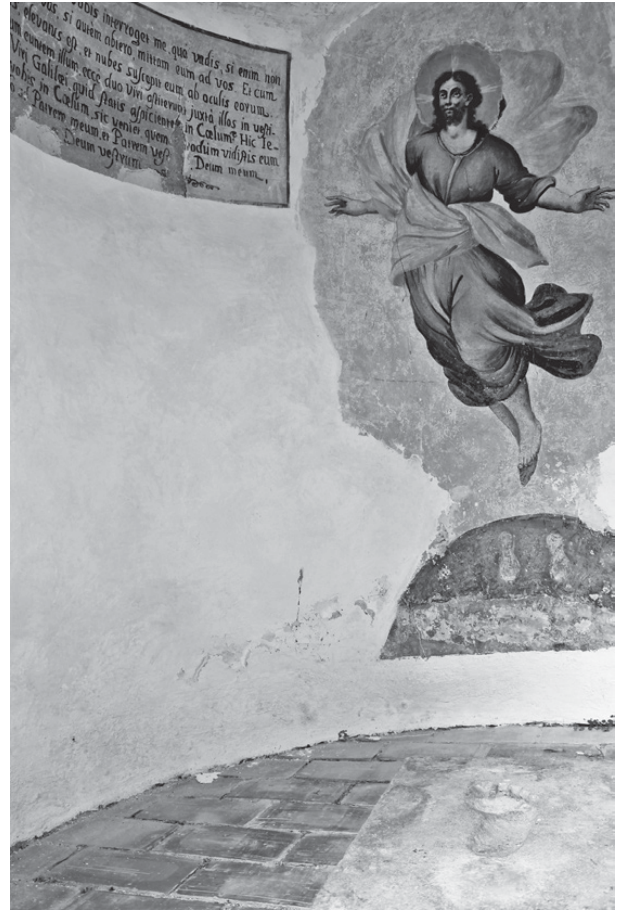


Fig. 187 Interior, Ascension chapel, Laino Borgo, begun 1557 (Photo: author)

there it is venerated by the infidels.”<sup>75</sup> In pilgrimage accounts of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century, it is more explicitly stated that the Ottomans stole the footprint in order to place it in the Dome of the Rock.<sup>76</sup> The story reflects the general antagonism between the Franciscans and Ottoman authorities in the 1550s; the formal similarities of the octagonal Church of the Ascension and the Dome of the Rock, and their parallel identifications as sites of ascension – one of Christ, the other of Muhammad – as well as an impression in the Dome of the Rock identified as the footprint of Muhammad, provided the plausible context for the story of the theft.<sup>77</sup> Although not explicitly stated, the implication is that the footprint venerated by the “infidels” in the Dome of the Rock as Muhammad’s was in fact originally Christ’s. The story may have also resonated with a larger sense of



the destabilization of the status of the sacred architecture of the Holy Land, particularly the potential for buildings to mediate divine presence, relating to Protestant critiques of the pilgrimage.

#### ANCIENT AND MODERN JERUSALEM

In a city in which the boundaries between Christian and Islamic devotion had often been blurred in the past, a new insistence upon delimiting one from the other contributed to an emerging distinction between the ancient Jerusalem of Christianity (and Judaism) and the modern city of Islam. The architecture of Jerusalem, once perceived as a vital link to the life of Christ, was increasingly subjected to conflicting claims regarding the historical and religious identity of the city. Protestants continued to question the historical authenticity of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, many arguing that Mount Calvary must have been located at a place outside of the current walls of Jerusalem, while the Ottoman sultan Süleyman triumphantly asserted the Ottoman possession of the Temple and related Solomonic history. Süleyman's actions as well as ongoing questions regarding the Church of the Holy Sepulcher's connections to the time of Christ and Mary threatened to rupture the continuity of past and present. Moreover, fundamental changes in the larger perceptions of geography, relating to the discovery of the Americas and global exploration more generally, radically altered the scope of the known world, contributing to the loss of Jerusalem's central position. This decentering was most dramatically manifested in printed books published from mid-century, in which contemporary Jerusalem was presented as one of a series of cities of the world. This is the case in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, based upon Ptolemy's *Geography*, first printed in Basel by Henricus Petri in 1550. A view of the contemporary city of Jerusalem (Fig. 188), as seen from the Mount of Olives, is identified as once the capital of the Jewish kingdom and now a Turkish colony (*Ierusalem civitas sancta, olim metropolis regni Iudaici, hodie vero colonia Turcae*).<sup>78</sup> On the one hand, the

city is emphatically Islamic, with minarets surmounted by crescents throughout; on the other, it is identified with the life of Christ, from the depiction of his temptation atop the Temple to the inscriptions noting the palaces of Pilate and Herod along the Way of the Cross. In the "Geographical Appendix" included in the book, Münster echoed Erasmus' doubts regarding the original location of the Holy Sepulcher relative to the Constantinian church.<sup>79</sup>

The Lutheran Sebastian Münster (1448–1552), who was first and foremost an expert on the Hebrew language and Judaic history, like contemporaries did not perceive in the architecture of Jerusalem at that time any remnants of the Jewish past. The historical bifurcation between the modern – i.e., Ottoman – and ancient Jewish Temple was most significantly registered in Adam Reissner's imaginary plan of ancient Jerusalem (Fig. 189), first printed in Frankfurt in 1563. The plan draws upon Old Testament accounts of the Temple of Solomon as a rectangular enclosure set within the topography of the city as viewed from the Mount of Olives. In the central upper portion of the map, notably far outside the city walls, is the hill inscribed as "Golgotha." Separate maps of ancient and modern Jerusalem were first drawn by Gerard de Jode (1509–91) and printed in Antwerp c. 1571 to then reappear in Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cities of the World), published in Cologne in 1572 and Brussels in 1575 (Fig. 190).<sup>80</sup>

The image of ancient Jerusalem became a defining feature of hundreds of bibles printed in the Protestant North.<sup>81</sup> The sense of *repristinatio* – of return to purer origins – was most profound in the books that presented the uncorrupted text of the Bible, in its original ancient languages, furnished with an image of ancient Jerusalem, similarly stripped clean of any potentially corrupted modern incarnations. This idea informed the reshaping of the image of Jerusalem within printed books associated with both the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. The most important example is the map of Jerusalem (Fig. 14) appearing in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible of Benito Arias Montano (1527–98),





Fig. 188 Sebastian Münster, *The Sacred City of Jerusalem*, Basel, 1550 (Photo: The National Library of Israel, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Shapell Family Digitization Project and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography – Historic Cities Research Project)

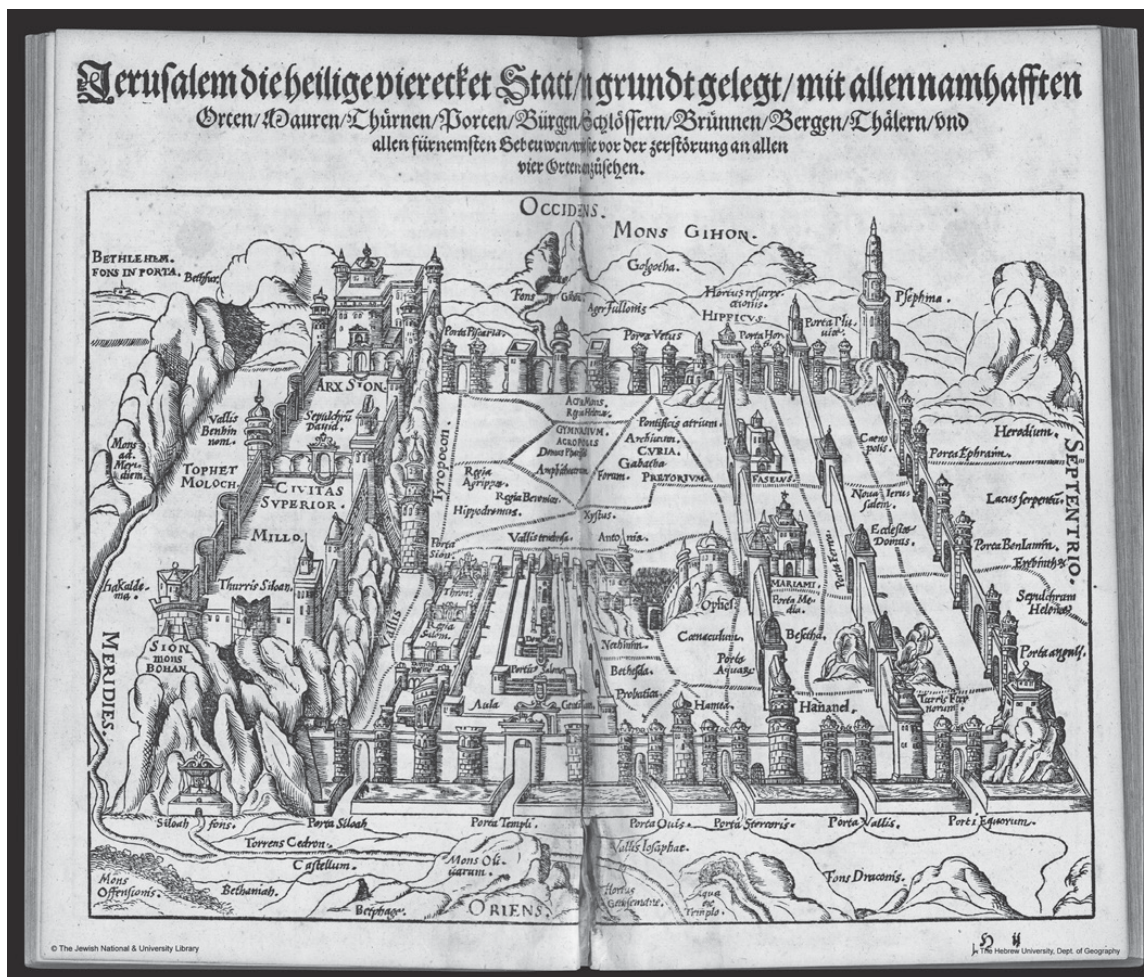


Fig. 189 Adam Reissner, *Jerusalem*, Frankfurt am Main, 1563 (Photo: The National Library of Israel, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Shapell Family Digitization Project and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography – Historic Cities Research Project)





Fig. 190 Franz Hogenburg, Ancient and modern Jerusalem, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Brussels, 1575 (Photo: The National Library of Israel, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Shapell Family Digitization Project and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography – Historic Cities Research Project)

published in 1572.<sup>82</sup> Its four volumes presented a critical revision of the Latin Vulgate with corresponding translations in Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, and Syriac. The map presents the topography of Jerusalem as a *tabula rasa*, onto which the plan of the Temple of Solomon – not the modern building, but that described in the Old Testament – has been re-inscribed onto the landscape.<sup>83</sup> The topography of Jerusalem was by extension reinscribed into its proper context: textual exegesis. The erasure of material accumulation made way for a return to the trace enacted on the landscape of the Holy Land, now more explicitly by reference to the absolute primacy of the word. The map visualizes the act of inscription in relation to the landscape of the Holy

Land, and bestows upon the Jewish Temple an original status, superseding in historical and textual authenticity the existing buildings that were previously the goals of pilgrimage.

#### GALEAZZO ALESSI'S PLANS FOR VARALLO'S TEMPLE OF SOLOMON

Printed images from the middle of the sixteenth century reflect the instability of the idea of the Temple of Solomon, as it vacillated between a symbol of present Islamic – and specifically Ottoman – hegemony over the Holy Land and the esoteric antiquity of the Jewish past. The project



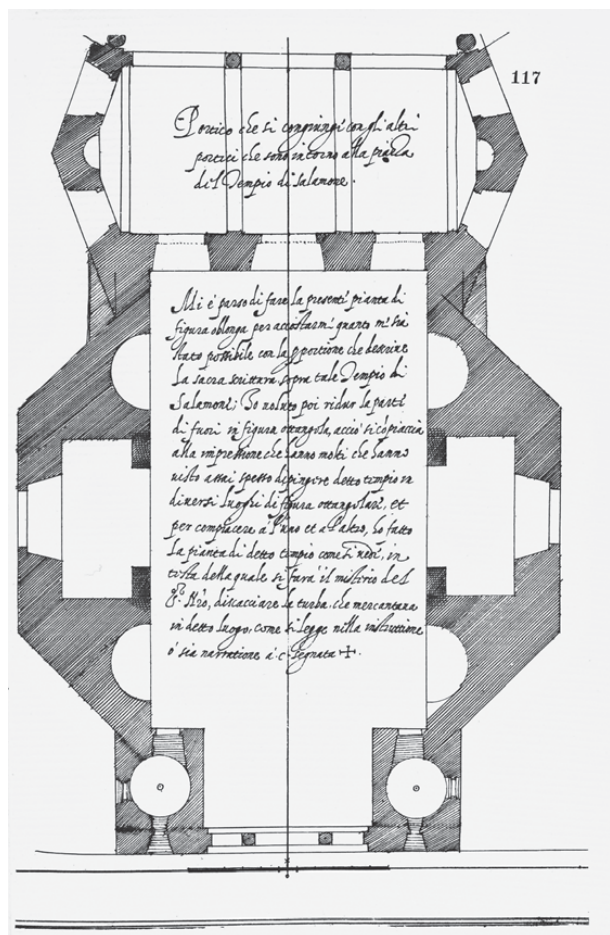


Fig. 191 Galeazzo Alessi, Plan for the Temple of Solomon at the Sacro Monte of Varallo, from Galeazzo Alessi, *Libro dei Misteri* (Photo: Alessi and Perrone, 1974, 2: 117)

to construct the Temple of Solomon at the sacred mountain at Varallo reflects the contested nature of the building's identity after mid-century. The project was formulated by the architect Galeazzo Alessi (1512–72) as part of a larger plan to renovate the Franciscan sacred mountain, first founded by Bernardino Caimi in 1486. By the mid 1560s, when Alessi received the commission, the complex had expanded to dozens of chapels, fitted out with polychrome statuary relating to the sacred events that had occurred in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. Alessi's plans were only partially carried out, but his larger unrealized project is preserved in a manuscript, entitled the *Libro dei Misteri* (Book of Mysteries), created 1566–9. Alessi planned for the Temple of Solomon to take on a central position within the renewed scheme at

Varallo. The ground-plan for the Temple (Fig. 191) has the architect's commentary inscribed within, providing an explanation for his motivations in selecting the building's symbolic forms:

I decided to make the present plan with an oblong shape in order to get as close as I possibly could to the description of the Temple of Solomon (*Tempio di Salamone*) in the sacred scripture; I wanted then to make the outer part an octagonal shape (*figura ottangola*), to accommodate the impression that many have, who have very often seen in various places the said temple depicted with an octagonal shape. And to please one and the other, I made the plan of the said temple as you see it.<sup>84</sup>

Alessi invokes the pictorial tradition of depicting an octagonal temple in scenes from the lives of Christ and Mary as the basis for his plan.<sup>85</sup> As a native of Perugia, Alessi would have been well acquainted with Perugino's altarpiece of *The Marriage of the Virgin* (Fig. 152), in particular. The familiar octagonal ground-plan and cupola of the exterior was to be merged with the interior rectangular hall, proportioned according to the dimensions described in the Old Testament.<sup>86</sup>

Alessi's intent to merge the appearance of the octagonal Dome of the Rock and the biblical proportions of the Temple of Solomon reflects the historically bifurcated identity of the building being negotiated contemporaneously in printed books. The revisions of the project, thought to result from the interventions of Carlo Borromeo (1538–84), foreshadow the opinion that would ultimately prevail and persist through the contemporary period: that the modern Temple, i.e., the Dome of the Rock, was exclusively an Islamic building and had no relation to the historical Jewish Temple, and therefore no place within a Christian vision of Jerusalem. The modifications to Alessi's project were made by a new architect, thought to be Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527–96), probably as a result of Carlo Borromeo's intervention.<sup>87</sup> As archbishop of Milan, Borromeo took on a leading role in the reform of the arts intended to address Protestant critiques, particularly following

the Council of Trent (1545–63).<sup>88</sup> In the same way that clarity was demanded in the presentation of theological content in painting, so too architecture must have an unequivocal clarity of meaning, according to Borromeo. Alessi's project perhaps was thought to lack such clarity, as it vacillated between an image of the modern Temple and the ancient Jewish Temple. Had Alessi's octagonal Temple been built, it also would have been problematically like the circular churches against which Borromeo cautioned, to avoid any confusion with pagan temples. Borromeo's treatise establishing guidelines for the construction and ornamentation of churches would be published in Milan in 1577. Central-plan churches (*aedificii rotundi*), Borromeo explained, were a type once used for temples housing idols, but less used by Christians.<sup>89</sup>

#### ALESSI'S LARGER PROJECT FOR VARALLO

Despite Pellegrino Tibaldi's modifications, the Temple of Solomon was never constructed at Varallo, like a number of Alessi's plans known from the *Libro dei Misteri*. The Temple was to be the focal point of a piazza, which would be framed by the palaces of Pilate and Caiaphas on one side and the chapels of the Crucifixion and Sepulcher on the other. Alessi also intended the addition of two unprecedented chapels with no correlates in the Holy Land: the Chapel of Adam and Eve at the entrance and the Chapel of the Last Judgment at the exit. Together, the chapels would reframe the sacred mountain and the indulgences offered to repentant visitors in terms of Original Sin and God's final judgment of sinners at the end of time.<sup>90</sup> Of Alessi's plans, only the Chapel of Adam and Eve and the Porta Maggiore (Great Portal) were fully realized.<sup>91</sup> Alessi had also planned subterranean buildings to be put at the base of the sacred mountain, which would present the various fates of sinners, divided into Limbo, Purgatory, or Hell. These subterranean realms would have been encountered from above, as pilgrims gazed down through glass-covered domes to witness the various torments suffered by sinners. The invocation of a landscape with an expansive temporality, stretching from the beginning to the end of time, would

have blurred the temporal boundaries of the existing buildings and deflected attention from their relation to the contemporary architecture of Jerusalem.

Alessi's project marks the beginning of the decline of the Franciscan influence at the sacred mountain, as the chapels were remade to reflect the decrees of the Council of Trent.<sup>92</sup> Alessi prepared the *Libro dei Misteri* at the request of Giacomo d'Adda, an elected local official with no Franciscan affiliation.<sup>93</sup> The chapels dedicated to Adam and Eve and the Last Judgment likewise had no relation to the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land, but instead affirmed some of the key issues debated at the Council of Trent, including the potential for salvation from being born into sin, as sons of Adam, to being reborn as children of Christ.<sup>94</sup> The experience of the existing buildings re-creating the architecture of the Holy Land was also radically changed, especially to address concerns discussed at the Council of Trent regarding the distracting curiosities and potential ambiguities of religious art. The emotional and kinetic interactivity promoted by the Franciscans was significantly curtailed.<sup>95</sup> Alessi designed screens to block visitors from entering chapels; he planned that visitors would kneel to peek through a small window, as they do today when visiting Varallo.<sup>96</sup>

For decades, pilgrims had been able to walk freely among the sculpted figures and to integrate themselves physically and emotionally into the scenes at the sacred mountain of Varallo; Alessi's system of screens and apertures divided the viewer from the space of the scene and created a controlled visual experience.<sup>97</sup> The kneelers below the apertures guide the pilgrim into a posture of prayer, reframing the experience in terms of static meditation. Many of these modifications, as well as construction of other chapels relating to Alessi's plans, were carried out after Alessi's death in 1572. The Chapel of the Arrival of the Magi adjacent to the Cave of the Nativity (Fig. 192) was closed off by a wooden grille in the 1580s, preventing pilgrims from walking amid the figures. A metal grate was also installed in the Nativity chapel, preventing pilgrims from kissing the altar or touching the Christ child.<sup>98</sup> Rather than a sensory and tactile engagement with the figures, the pilgrim would kneel and take in the holy place as a static image. In place of

Fig. 192 Chapel of the Arrival of the Magi, Sacro Monte of Varallo, sixteenth century with addition of a wooden grille in the 1580s (Photo: author)



Fig. 193 The House of Mary, Sacro Monte of Varallo, 1572 (Photo: author)



the grotto of the Annunciation in Nazareth, pilgrims would now go to a chapel that presented the house of Mary as in Loreto, viewed through an aperture, in which a sculpted tableau enacted the Annunciation (Fig. 193). The wooden figures, made for the original Chapel of the Annunciation earlier in the century, were installed in the new chapel in 1572. Alessi's designs in the *Libro dei Misteri* for the Holy House at Varallo place an unusual emphasis on the exact measures of the building, suggesting that the Holy House at Varallo was to re-create the dimensions of the Holy House in Loreto.<sup>99</sup> In the Chapel of the Ascension from Caimi's time, pilgrims could

enter the round building and touch the re-creation of Christ's footprints; beginning *c.* 1572 (but only completed in the 1660s) the chapel was remade as Mount Tabor with a tableau of the Transfiguration occurring on an artificial mount, viewed through a screen.<sup>100</sup> The footprints from the Mount of Olives were moved to the basilica, where they still are today.

#### BORROMEO'S PILGRIMAGE

Although Galeazzo Alessi may have first offered his designs for the renovation of Varallo in 1566–9, it was



Carlo Borromeo who emerged as the true architect of Varallo's refashioning, intervening at various moments throughout the 1570s until his death in 1584. In letters Borromeo referred to chapels which he considered "very confusing" and requiring "stabilization."<sup>101</sup> It was through his own pilgrimages, undertaken from 1578, that Borromeo "stabilized" the broader implications of the renewed Varallo in the context of the Counter-Reformation. The final years of Borromeo's life were spent in a state of perpetual pilgrimage within Italy, culminating in his death at the sacred mountain of Varallo on November 3, 1584.<sup>102</sup> The pilgrimage commenced in 1578, when he expressed his intent to travel on foot to France to see Christ's burial Shroud.<sup>103</sup> The duke of Savoy reportedly decided to move the Shroud to Turin in order to lessen the difficulty of the journey.<sup>104</sup> Borromeo nonetheless intended to engage in a demonstrably arduous pilgrimage, which he accomplished in the following years with extended travel involving fasting and other physical hardships. Within his biography, the primary pilgrimage of 1578 is framed as commencing with the journey to Turin and culminating with the visit to Varallo in the same year.<sup>105</sup> The Shroud – generally believed to be the same object once preserved in Constantinople – had come into the possession of the House of Savoy in the fifteenth century.<sup>106</sup> According to Borromeo's biographer, Gio Pietro Guissano, God himself had selected the dukes of Savoy as ardent royal defenders of the Catholic faith in the face of both heretics and Turks.<sup>107</sup>

Borromeo's focus on the Shroud is described as originating in a desire to participate in the sufferings inflicted upon the body of Christ during the Passion, which were permanently impressed into the *Sacro Linteo*, or Sacred Linen, as it was then known.<sup>108</sup> The visible impressions of blood, leaving an imprint of Christ's full body allowed Borromeo to internally "impress" (*impressa*) into his heart the wounds of Christ. His biographer presents this internalization of Christ's bodily pains as a prelude to the pilgrimage to Varallo which immediately followed, "where are expressed (*espressi*) all the mysteries of the Passion in diverse chapels scattered throughout the Mountain."<sup>109</sup> The Shroud was

understood to be a compendium of all of Christ's wounds inflicted during the Passion; Varallo's chapels provided an externalization of related events, such as the Flagellation and Christ's nailing to the Cross (Fig. 194). At Varallo, Borromeo fasted and retreated in solitary meditation, as he became an image of Christ. In the following year, the pilgrimage would continue with Borromeo's journey to Mount La Verna, where he would have contemplated St. Francis' own bodily imitation of Christ, a trip on foot to the Holy House in Loreto, and time in Rome, where – his biographer emphasizes – his piety had grown so famous that the pilgrim had become the subject of pilgrimage.<sup>110</sup>

Borromeo offers himself as the model for a new kind of pilgrim, in which the goal of the journey is not the buildings and sacred territory protected by the Franciscan Custody, and not the Church of the Holy Sepulcher whose authenticity had been undermined by Protestant doubts, or even the caves of the Annunciation or Nativity in Bethlehem and Nazareth, which continued to be visited by Muslim pilgrims. The sacred mountain exemplified a pilgrimage directed towards an imaginative composition achieved in isolated meditation, drawing upon sacred relics and buildings dispersed through God's intervention, saved from heretics, as were the Shroud in Turin and the Holy House in Loreto. There was no guidebook for such a pilgrimage; instead, Borromeo employed the *Exercitia Spirituali* (Spiritual Exercises) of Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), written in 1522–4 and first printed in Rome in 1548. By taking this book as his guide, Borromeo refocused the pilgrimage as a primarily meditative activity, in which the physical settings of Christ's life are internally composed in the "eye of the imagination."<sup>111</sup> Alessi's designs for the kneelers at Varallo provided the physical apparatus for an externalized demonstration of such contemplative experience.<sup>112</sup> By physically demonstrating the subject of imagined compositions, the chapels at Varallo regulated the possibilities of such compositions, revealed to the kneeling observer. A new guidebook for the pilgrimage to Varallo, published by the Novarese Francesco Sesalli in 1566, included meditations to guide the pilgrim's prayer.<sup>113</sup>



Fig. 194 Nailing of Christ, Sacro Monte of Varallo, c. 1635–41 (Photo: author)

Borromeo was also in the process of planning a treatise on the meditation upon the Passion that may have elaborated these themes.<sup>114</sup> The treatise apparently remained unwritten when he died at Varallo in 1584.

Borromeo's conviction of the primary status of Varallo as defining the pilgrimage in connection to Italy's sacred relics was again demonstrated at the very end of his life, when he visited the Shroud in Turin before going to Varallo. He reportedly spent his last night at the side of Christ's effigy in the Tomb. His devotion was later memorialized in the adjacent chapel, where his effigy was offered as a perpetual model for pilgrims.<sup>115</sup> Borromeo's pilgrimage contributed to the growing status of the sacred mountain at Varallo as the focal point of a network of pilgrimage sites throughout Italy, connecting the site of the Incarnation in Loreto, Veronica's veil and the crib of the Nativity in Rome, and now also the

Shroud recently moved to Turin, which offered perhaps the most compelling material traces of Christ's Passion. All of these Italian holy places claimed to be the real thing – not re-creations – but it was through their re-creation at Varallo, and eventually elsewhere, that their primacy would be affirmed. The pilgrimages of Carlo Borromeo demonstrated the interconnection of these Italian holy sites and suggested that the pilgrimage to the Holy Land was something to be accomplished in Italy.

#### THE SHROUD OF TURIN AND VERONICA'S VEIL AT VARALLO

From the Protestant perspective, one of the more problematic aspects of the Holy Land pilgrimage was the involvement of fragmentary relics of seemingly inexhaustible expansion: pieces of the wood of the Cross, drops of Christ's blood, and stones from the Holy Sepulcher, that seemed to be so diffused as to stretch the limits of credulity.<sup>116</sup> Bernardino Caimi's original conception of the New Jerusalem at Varallo had focused on buildings as sacred containers for such relics, from the pieces of the True Cross and Column of the Flagellation to the footprints of Christ. In the renovated Varallo after mid-century, such fragmentary relics were relocated or lost, being overshadowed by scenes of totalizing revelation, from the body of Christ in the Tomb and the scene of his Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, to the presentation of his true portrait in re-creations of Veronica's veil and the Shroud of Turin. These true portraits were installed at Varallo in the 1580s–90s.

After Borromeo's death in 1584, the bishops of Novara were charged by the pope with surveying the administration of the sacred mountain at Varallo and ensuring that Borromeo's ideas were fully realized.<sup>117</sup> The installation of a re-creation of Christ's Shroud, which had occurred at some point in the 1580s, likely resulted from Borromeo's intervention.<sup>118</sup> Varallo's version is no longer extant; a 1618 inventory describes it hanging above the altar in the Chapel of the Last Supper, protected by a crimson curtain.<sup>119</sup> The re-creation of Veronica's veil, on the other hand, is still *in situ*, found in the new Chapel of the Way to Calvary (Fig. 195).<sup>120</sup> Construction of the





Fig. 195 Way to Calvary, Sacro Monte of Varallo, c. 1597–1617 (Photo: author)



chapel commenced in 1589, but the idea of including Veronica's veil in the Chapel of the Way to Calvary is first recorded in a letter of 1597 in which Carlo Bascapè (1550–1615), the bishop of Novara, requests its inclusion in the chapel's decoration.<sup>121</sup> Veronica is given a prominent position in the foreground of the chapel between Pilate's Palace and Calvary; the pilgrim who kneels to view the scene becomes witness to her exhibition of the veil. To see the physical portrait of Christ miraculously appearing on the cloth was a lesson in a kind of pilgrimage whose ultimate goal was a recomposition of the scene, which could not be experienced otherwise in the earthly realm. The real Veronica in Rome was seldom displayed, and presented only a shadowy, dark image. The scene revealed through the peephole at Varallo was deployed with an insistent materiality and clarity, from the thick cloth on which Christ's face is painted in brilliant colors with easily discerned features to the contorted bodies of the figures in the crowd, who twist to see Christ fall under the Cross. In that moment, the pilgrim could contemplate both the doubling of the image of Christ – presented in the veil and in the sculpted figure – and the doubling of the place, alluding to the location in Jerusalem where he fell below the weight of the Cross and simultaneously to Rome where the veil was kept.<sup>122</sup> The duality of the holy places in Varallo as it developed after mid-century reflects the increasingly complex understandings of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, encompassing not only Palestine, but also the holy places of the papal territories associated with Veronica's veil and Mary's Holy House.<sup>123</sup> The allusion to these locations certified the primary status of the sacred relics in Rome and Loreto, and offered an experience of imagining them reinstated as part of a single Holy Land.

#### VAN ADRICHEM AND MAPPING A SPIRITUAL PILGRIMAGE

Outside of Italy, the creation of new books on the pilgrimage offered a way to reform the idea of Catholic pilgrimage in terms of the ideals of a spiritual journey, which had particular resonance due to the popularity of Heer Bethlehem's book on the spiritual

pilgrimage, and more recently Jan Pascha's similar book, also in Dutch, published in Louvain in 1563.<sup>124</sup> The Dutch Catholic priest Christiaan van Adrichem (1533–85) wrote a highly successful Latin book on the pilgrimage, first published in 1584 in Cologne, which provides a description of Jerusalem at the time of Christ.<sup>125</sup> Christiaan van Adrichem – notably addressing an audience of all Christians – follows the precedent of Heer Bethlehem's and Jan Pascha's books, structuring the pilgrimage as a series of daily meditations, with each day devoted to a different location within or near Jerusalem; marginal notes throughout refer to the writings of both Heer Bethlehem and Jan Pascha. The pilgrimage is presented as something that can be accomplished anywhere.<sup>126</sup> The author had likewise never been to the Holy Land, and the map of Jerusalem (Fig. 196) is an imaginary one, drawing upon recent printed maps of the ancient Jewish Temple and the topography of the modern city. The locations are numbered and illustrated with small figural scenes depicting corresponding events, stretching back to the time of David and Solomon; a booklet enumerates 270 locations.<sup>127</sup>

Christiaan van Adrichem's map of Jerusalem was republished in 1590 in another book printed in Cologne.<sup>128</sup> In this edition, the Dutch author specifies that he owed his map to the work of a Franciscan friar, a certain Fra Antonio de Angelis, published in Rome in 1578 at the convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli (Fig. 197).<sup>129</sup> The contrast between Fra Antonio's map and Adrichem's is striking; Fra Antonio's intent is to represent the relative location and forms of the pilgrimage buildings within the contemporary city of Jerusalem, which he knew well from his time living in Jerusalem.<sup>130</sup> Adrichem, in contrast, has taken the information regarding relative location of events within the topography of the city and omitted reference to contemporary buildings.<sup>131</sup> Jerusalem of the time of Christ is the ancient Jerusalem, in which the Jewish Temple flourished and there are no signs of the Ottoman Empire or Islamic worship.<sup>132</sup> The *Templum Domini* is shown to be at the center of the Jewish sanctuary and bears no relation to the modern building that had been given the name by the first crusaders. The architecture throughout the city does not pertain to those buildings so carefully guarded by the Franciscans or re-created at Varallo; instead,

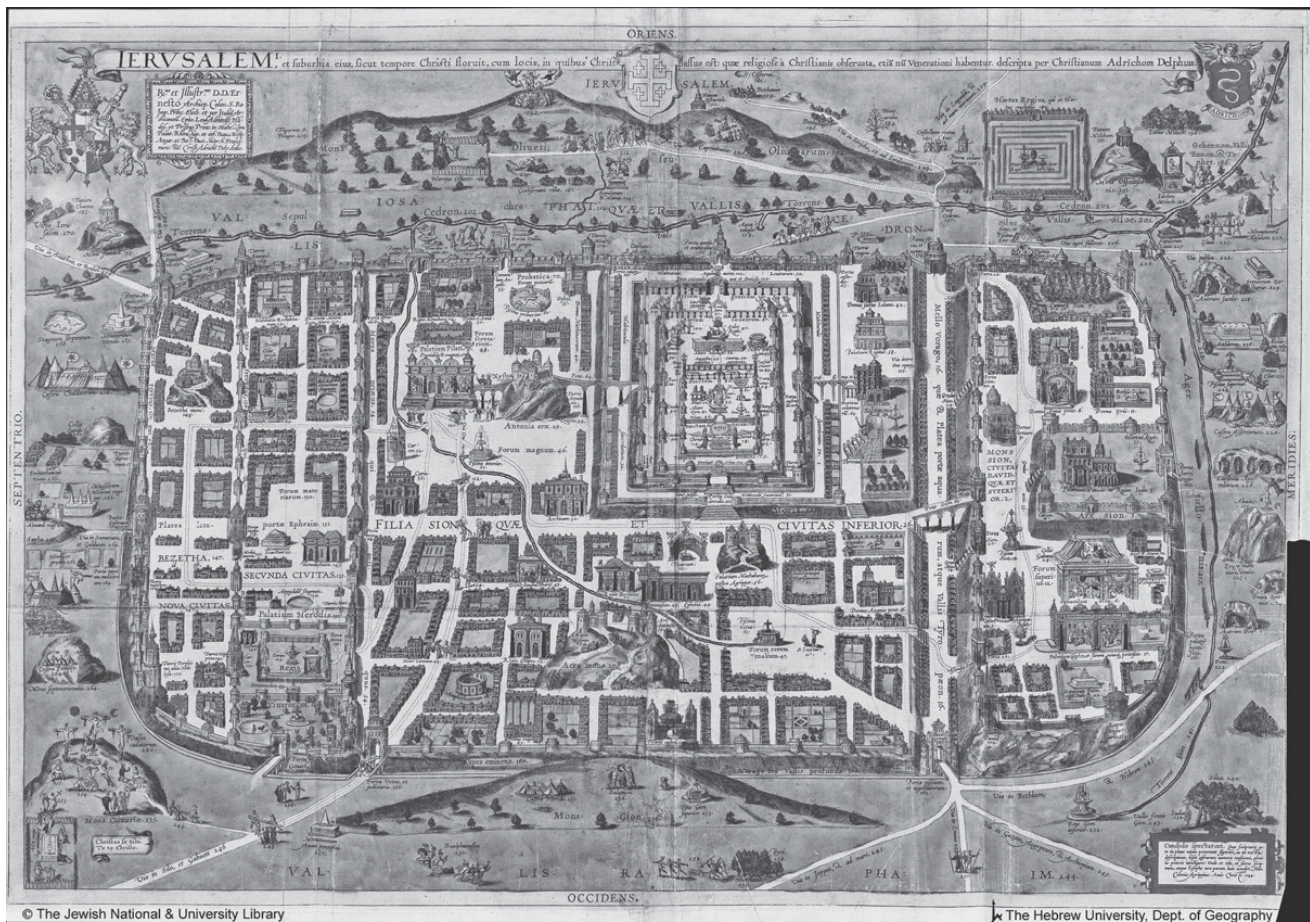


Fig. 196 Christiaan van Adrichem, *Jerusalem and Surroundings at the Time of Christ*, Cologne, 1584 (Photo: The National Library of Israel, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Shapell Family Digitization Project and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography – Historic Cities Research Project)

Mount Calvary is imagined as a hill outside the walls of the city and the Palace of Pilate is an isolated porticoed palace, like one might see in Rome rather than in contemporary Jerusalem.

Christiaan van Adrichem's map is presented as a visual guide for imagined movements within ancient Jerusalem, following in the footsteps of Christ. The description of the Way of the Cross is found on day 118 and enumerates the steps between a total of twelve locations.<sup>133</sup> The path culminates with the passage from Pilate's Palace to Mount Calvary, in which it becomes explicit that the author is providing a guide for a journey to be enacted in a chamber of the mind (*cubicolo mentis*):

We have provided the distances of the Way of the Cross here as accurately as possible ... with the intention that every Christian,

wherever they may be, even within the walls of their own house, may be enabled either within their abode or in their garden walking as often as possible and in this way meditating upon Christ's journey and thus following the same path either within the temple or the quiet chamber of the spirit, in imagination re-creating that dolorous way.<sup>134</sup>

Adrichem's book was an immense success, being reprinted in numerous European languages. He popularized and made widely available meditational techniques that had been in practice in convent communities, at the moment when many of those communities were disappearing in Protestant Europe. He also implied that the measurements given could be used to re-create the spaces of Christ's movements along the Way of the Cross in Jerusalem, citing





Fig. 197 Antonio de Angelis, *Jerusalem*, Rome, 1578 (Photo: The Moldovan Family Collection)

precedents exclusively in the Low Countries, for example Louvain, Mechelen, and Vilvoorde.<sup>135</sup>

#### ZUALLARDO'S MOST DEVOUT VOYAGE TO JERUSALEM

While the position of the Franciscan Custody in Jerusalem faced growing challenges, throughout much of Europe the friars continued to be recognized as the primary authorities regarding the Holy Land. Fra Antonio de Angelis' map (Fig. 197) survives in only one known version now in a private collection in New York; it provided European authors and readers with the basis for a detailed knowledge and experience of the holy city. When the Flemish pilgrim Jean Zuallart, also known as Giovanni Zuallardo, wished to compose an account of his pilgrimage of 1575, he made use of Fra Antonio's map, as he tells

us himself.<sup>136</sup> The book was published in Rome in 1587, as *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme* (The Most Devout Voyage of Jerusalem).<sup>137</sup> The reference to Fra Antonio is included in the French edition published in Antwerp in 1608, in which the Flemish pilgrim indicates that he not only encountered the map but also its Franciscan author during his time in Jerusalem.<sup>138</sup> Zuallardo extracts the buildings relating to the life of Christ and presents them in the open space of a city otherwise evacuated of mundane architecture (Fig. 198). The pathways for the pilgrim are indicated within open space, so that the reader might imagine moving from sacred building to sacred building. Although an abstracted image of Jerusalem, it is the modern city, as a reader would recognize from the Temple of Solomon's resemblance to the Dome of the Rock and the location of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher within the walls of the city.





Fig. 198 Giovanni Zuallardo, Jerusalem, *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme*, Rome, 1587, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 85-B18612 (Photo: author)

Zuallardo's book is a richly illustrated one, incorporating individual illustrations of the pilgrimage buildings in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth.<sup>139</sup> Unlike previous books, the author incorporates illustrations of interior spaces of the pilgrimage buildings. He perhaps drew upon the precedent of Borculoos'

view of the Cave of the Nativity (Fig. 178), published in Utrecht in 1538, or Pirro Ligorio's version printed in Rome around 1559.<sup>140</sup> The concept, first developed by Netherlandish painters as a way of reframing the pilgrimage in terms of a journey to a contemplative space, is here extended to other holy places.



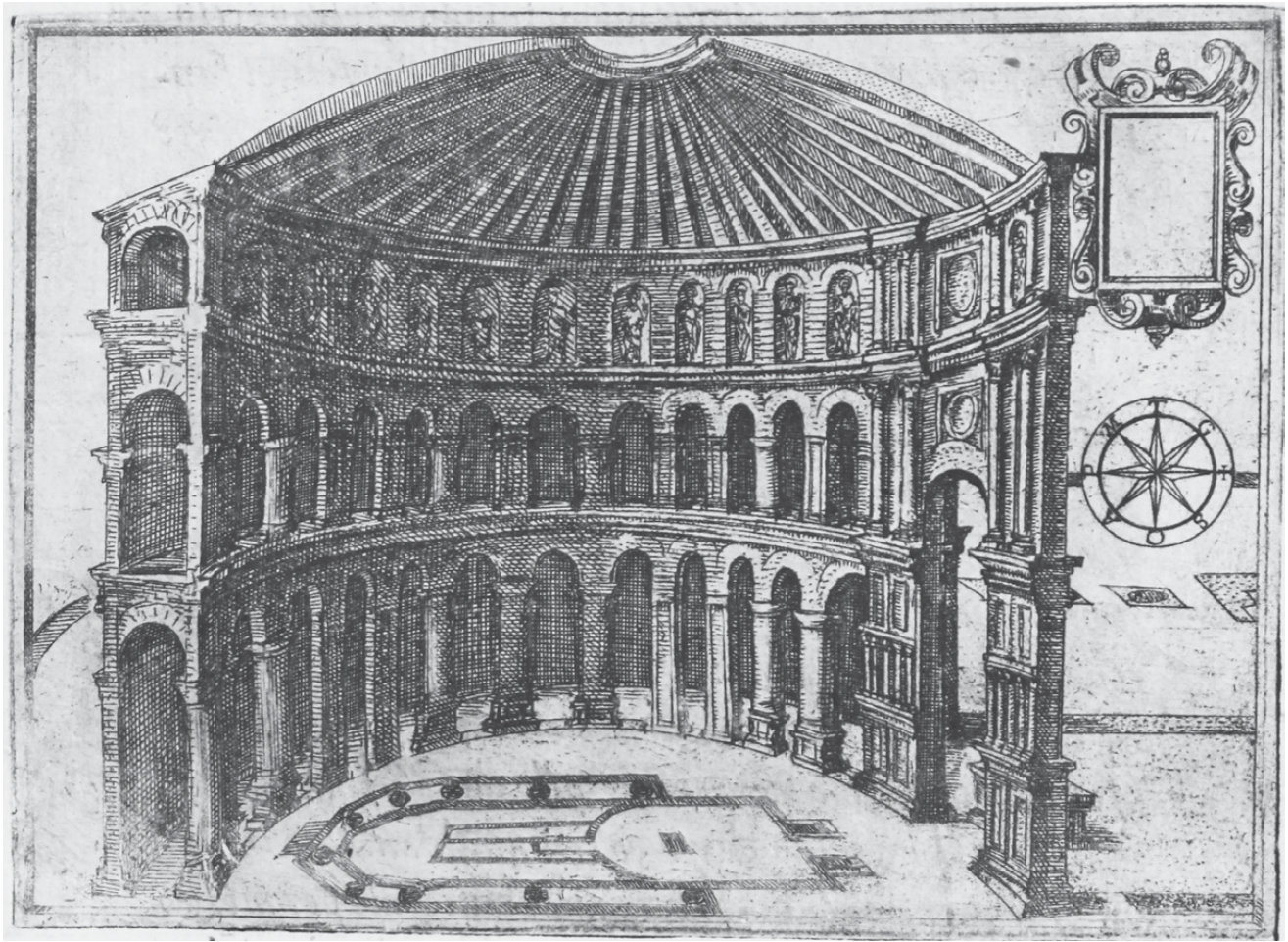


Fig. 199 Giovanni Zuallardo, *Anastasis Rotunda*, *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme*, Rome, 1587, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 85-B18612 (Photo: author)

The Anastasis Rotunda, for example, is opened up and its interior shown – with the ground-plan of the Tomb inscribed into the ground – so that the reader might imagine entering that space (Fig. 199).<sup>141</sup> As the pilgrimage was renegotiated between the modern and ancient city, and between material buildings and the meditational spaces they enclosed, writer-pilgrims like Zuallardo and Christiaan van Adrichem continued to negotiate the parameters for the pilgrimage through the medium of illustrated books. That Adrichem drew upon both the idea of a spiritual pilgrimage promoted by reformers and a realistic Franciscan map of the city, made by Antonio de Angelis, while Zuallardo drew upon the interior views of pilgrimage buildings originally associated with a reform of the pilgrimage, suggests a mutual awareness and competitive engagement of

the differing views of the spiritual and real pilgrimage, and how it might be enacted in both books and real space.

#### SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE UNDER SIXTUS V

Protestant reformers criticized the inflated indulgences and fraudulent relics associated with the pilgrimage to Rome just as much as that to the Holy Land. In 1585, Felice Peretti (1521–90), a friar within the Franciscan order, was elected pope. In the five years of his pontificate as Sixtus V (1585–90), he would renew Rome's sacred architecture with a special focus on the ancient architectural relics transferred from Bethlehem and Jerusalem. A single architect,





Fig. 200 Domenico Fontana, Sistine Chapel, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, 1585–9 (Photo: author)



Fig. 201 Scala Santa, Rome (Photo: author)

Domenico Fontana (1543–1607), was responsible for these major projects, which entailed the translation and reframing of existing relics and sacred buildings: the crib of the Nativity moved to a new chapel designed for Santa Maria Maggiore (Fig. 200) and the Scala Santa (Fig. 201) moved to a new setting adjacent to the Lateran palace and basilica. Although moved only small distances, the concept of translation, as a recentering of sacred presence, imbued all of Fontana’s projects for Sixtus V and renewed Rome’s status as the premier site for the relocation of the sanctity of the Holy Land.

The transportation of ancient obelisks, orchestrated by Fontana, marked out the network of pilgrimage pathways in the city: in the piazzas of St. Peter’s, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Giovanni in Laterano, and Santa Maria del Popolo. At the center is Santa Maria Maggiore, the Bethlehem

within Rome, drawing pilgrims like the star drew the Magi.<sup>142</sup> The ambitious scope of the renewal of Rome’s sacred landscape was first demonstrated in Fontana’s triumphal engineering feat of transporting the Vatican obelisk to the center of St. Peter’s square, accomplished in 1586. The pagan obelisk was surmounted by a gilded bronze cross, with a monumental inscription from Revelation 5:5 traditionally used in exorcisms. Pope Sixtus V’s ceremony made explicit his role in exorcising the power of idols over the once pagan city, particularly when he declared before the obelisk, “I exorcize you, creature of stone, in the name of God” as he cast water at it in the form of a cross, then carved the cross into the stone.<sup>143</sup> An engraving celebrating the event characterized Pope Sixtus as a New Moses, raising the “bronze sign of the Cross” (*aegrotis aenea signa Crucis*) atop the



Obelisk in the way that Moses had raised a “bronze simulacrum of a serpent” (*Aenea serpentis ... simulachra*) to heal the sick.<sup>144</sup>

After Moses repudiates the idolatry of the Jews who worship the golden calf, God instructs him on Mount Sinai to construct the Tabernacle, which will transport the Ark of the Covenant until it is finally enshrined in Jerusalem.<sup>145</sup> The actions of Sixtus V as a New Moses, purging Rome of its idols and exorcising their demonic forces, were followed by his creation of a new Tabernacle at the center of the city, at Santa Maria Maggiore (Fig. 202).<sup>146</sup> Like the bronze cross atop the Vatican obelisk, the Tabernacle designed by Domenico Fontana offered an anti-idol: a material but non-figural manifestation of Christ’s presence, embodied – though not visible – in the Eucharistic host. The sacrament tabernacle was placed in a new chapel on the right-hand side of the high altar, which would take the name of its patron, as another Sistine Chapel. Like the previous Sistine Chapel at St. Peter’s, the one at Santa Maria Maggiore invoked familiar imagery of the Temple of Solomon. Fontana created an octagonal edifice with a gilded dome, raised aloft by angels. The angels drew upon the Old Testament account of the Tabernacle, while the tabernacle’s primary architectural features recalled Perugino’s vision of the Temple of Solomon in the other Sistine Chapel (Fig. 151).

The Sistine Tabernacle, which would be designated as the sacrament tabernacle for the entire basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, was set above a crypt made to house the ancient relic of the crib as well as Arnolfo di Cambio’s similarly relocated *Nativity* (Fig. 74), with the addition of a kneeling Sixtus V by Giovanni Antonio Paracca.<sup>147</sup> The vertical alignment of the Tabernacle containing the Eucharist and the re-creation of the Cave of the Nativity containing the newborn Christ visualized the theological comparison of the Eucharistic bread and the body of Christ. The Sistine Tabernacle and Bethlehem chapel together offered a powerful assertion of Christ’s Real Presence, that is, the literal equation of the bread of the host with the body of Christ – the central doctrinal difference in the split between the Roman church and Protestants.<sup>148</sup> Fontana designed the enclosing chapel on a Greek cross with a hemispherical dome. A pendant chapel, on the opposite side of



Fig. 202 Domenico Fontana, Sacrament Tabernacle, Sistine Chapel, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, 1585–9 (Photo: author)

the high altar, would be designed in the beginning of the seventeenth century to house the *Salus Populi Romani*.

The Tabernacle of Sixtus V at Santa Maria Maggiore also offered a spectacular demonstration of the vision of Carlo Borromeo for the *repristinatio* of church architecture and furnishings.<sup>149</sup> In the place of a figural altarpiece, the micro-architectural tabernacle offered a return to the origins of church architecture, when Solomon created the Temple to house the Mosaic Tabernacle. In his *Instructiones* published in 1577, Borromeo had established that sacrament tabernacles in the shape of temples – he specifies circular or octagonal – be placed on the high altar.<sup>150</sup> This particular instruction was not enforced until 1590, when a decree made the replacement of figural altarpieces with such tabernacles obligatory.<sup>151</sup> Fontana’s Tabernacle provided an origin point in Rome, like the relic of the crib transferred below

imagined in terms of a translation realized by papal volition.

Fontana's Tabernacle in the Sistine Chapel at Santa Maria Maggiore created an origin point for past papal re-creations of the Mosaic Tabernacle and connected it to the generativeness of Mary and Bethlehem, tying the birth of church architecture to the birth of Jesus. The refashioning of the architecture of the Tabernacle and Temple in terms of Mary's body as the container for Christ as the host offered a total Christianization of the Jewish Tabernacle while also participating in an ongoing effacement of the Islamic associations of the modern architecture linked with the ancient site of the Tabernacle and Temple in Jerusalem. Within the city of Rome, the Sistine Tabernacle connected via the pilgrimage pathways to the older re-creation of the Mosaic tabernacle in the Sistine Chapel, exhibiting Perugino's vision of the Solomonic Temple, and the yet older version of the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran. The image of the Temple-as-Tabernacle would be reiterated in the great altar of the sacrament in the Lateran basilica, created *c.* 1600 under Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605). The sacrament tabernacle is significantly framed by bronze columns, said to have been taken by Helena from the Temple of Solomon and to be filled with earth from Calvary.<sup>152</sup>

#### THE SCALA SANTA IN ROME AND VARALLO

By the beginning of the pontificate of Sixtus V, the papal palace at the Lateran was in a ruinous state; Sixtus decided to destroy the old building and construct a new palace, with the papal chapel – the Sancta Sanctorum – also given a new monumental setting. The Scala Santa was moved to be directly in front of the Sancta Sanctorum, and enclosed within a new structure with lateral stairways, preceded by a five-arched loggia. The plan was formed by 1586 and the transfer of the steps occurred in October of 1588.<sup>153</sup> The new location of the Scala Santa provided a way for pilgrims to imagine climbing in the footsteps of Christ up to Pilate's Palace, where a glimpse of Christ's figure would be revealed in the form of the Lateran Acheropita (Fig. 21).<sup>154</sup> The pilgrim

could imagine being in the crowd, witness to Pilate's ostension of Christ, as he declared: *Ecce Homo*. At the same time, the moment of Christ's humiliation and suffering was transformed into a foreshadowing of his ultimate triumph, as the penitential climb – completed on one's knees – offered an ascent towards an unearthly realm where Christ's figure was momentarily revealed as he would be in the final days, taking the place of Pilate as judge of all humanity.<sup>155</sup>

The Scala Santa in Rome was a unique architectural entity, understood to have been transported from Pilate's Palace by Helena. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, a re-creation of Pilate's Palace was initiated by Carlo Bascapè at the sacred mountain of Varallo, in which the Scala Santa (Fig. 203) ascends to a tableau vivant of the *Ecce Homo* (Fig. 204).<sup>156</sup> Bascapè, as bishop of Novara since 1593, was continuing the renovation of the sacred mountain to conform to Borromeo's wishes, which included an ongoing integration with Rome's renewed pilgrimage culture. The resulting *Ecce Homo* at Varallo is a remarkable composition of sculpture, painting, and architecture, re-enacting the moment when Pilate stands above the arch of his palace to display Christ to a jeering crowd below.<sup>157</sup> Christ is presented with hands bound, crowned with thorns, and wounds still freshly bleeding from the Flagellation. The pilgrim at Varallo would kneel at the screen to be presented with Christ's form revealed above; the situation was notably like that in Rome after Fontana's renovations, where the pilgrim kneels at a screen to look into the Sancta Sanctorum and glimpse the figure of Christ in the Acheropita.

In 1607, Bascapè wrote to Rome, requesting an account of the exact measurements and number of steps composing the Scala Santa at the Lateran. Work began in the following year, when the twenty-eight steps leading up to the *Ecce Homo* were first constructed of wood.<sup>158</sup> Crosses marked where Christ's blood had fallen. By 1628, the steps were remade with marble.<sup>159</sup> The creation of the Scala Santa also reflects an overarching concern for directing the pilgrim's bodily movement according to the narrative of the Passion; having just viewed Christ's Flagellation, the Crowning, and Christ led to the Praetorium, the pilgrim turns to face the Scala Santa and the screen of the *Ecce Homo* chapel above.<sup>160</sup> The illusion of



Fig. 203 Scala Santa, Sacro Monte of Varallo, c. 1608–35 (Photo: author)

narrative linearity pointed to a fictive original: an architectural environment of Christ's Jerusalem, in which the Scala Santa in Rome preceded Pilate's Palace; the distinctions between the arch of Pilate's Palace in Jerusalem and the Scala Santa in Rome are smoothed over in the production of a single, authoritative experience. The screen intervening between the pilgrim and the *Ecce Homo* scene at Varallo transforms the material re-creation of Pilate's Palace and the crowd of spectators into an image.<sup>161</sup> The physical composition of the architectural setting and figural scene delimits the potential for the imagination, as the viewer kneels to receive a predetermined vision of Christ displayed by Pilate.

The Scala Santa at Varallo was a unicum until the following century, when a number of similar re-creations were constructed, including at the Church of Sant'Onofrio in Fabriano, at Campi which incorporated a re-creation of the Lateran

chapel, and in San Lorenzo in Turin.<sup>162</sup> Carlo Bascapè together with Federico Borromeo (1564–1631), cousin of Carlo and archbishop of Milan, also promoted the creation of new sacred mountains modeled upon Varallo, including one at Orta, dedicated to the life of St. Francis, at Varese dedicated to the mysteries of the rosary (begun 1602), and at Oropa dedicated to the life of the now sainted Carlo Borromeo.<sup>163</sup> In the same years Bascapè authorized the publication of new guidebooks for the pilgrimage to Varallo. Antonio d'Adda, in a book of 1602–3, echoes Carlo Borromeo, prescribing that the pilgrim abandons “every curiosity” and all “delight of sensual vision,” and “all rebellion from the soul of God.”<sup>164</sup> Giovanni Giacomo Ferrari, in a guide published from 1611, also characterizes the pilgrimage to Varallo as another kind of denial, in this case the desire to go Ottoman territories. At Varallo you will see – the author promises – the “new Sion” remote from the infidel.<sup>165</sup> As at the Scala Santa in Rome, or the Holy House in Loreto, pilgrims are asked to be conscious of the physical distance from the Holy Land, and in the experience of individual chapels, the pilgrims are asked to suppress the physical qualities of the pilgrimage, engaging in a meditational, visionary experience. The paradoxes of a Jerusalem made both present and more distant, and of Christ embodied but remote, underscore the ongoing impact of the contested nature of both the territory of the Holy Land and the physical nature of the pilgrimage.

#### BERNARDINO AMICO'S TREATISE

Although the Franciscan Custody had lost control over the sacred mountain at Varallo, the friars continued to promote devotion to the material buildings associated with the lives of Christ and Mary, as well as their physical re-creation beyond Jerusalem. In doing so, they were continuing a tradition extending back to the origins of the Franciscan Custody in the fourteenth century, when friars first made detailed illustrated accounts of the sacred buildings in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. A hand-made map (Fig. 205) made sometime in the 1590s by an unknown Italian (as indicated by the language of the





Fig. 204 *Ecc Homo*, Sacro Monte of Varallo, c. 1608–18 (Photo: author)





Fig. 205 *The City of Jerusalem*, end of the sixteenth century, The Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, the National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Shelf number Jer 29., Record number 2368228 (Photo: The National Library of Israel, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Shapell Family Digitization Project and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Geography – Historic Cities Research Project)

inscriptions) was probably created by a Franciscan friar residing in Jerusalem.<sup>166</sup> The colored map details the pilgrimage pathways, with stations numbered in the tradition of Fra Antonio's map of 1578; some buildings have been rotated to suggest the viewer's own changing perspectives while moving through the city along the paths indicated by a red line.<sup>167</sup>

Franciscans in the same years also engaged with the new media and technologies of representation in order to facilitate a new kind of imagined engagement with the sacred buildings as they existed materially in space. Bernardino Amico created the most important new book, embracing one-point perspective and printing, in his work published in Rome in

1610 and in a revised edition in Florence in 1620.<sup>168</sup> Amico presents the thirty-eight drawings, his own work, both as the blueprints for new architectural construction outside of the Holy Land and as a way of seeing the material buildings emerge from the page of his book.<sup>169</sup> Fra Bernardino had arrived in the Holy Land around 1591, serving for a time as the guardian of the Holy Sepulcher and then for six months as the guardian of the convent of Bethlehem.<sup>170</sup> In 1597 he was in Cairo, where he undertook the restoration of the chapel at Matariyya (Fig. 94).<sup>171</sup> Throughout his time in the Holy Land, Amico was creating detailed drawings, using techniques he had learned – as he tells us in his book – from Sebastiano Serlio's first





Fig. 206 Bernardino Amico, Palace of Pilate, *Trattato delle Pianta & Imagini dei Sacri Edificii di Terra Santa* ..., Florence, 1620, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 84-B29370 (Photo: author)

and second books of his architectural treatise on the subjects of geometry and perspective, published in Paris in 1545.<sup>172</sup>

Amico's book commences with an impassioned plea for the Catholic princes of Europe to launch a new crusade in order to retake the Holy Land and save its architectural relics (along with the Franciscan Custody).<sup>173</sup> Amico ascribes to his work a power "to inflame hearts and rouse them to the contemplation of the sacred and divine mysteries worked by the Savior of the World."<sup>174</sup> Amico originally intended to dedicate his book to Philip II of Spain, who included "king of Jerusalem" among his titles and notoriously identified with King Solomon.<sup>175</sup> Philip II died in 1598, so Amico instead dedicated his treatise to Philip III of Spain (1578–1621).<sup>176</sup> The second edition was dedicated to Cosimo II de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany (r. 1609–21).<sup>177</sup> The choice of

Cosimo II may relate to the rumors circulating in the early years of the seventeenth century regarding Cosimo's intention to secretly send his fleet to the Holy Sepulcher, where the building would be taken and reassembled in Florence in the recently constructed Medici dynastic mausoleum.<sup>178</sup>

Had Carlo Bascapè initiated his project to recreate the Scala Santa at Varallo in 1610 rather than in 1607, he might have used Amico's treatise instead of sending to Rome for information. Amico's book provides detailed drawings of the Palace of Pilate in Jerusalem, envisioned in its ancient state – that is, with the Scala Santa in Rome in its original location (Fig. 206). The Column of the Flagellation is also given the same distinctive form as the relic in the Roman Church of Santa Prassede (Fig. 72), which – as the accompanying text explains – had likewise been transported from Jerusalem.<sup>179</sup> Like the





Fig. 207 Bernardino Amico, Arch of Pilate, *Trattato delle Piante & Imagini dei Sacri Edificii di Terra Santa . . .*, Florence, 1620, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 84-B29370 (Photo: author)

contemporary sacred mountain at Varallo, Amico's book imagines a reconstitution of the architecture associated with the Way of the Cross. Amico presents a series of perspectival views through which one can imagine Christ's movement through the space of Jerusalem towards Calvary. Despite the careful details of the representation, this is not what one would see in Jerusalem; the composition engaged a flexible imagination, invoking multiple locations at once, allowing for transpositions and geographical leaps within a single image. Amico presents the Way of the Cross in a series of three drawings; following the Palace of Pilate, where Christ was scourged, the reader opens the page to the *Ecce Homo* arch (Fig. 207), where Christ was presented by Pilate, followed by the location where Christ encountered the women and Veronica, whose house is also illustrated.<sup>180</sup>

Amico is insistent upon connecting the imagined experience of following Christ's sufferings to Calvary with physical coordinates and architectural settings in Jerusalem. His treatise stands in sharp contrast to contemporary guides for a spiritual pilgrimage, most notably Christian van Adrichem's. In fact Amico directly attacks Adrichem's description of the Way of the Cross, arguing that he misrepresented the relative locations of the palace and the arch.<sup>181</sup> The most direct refutation of the Protestant challenge to the authenticity of the architecture associated with Christ's Crucifixion is provided by Amico's presentation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher as the goal of the pilgrimage along the Way of the Cross. The complex building elements, both exterior and interior (Fig. 208), are presented in a series of analytical views, explicitly created as blueprints

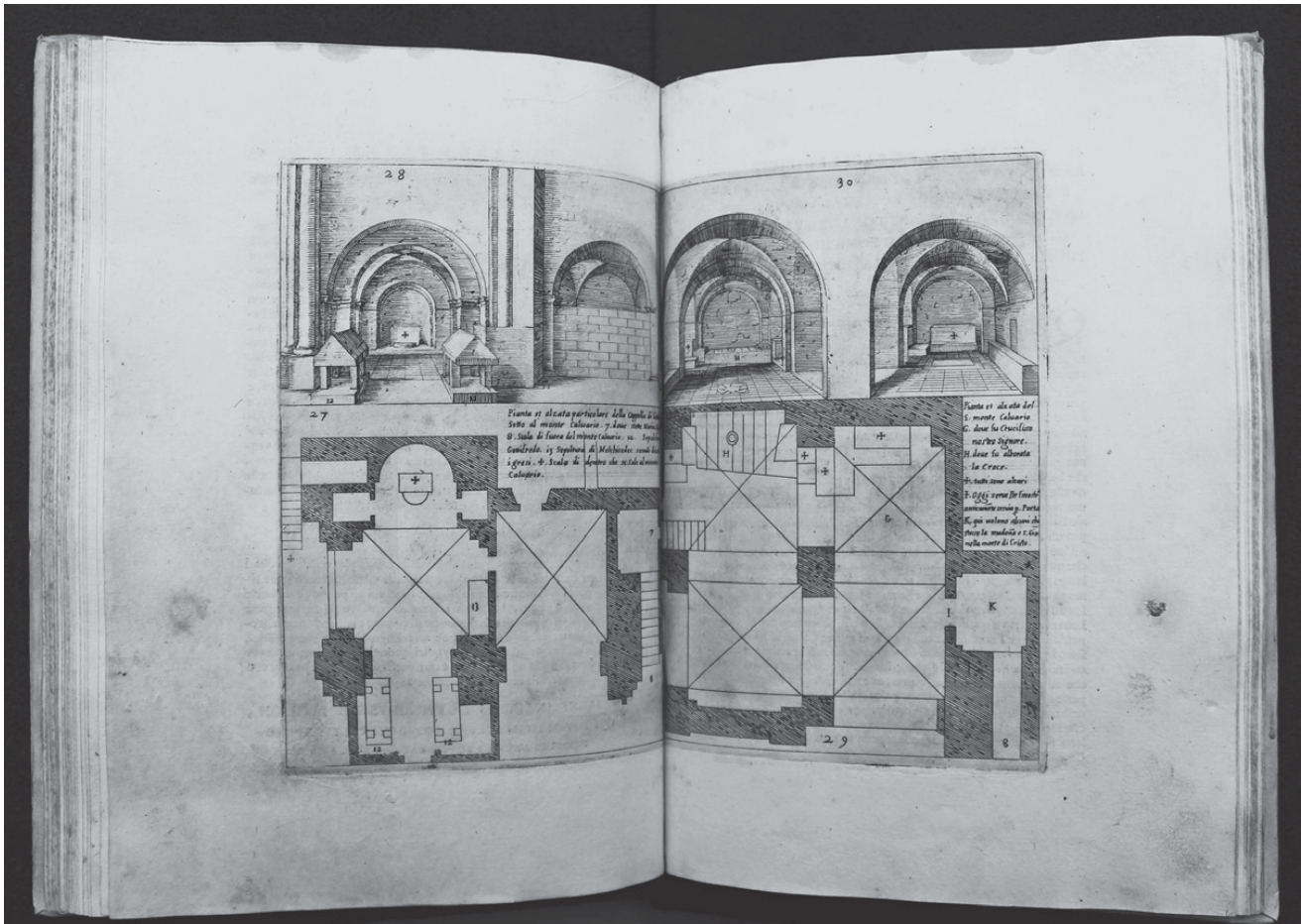


Fig. 208 Bernardino Amico, Calvary chapel and tombs of the Latin kings, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, *Trattato delle Pianta & Imagini dei Sacri Edificii di Terra Santa ...*, Florence, 1620, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 84–B29370 (Photo: author)

for either architectural models or full-scale reconstruction. The interior perspective views also allow the reader to imagine entering the building, in a way closely related to the concept of modeling the building in space. As he studied the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and other buildings in the Holy Land, Amico seems to have also contributed to the production of small-scale wooden models.<sup>182</sup> These highly detailed olive-wood models, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, were designed to open and reveal the interior dispositions of the sacred buildings.<sup>183</sup> Their materials connect to both the sanctified wood of the Holy Land and the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem. Models of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 209), the Tomb Aedicule, the Tomb of Mary, and the Church of the Nativity all survive from the seventeenth century.<sup>184</sup>

The first illustration of Amico's book is of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (Fig. 15); his instructions for how the reader should view the image establish the important connection between his drawings and an imagined perception of the three-dimensional architectural entities.<sup>185</sup> He exhorts his reader to close one eye and fix the open one on the center point of the illustration, rotating the book from side to side, in order to see the building as if a material object (*come se fosse fabbricato di materia*), emerging from the page.<sup>186</sup> The following drawings then allow the reader to open up the building, to mentally enact a bodily pilgrimage to the sites of the birth of Jesus, the manger, and the adoration of the Magi (Fig. 210).<sup>187</sup> Amico further explains that he has incorporated a series of views of this church, including its subterranean



Fig. 209 Model of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, from the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, M&ME Sloane 153, British Museum, London, before 1753 (Photo © Trustees of the British Museum, London)

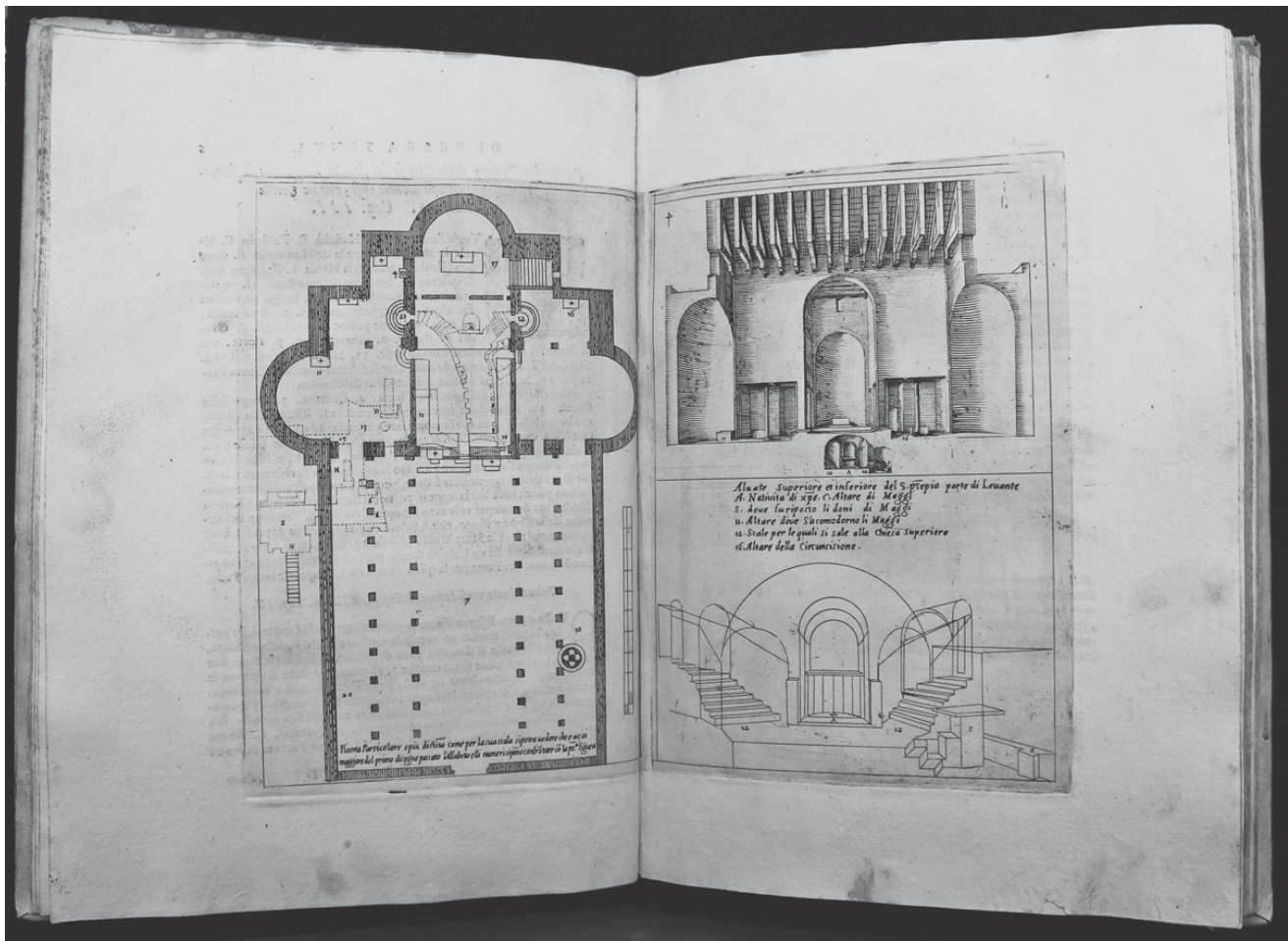


Fig. 210 Bernardino Amico, Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, *Trattato delle Pianta & Imagini dei Sacri Edificii di Terra Santa ...*, Florence, 1620, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 84-B29370 (Photo: author)



areas: because “things united have a greater force” (*perche le cose unite tengono più forza*).<sup>188</sup> His invocation of the force of his architectural drawings as they work in concert closely pertains to the modern concept of “virtuality,” at the root of which is the *virtus* or a power to produce a certain effect.<sup>189</sup> The second edition incorporated nine additional drawings, including the Chapel of Matariyya (Fig. 94) with a related account of the difficulties involved in its renovation.

Antagonism with the Ottoman authorities, which is a recurring theme of Amico’s book, informs the presentation of both the Church of the Ascension and the Temple of Solomon (Fig. 211). The two buildings, whose formal similarities are highlighted by their method of presentation – a perspective view above a ground-plan – sets up the two buildings as representatives of the similar but antagonistic natures of Christian and Islamic worship in Jerusalem. The illustration of the Church of the Ascension includes a drawing of the footprint of Christ at the center, and Amico repeats the story originating in the middle of the sixteenth century that the second footprint had been stolen by the Turks and taken to the Dome of the Rock.<sup>190</sup> The latter building, although inscribed as the *Tempio di Salamone* (Temple of Solomon), is denied any Christian significance by Amico, who asserts that it cannot be the historical Temple, since that building was rectangular: “This design is a Temple, which having been built in the place where had been that of Solomon, has also usurped its name.”<sup>191</sup> The crescent further emphasizes the Islamic identity of the building. His illustrations of ancient and modern Jerusalem likewise reflect the historical bifurcation of the Temple of Solomon.<sup>192</sup> Amico tells his readers that because Muslims prevented his measuring activities at various locations in the city, he was unable to produce a map of the modern city, and relied instead upon the map by Fra Antonio de Angelis (published in Rome in 1578).<sup>193</sup>

There is little evidence of the exact impact of Amico’s book on the architectural culture of seventeenth-century Europe, with the exception of the construction of a re-creation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher outside Moscow.<sup>194</sup> The project was initiated by Patron Nikon, who had both

Amico’s book and an olive-wood and mother-of-pearl model of the Holy Sepulcher, still contained in the related monastery at Istra.<sup>195</sup> The construction commenced in 1658 with the patron originally intending 365 chapels, of which only 29 were constructed. By the eighteenth century, the vaulting of the Anastasis Rotunda had collapsed, and a fire a few years later damaged the entire complex. Later restoration was followed by bombing in World War II, and another reconstruction has since been undertaken.<sup>196</sup>

#### VINCENZO FAVI AND THE DUKE OF SAVOY

Bernardino Amico’s treatise may not have inspired a crusade as he had hoped, but he did perhaps inspire the creation of a book similar in form and intent, addressed to another Catholic prince and crusader: Carlo Emmanuele I, duke of Savoy (r. 1580–1630). By the early seventeenth century, Carlo Emmanuele had proven his dedication to combatting heretics and defending the Catholic faith, as he expanded his territories in the Piedmont region around the capital at Turin.<sup>197</sup> Vincenzo Favi, a native of Bologna, composed and illustrated a manuscript with twenty-eight pen drawings, whose detailed illustrations of the sacred buildings were intended to persuade the duke of Savoy to lead a crusade to retake Jerusalem. Favi’s drawings were primarily based upon Zuallardo’s *Il Devotissimo viaggio di Gerusalemme* (Rome, 1587).<sup>198</sup> As protector of the Shroud, installed in Turin since Carlo Borromeo’s pilgrimage of 1578, the duke was a natural choice as a potential protector of the Holy Land, “which one day maybe would be the glorious field of your victories,” as Favi states in the dedication.<sup>199</sup> Nothing is known regarding Favi’s connections to Turin or his biography, and his book survives in only two manuscripts.<sup>200</sup> The book is presented as the account of a pilgrimage made by the author in 1615. Many of the drawings in the Turin manuscript bear the author’s initials and those of unknown illustrators (“G.B.” and “G.C.”), while the London manuscript has drawings signed by

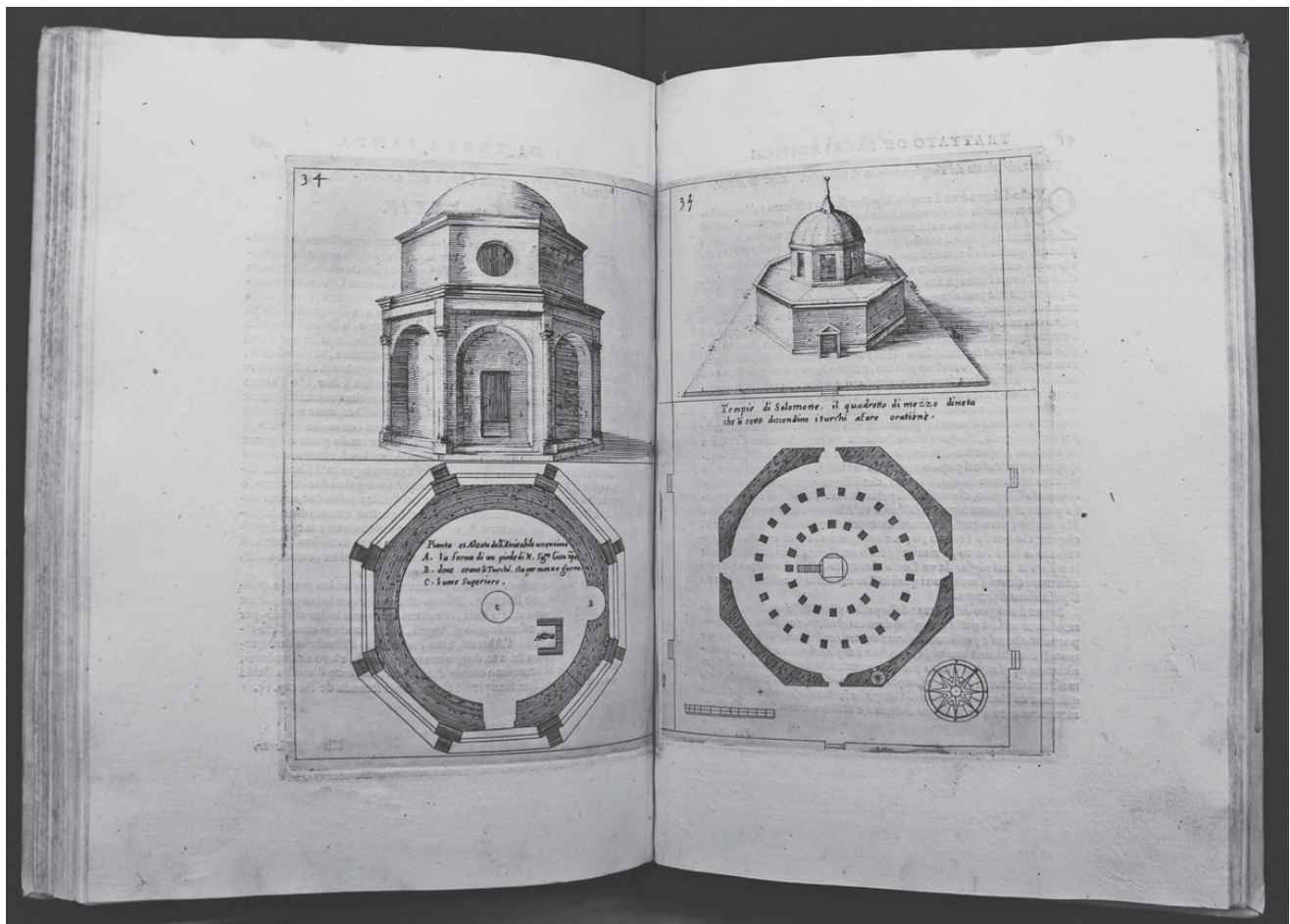


Fig. 211 Bernardino Amico, Church of the Ascension and Temple of Solomon, *Trattato delle Pianta & Imagini dei Sacri Edificii di Terra Santa ...*, Florence, 1620, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 84–B29370 (Photo: author)

the author and “Gio:Cales” or “de Kales” (apparently the same “G.C.”). Favi refers to his drawing abilities when he tells us that he made models of a couple of the sanctuaries, including the *Ecce Homo* arch. Such a remark suggests an involvement with the industry of inlaid wooden models associated with Bernardino Amico and the Franciscan friars more generally.<sup>201</sup>

Although the illustrations are not innovative, their ordering reflects a particular idea regarding Carlo Emmanuele’s future role as a crusader. Favi begins his account of Jerusalem with the “chapel on the summit of the Mount of Olives” (Fig. 212). Favi imagines that this site will be the ideal location for a Christian fortification from which a crusade could be launched.<sup>202</sup> The selection of the Mount of Olives

aligns his ambitions for the duke of Savoy with a long tradition of apocalyptic expectations regarding a Christian king who would do battle with the forces of the Antichrist in the days immediately preceding Christ’s return to the Mount of Olives. The drawings of the Tomb of Mary and the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 213) that follow are based primarily upon Giovanni Zuallardo’s book. Favi however places special emphasis on the tombs of the Latin kings of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, as the predecessors of Carlo Emmanuele.<sup>203</sup> In his description of the Unction Stone in the same church, Favi highlights the material connections of the Jerusalemic building to the Shroud protected by the duke of Savoy.<sup>204</sup> It was on this stone, Favi remarks, that Christ was wrapped in the Shroud.



Fig. 212 Vincenzo Favi (?), Church of the Ascension, BRT Ms. Casa Savoia, II, 12, fol. 93r (Photo: Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del turismo, Biblioteca Reale – Torino)

### THE SHROUD'S INSTALLATION IN TURIN

Although Favi's book failed to inspire a crusade, he may have inspired some idea of re-creating the architecture associated with Christ's sepulcher to house the Shroud in Turin. Favi also created his book in the same years that Bernardino Amico was making the second edition of his treatise, rededicated to the Medici grand duke and published in Florence in 1620.<sup>205</sup> Dynastic competition between the Medici and Savoy extended to claims regarding dedication to protection of the sacred architecture of the Holy Land. At the beginning of the seventeenth century rumors circulated regarding the intentions of Cosimo II de' Medici to physically transport the Holy Sepulcher from Jerusalem to the Medici dynastic mausoleum in Florence.<sup>206</sup> Had this ambition been realized, the massive octagonal chapel

housing the tombs of the grand dukes, located to the west of the crossing of San Lorenzo, would have been transformed into a new Holy Sepulcher. Before this, Ferdinando I de' Medici had attempted to assert Medici possession of parts of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. At the beginning of his rule as grand duke of Tuscany (r. 1587–1609), Ferdinando commissioned Giambologna (1529–1608) to create a bronze railing to encompass the Unction Stone, to exhibit the Medici coat of arms as well as narrative reliefs of Christ's Crucifixion and Entombment. The railing with its reliefs was never installed as intended, but instead later made part of an altar in the Calvary chapel.<sup>207</sup>

The particular selection of the Unction Stone as the subject of Medici patronage is interesting in the context of Medici–Savoy competition, given that the Shroud's life as a relic began on that stone in Jerusalem. From the moment the Shroud came to Turin in 1578, there was discussion of creating a monumental architectural setting befitting the precious relic. The Shroud was at first housed in a chapel in the vicinity of the ducal palace.<sup>208</sup> A new ciborium was constructed to house the Shroud in 1607–9, composed of four black marble columns; the Shroud stayed here until the ciborium was destroyed in 1685 to clear the view to the new chapel.<sup>209</sup> A plan for the chapel drawn in 1621 by the same architect, Castellamonte, shows a rotunda to be located between the cathedral choir and the palace.<sup>210</sup> When Guarino Guarini (1624–83) – a Theatine monk, mathematician, and architect – took over in 1667, the first level had been completed, and the architect's primary contribution was the design of the vaulting (Fig. 214) as well as a series of elaborate figural capitals, referred to as the “Passion capitals” due to their incorporation of the instruments of Christ's Passion: the Crown of Thorns, nails, and *Titulus Crucis*.<sup>211</sup> Guarini also increased the height of the arch of the opening into the cathedral's nave, so that one could immediately see the reliquary containing the Shroud upon entering the church.<sup>212</sup> In this way the cathedral imitated the conjoining of the Anastasis Rotunda and crusader basilica within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.

The chapel envisaged by Carlo Emmanuele and completed under Carlo Emmanuele II (r. 1638–75) is



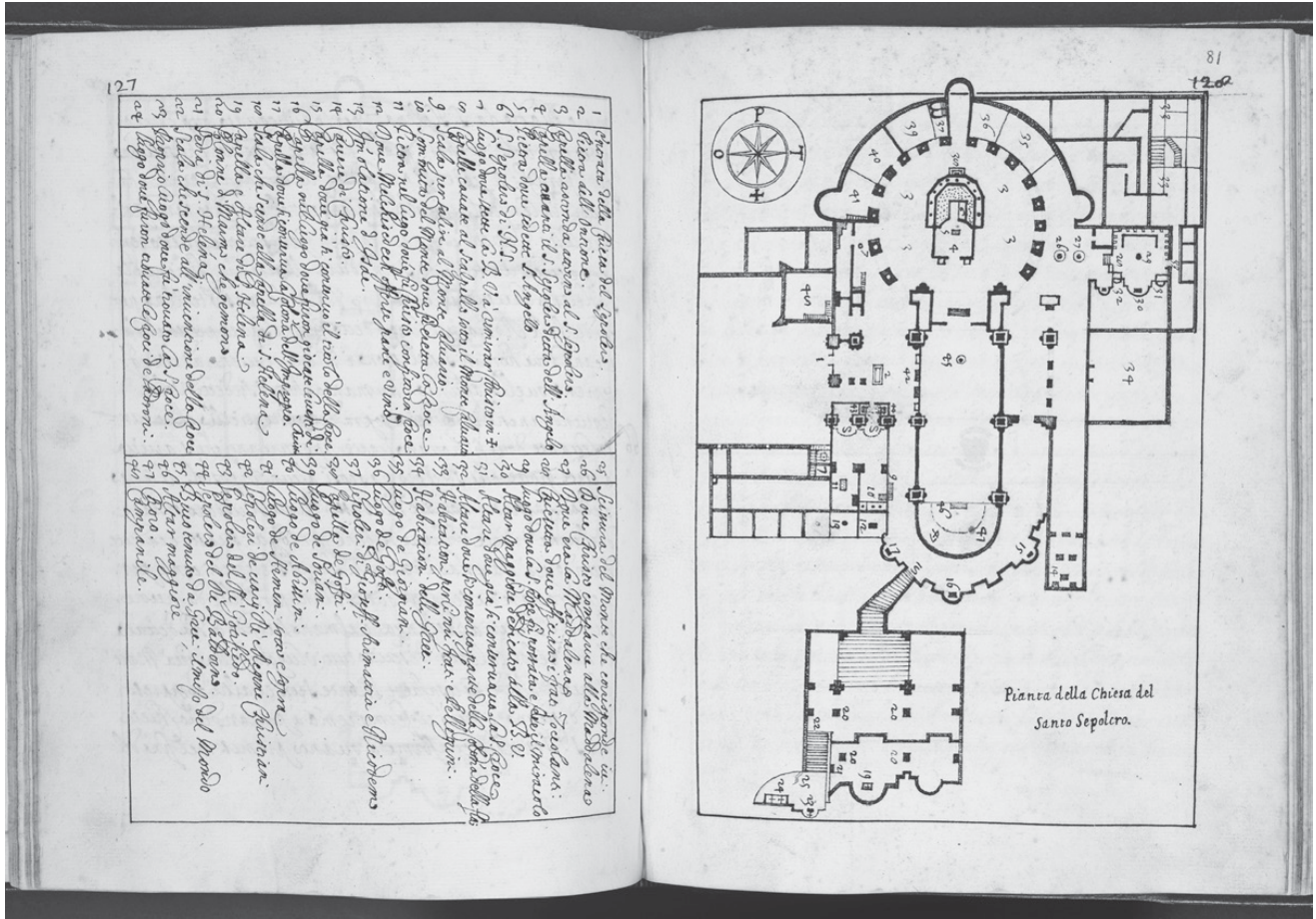


Fig. 213 Vincenzo Favi (?), Ground-plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, BL Ms.Add. 33566, fols. 80v–81r, c. 1615 (Photo © British Library Board)



Fig. 214 Guarino Guarini, Chapel of the Shroud, Turin Cathedral, seventeenth century (Photo: Pollak / Art Resource, NY)

in every way a dynastic monument, built as a Palatine Chapel adjacent and accessible to the ducal residence in Turin. The protection of the Shroud defined the role of the House of Savoy as perpetual protectors of the Catholic faith, in the face of Ottoman, Protestant, and other heretical threats. The circular chapel housing the Shroud in Turin resonates within a long tradition of re-creating the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem.<sup>213</sup> As a Palatine Chapel housing the most precious relics – or in this case, *the* relic – of Christ's Passion, the primary predecessors for the chapel in Turin were Sainte-Chapelle in Paris (housing the Crown of Thorns) and the long-destroyed imperial chapel in Constantinople, where the Shroud was thought to have been housed in the past.<sup>214</sup> Rather than invoking the rectangular enclosure of the Holy of Holies within the Temple of Solomon, the round chapel in Turin presents itself as the ultimate re-creation of the architecture of Christ's Entombment and Resurrection, through a unique marriage of geometry and matter emanating from Jerusalem. The chapel and the Shroud surpass all predecessors, offering a complete materialization of auratic presence, appropriate to the uniquely totalizing figuration of Christ's form within the Shroud. Emanuele Tesauro (1592–1675), for instance, writing about the Shroud, observed “if in other paintings one praises the likeness, here one praises the real, being the type and the prototype, the copy and the original, the ideated and the idea, the colored and the color, the painter and the painting all in one thing.”<sup>215</sup> The architecture of the chapel is likewise a figuration of Christ's presence, manifesting the reverberations of divine light in the complex geometry of Guarini's long-celebrated vault (Fig. 214). The architecture made for the Shroud is a materialization of living presence, radiating out from the enclosed Shroud. After centuries of expansion, the chapel in Turin as completed by Guarini represented an attempt to draw and concentrate Christ's auratic presence, as if in cage of energy bound exclusively to Turin and the House of Savoy.

In contrast to the jewel-toned Sainte-Chapelle – and the similar chapel at Chambéry where the Shroud had previously been kept – or the golden mosaics of the Sancta Sanctorum or the imperial chapel in Constantinople before it, the Turin chapel

eschews an aesthetic of multi-colored or golden radiance, in favor of dark, funereal materials, from which Guarini's domes miraculously surge up, as an architectural re-enactment of Christ's death and Resurrection. The reference of 1607 to four black columns of the previous ciborium is significant, for it suggests some long-standing intention to use dark stone in the Shroud's housing. This becomes the primary material theme of Guarini's chapel. The hexagonal tiers of Guarini's chapel have molding composed of serpentine, while the marble at the higher levels of the chapel is black, only taking on a gray appearance with the accumulation of dust.<sup>216</sup> These materials connect the Turin chapel to the origin point for the Shroud it housed: the Unction Stone in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, where Christ's body was laid out, anointed, and wrapped in the Shroud. When Vincenzo Favi described the Church of the Holy Sepulcher for Carlo Emanuele, he drew attention to the connections of the Unction Stone to the Shroud protected by the duke. In contrast to the rosy-hued stone now in place at the site of the deposition in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 18), the Unction Stone at the time of Vincenzo Favi and Guarino Guarini was dark, described variously as green, black, or gray.<sup>217</sup> In 1639, the Franciscan Quaresmio described it as made of marble “of the color of ash” (*tabula marmorea cinerei coloris*).<sup>218</sup>

The Chapel of the Shroud in Turin, installed in 1694, draws together the distinctive features of the Anastasis Rotunda and Calvary chapel, concentrated into a single architectural composition.<sup>219</sup> Thirty stairs climb up to the chapel, as if one were also climbing to Calvary and at the same time commemorating the thirty-three years of Christ's life. Death, Entombment, and Resurrection unfold in the single space of the chapel, from the narrative of Christ's Passion in the capitals in the earthly level to the multiplication of hexagons in the upper dome, emanating from the sun represented at the apex. At the center is the dove of the Holy Spirit; the effect of illumination of the dark stone also suggests the descent of the Holy Spirit to Christ's Tomb, the annual celebration in the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem of Christ's Resurrection.<sup>220</sup> The mystery of Christ's form present in the Shroud and expanded into the enclosing

architecture is an extension of the mystery of the Incarnation, and the divine manifested in matter. In 1607, Daniele Mallonio referred to the emanation of “some kind of hidden energy” from the Shroud ultimately originating in Christ’s body.<sup>221</sup> The visual effect of infinite multiplication of geometric forms, created by the repeated rotation of a triangle on its vertical axis, suggests not a formal likeness of the Anastasis Rotunda, but a manifestation of the source and the material effects of its radiating energy. The architectural re-creation of the Holy Sepulcher at Turin was to surpass all previous re-creations of the architecture of Christ’s Tomb in the same way that the Shroud surpasses all other relics of the Passion.<sup>222</sup>

### CATHOLIC REVIVAL

The invocation of the architecture of the Anastasis Rotunda, conjoined with the primary relic of Christ’s Passion – the Shroud in Turin – represented the most aggressive and spectacular assertion of the true potency of the material relics of the life of Christ, now guarded by the dukes of Savoy. Guarini’s chapel is exceptional for the seventeenth century in its emphasis upon the relic status of its architecture, especially by reference to the Unction Stone and through its unique evocation of both the origin and expansion of auratic forms. The chapel inside and outside does not immediately resemble the Church of the Holy Sepulcher as it had been precisely represented in numerous printed books; instead, the architect engaged with a notion of symbolic form closely tied to invocation of presence through material relics. This stands in contrast to the growing importance of printed images of the Tomb Aedicule and also the Holy House of Loreto as a source of inspiration for models of those two buildings, most often constructed in open landscapes, remaking any space as Jerusalem or Nazareth. In contrast to Turin, the self-evident sameness of the dozens of Holy Sepulchers and Loreto chapels constructed throughout the seventeenth century suggests an interest in defining a collective identity of a Catholic landscape, in which The Holy Land is effectively omnipresent. Over a hundred

re-creations of the Holy House of Loreto were constructed in Europe as well as in the New World in the seventeenth century, along with dozens of Tomb Aedicules, whose similar features could be recognized by comparison with now widely available illustrated books and prints.<sup>223</sup> In Europe they were especially concentrated in territories that had become sympathetic to Protestant reformers, but were re-Catholicized over the course of the seventeenth century. Re-creations of the Holy House of Loreto in cities like Prague and Vienna signaled the resurgence of Catholicism in the territories associated with the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>224</sup> In some instances, both the Tomb and Holy House were re-created in a single complex, as at St. Stephen’s in Bühl (1666–9) and the Klosterkirche in Güssau (c. 1667).<sup>225</sup> In others, the Holy Sepulcher was juxtaposed with the Scala Santa, as at the Kreuzberg in Bonn.<sup>226</sup> Any precise spatial reference to the real Holy Land became increasingly irrelevant, as the sacred architecture of the Holy Land was instead presented as if drawn from a generalized Catholic space that was at once Jerusalem, Loreto, and Rome.

In the period of the First Crusade, the re-creation of the Holy Sepulcher had materialized the victory over Islam; in the seventeenth century, this triumphalism was projected onto Catholicism’s victory over Protestantism. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher had been denied as a fraud and the Holy House of Loreto characterized as the paragon of Catholic idolatry. The pervasive re-creation of both sacred buildings celebrated their survival and the triumph over the iconoclastic tendencies of heretics, both Muslim and Protestant. Re-creations of the marble enclosure of the Holy House, in particular, continued to resonate within a tradition of ancient Roman triumphal monuments.<sup>227</sup> Re-creations of the Scala Santa were also created; the focus on architectural relics transported from Jerusalem or Nazareth and relocated in Italy provided the logic for the ongoing expansion of divine presence beyond the Holy Land.<sup>228</sup> The re-creations of the Scala Santa and the Loreto chapel also confirmed the primary status of the Italian buildings, and their own generative potential. In some ways they were now superior even to the buildings in the



Holy Land, which continued to be compromised by association with Islam.

## CONCLUSION

Books published in the seventeenth century persuaded Catholic pilgrims to visit the sacred mountain at Varallo, as well as Rome, Loreto, and Turin, rather than venture into Ottoman territory.<sup>229</sup> Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, annual pilgrim galleys no longer sailed from Venice. The Franciscan Custody, despite pleas by Bernardino Amico and after him Francesco Quaresmio, remained in jeopardy.<sup>230</sup> Franciscan authors continued to publish books outlining the essential physical features of the sacred buildings and Way of the Cross so that they might be re-created in Europe. Quaresmio's account of the material state of the buildings drew attention to their ongoing deterioration; he provides the final detailed eyewitness account of the crusader mosaics in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher before they vanished.<sup>231</sup> Quaresmio suggests something of the lasting nature of geometric ground-plans that might be transmitted for centuries without degradation, in contrast to the real material buildings. His own ground-plans are juxtaposed with printed versions of Adomnán's drawings in manuscripts of the *De Locis Sanctis* first made in the seventh century (Plates 1–4), including the ground-plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 215), suggesting the potential of such architectural drawings in books to outlast the material lives of buildings.<sup>232</sup>

The reality of the declining state of the sacred buildings of Jerusalem, especially along the Way of the Cross, throughout the seventeenth century suggests that re-creation also had the effect of stabilizing an abstract idea of the architecture associated with Christ's Crucifixion even as the real buildings deteriorated in Jerusalem. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Franciscan Elzear Horn notes that the buildings along the Way of the Cross had become so diminished that many were uncertain about the original locations of events along the route.<sup>233</sup> Books like Bernardino Amico's, Giovanni Zuallardo's, or even Christian

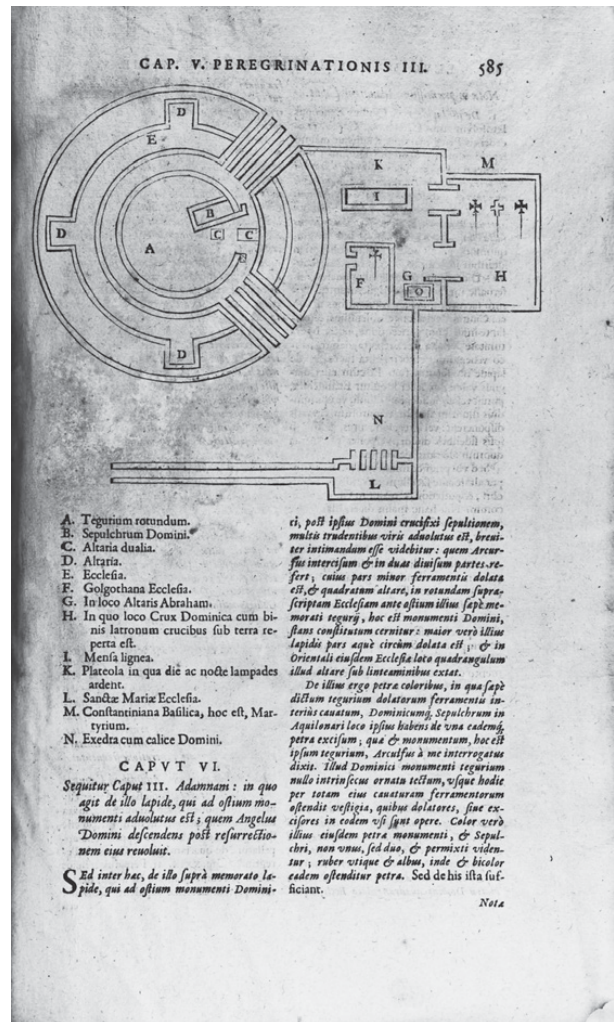


Fig. 215 Francesco Quaresmio, Adomnán's drawing of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, *Historica Theologica et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, Antwerp, 1639 (Photo: Archive.org / National Central Library of Rome – Public Domain)

van Adrichem's offered precise descriptions of the spatial and physical features of the Way of the Cross, so that it could be re-created without reference to the contemporary situation in Jerusalem. In France, a Way of the Cross was initiated at Mont Valérien outside of Paris in the 1640s.<sup>234</sup> In Italy, new sacred mountains were constructed at Graglia and Domodossola; for the former, of the hundred planned chapels, only the church dedicated to the Madonna of Loreto survives, while Domodossola's Mount Calvary (begun in 1656) is one of the best preserved.<sup>235</sup> Re-creations of the architecture and

topography of the Holy Land defined the Catholic landscape across Europe.<sup>236</sup> The interrelation of such chapels to the equally robust proliferation of books illustrating the sacred buildings of the Holy Land countered the relative absence of such an architectural culture in the books and cities of the

Protestant North. The tension between absence and presence may have taken on different institutional and political implications, but it still resonated within a longer history of negotiating the potential for architecture to shape the experience of divine presence.

## EPILOGUE



It is an imposture – this grotto stuff – but it is one that all men ought to thank the Catholics for. Wherever they ferret out a lost locality made holy by some Scriptural event, they straightway build a massive – almost imperishable – church there, and preserve the memory of that locality for the gratification of future generations. If it had been left to Protestants to do this most worthy work, we would not even know where Jerusalem is to-day, and the man who would go and put his finger on Nazareth would be too wise for this world.

Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad* (1869)

The story of the ongoing re-creation of the architecture of the Christian Holy Land beyond the European Renaissance is a subject worthy of its own book-length study. The question of the American context is particularly fascinating, and in this short epilogue I would like to suggest only a few ways in which why might see this larger and more recent history in relationship to the traditions that stretch back to the beginnings of Christian pilgrimage in the Holy Land. The book culture of pilgrimage accounts is suggestive of significant links across the Atlantic, as a new visual culture of global Catholic evangelization emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Franciscans who traveled to New Spain brought with them books created by their fellow friars active in the Custody of the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup> A volume of Quaresmio's treatise (Figs. 91 and 215), for example, is still in the Biblioteca Lafragua in Puebla, with the mark of the city's Convent of St. Francis.<sup>2</sup> The Mexican town of Puebla, like a number of towns in New Spain, became the setting for a Way of the Cross, whose features could have drawn from such books; there were also chapels dedicated to the

Holy Sepulcher, although only remnants of very few of them survive. Numerous re-creations of the Holy House of Loreto were also created throughout the Americas, in this case often closely connected to Jesuit missions.<sup>3</sup>

In the British colonies of North America the situation was quite the opposite, and this reflected the ongoing impact of the Protestant repudiation of the architecture associated with the Catholic pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The foundation of numerous Bethlehems, Nazareths, Mount Zions, and so forth affirmed the Protestant view of the Holy Land as a homogenous and potentially omnipresent space, activated by personal devotion and a community of believers. In this, as in previous re-creations of the Holy Land, books are suggestive of a larger conceptual framework underpinning the identification of the colonies as a new Holy Land. The most popular book on the pilgrimage among the American colonists was that of George Sandys (1577–1644), an English pilgrim who served as governor of the Virginia colony from 1611 to 1621. His emphasis on the ruination of the Holy Land's architecture seems



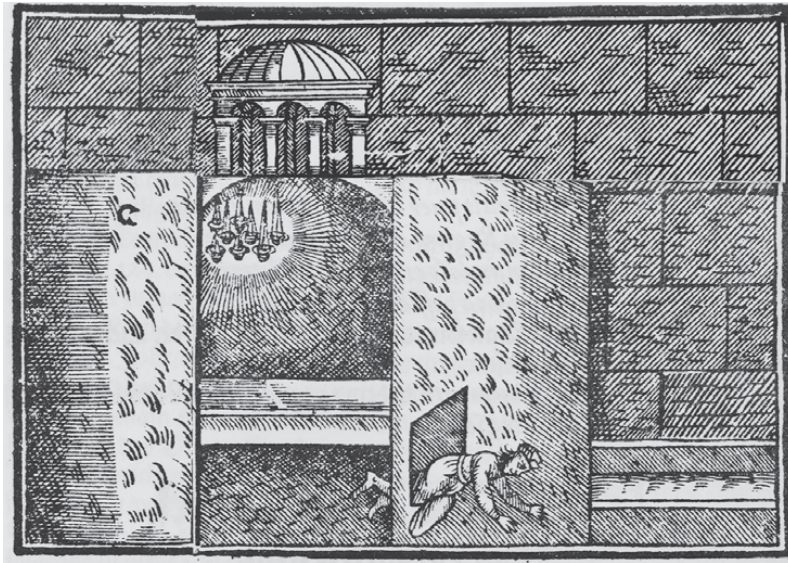


Fig. 216 Salomon Schweigger, Tomb of Christ, from *Ein Neues Reiss Beschreibung*, Nuremberg, 1608 (Photo: Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation)

to set the stage for the creation of a new Israel in North America.<sup>4</sup>

It may at first seem contradictory that Protestants still made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land and published their experiences. We might see this as suggestive of the power of books to constantly reaffirm a particular Protestant perspective of the Holy Land. Books authored by Protestant pilgrims in fact furnished some of the most interesting illustrations of the buildings. For example, an interactive woodcut with a flap that opens to reveal the interior of the Tomb of Christ (Fig. 216) was published with the pilgrimage account of the Lutheran Solomon Schweigger (1551–1622). At the same time the corresponding texts of such books insistently question the claims of Franciscans regarding the sacred status of the holy sites.<sup>5</sup>

In the eighteenth century as well some of the most important books published on the Holy Land with illustrations of its sacred buildings were created by Protestants. These included the work of Richard Pococke (1704–65), a prominent member of the Anglican Church who fought against the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence.<sup>6</sup> In his description of the Holy Land his suspicion of the irrational belief in the miraculous potential of holy sites is expressed through his persistent skepticism about Franciscan assertions.<sup>7</sup> Pococke also explicitly refused to describe

or illustrate anything that he considered outside the purview of either Scripture or ancient history.<sup>8</sup> He presents the buildings like the Mosque of Solomon's Temple or the Holy Sepulcher not as sanctified or potentially miraculous material entities, but as the subject of an objective study of antiquity, comparable to his approach to Palmyra, Baalbek, Athens, and Rome, all incorporated in the same book. Pococke's book is one of the first to suggest a new context for the Protestant valorization of the architecture of the Holy Land, in which the scientific inquiry into the ancient past of Jerusalem might be merged with the Protestant ideal of *sola scriptura* (by Scripture alone).

In the nineteenth century, however, the views of Protestant pilgrims reflected an emerging conviction that the persistence of the Catholic pilgrimage buildings impeded the ultimate revelation of the true biblical landscape as the physical counterpart to Scripture. The diminished state of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher following a catastrophic fire in 1808 particularly bolstered this view. It became something of a litany among Protestant pilgrims of the nineteenth century to decry the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the larger architectural landscape of Christian pilgrimage as rubbish. The English novelist William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63) or the American James T. Barclay (1807–74), for example, invoked the ideas of refuse and trickery in

their accounts of the Holy Sepulcher.<sup>9</sup> By doing so Protestant pilgrim-authors characterized the architecture of the Christian pilgrimage as an accumulated waste standing as the material counterpart to a superstitious and irrational mindset that prevented an enlightened religious understanding.<sup>10</sup>

Edward Robinson's (1794–1863) groundbreaking study of the relationship of the Bible to the landscape of the Holy Land exemplifies the antagonistic relationship of nineteenth-century Anglo-American Protestants to the architecture associated with the traditions of Christian pilgrimage. The American theologian refused to measure either the Church of the Holy Sepulcher or the Way of the Cross when he came to Jerusalem and omitted both from his influential study first published in 1841, produced in conjunction with fellow theologian Eli Smith (1801–57).<sup>11</sup> Although Robinson's goal was a putatively objective scientific geography founded upon textual and linguistic analysis, he was at the same time part of a larger missionary movement.<sup>12</sup> Missionaries from Europe and the United States were first allowed to settle in Jerusalem in the 1830s, during the period of the Egyptian Occupation (1831–40).<sup>13</sup> He was among those Americans who believed that, first, the Bible's literal accuracy could be proved in scientific study of the Holy Land's geography, especially in contrast to a new wave of German scholarship that challenged the historical authenticity of Scripture; and second, that the conversion of non-Protestants was an inevitable progression in the ultimate realization of America's destiny.<sup>14</sup> A related call to restore Jews to Jerusalem – echoed among theologians of both the United States and England from the late eighteenth century – anticipated their conversion to Protestant Christianity, understood as an essential precondition of Christ's second coming.<sup>15</sup>

In his study, Robinson staked a particular American claim upon the landscape of the Holy Land, by asserting that no people had ever been as close to the Bible as those in the United States, who since childhood developed a personal relationship with Scripture.<sup>16</sup> The many Protestant Americans who traveled to the Holy Land in the nineteenth century and wrote about their experiences consistently represented the landscape as the

site of divine revelation in contrast to the architectural debris that had accumulated since the life of Christ.<sup>17</sup> These descriptions were the textual counterpart to pictorial representations of the city made by nineteenth-century artists, from the popular panoramas of John Banvard (1815–91) and the lithographs of the Scottish David Roberts (1796–1864) to the monumental landscape paintings of Frederic Church (1826–1900).<sup>18</sup> These artists either drew attention to the decrepit state of buildings associated with Catholicism, as well as Orthodox Christianity and Islam, or consciously distanced themselves from the same, envisioning a remote city whose precise architectural contours were obscured in a numinous aura, dwarfed by the awe-inspiring vastness of the landscape.<sup>19</sup> For Protestants it was the open spaces of the city rather than its churches that facilitated such expansive views of the landscape, providing a more authentic encounter with the divine, as for example stated by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815–81) in 1856: “It is useless to seek for traces of His presence in the streets of the since ten times captured city. It is impossible not to find them in the free space of the Mount of Olives.”<sup>20</sup>

At the same time Robinson's study also contributed to a new interest among Protestants in the physical remains of the Jewish Temple. He asserted the authenticity of the historical identity of the Temple Mount, now pervasively known as the Haram al-Sharif, with the platform of the Herodian Temple and described the Golden Gate as an original entranceway into the Jewish Temple.<sup>21</sup> For Robinson, the Golden Gate more specifically became a symbol of the destined Christian repossession of Jerusalem; he attributed the walled-up gate to intentions of Muslims who believed that when the gate opened a king would enter and take the city. This idea echoed throughout subsequent books written by both American and British visitors to Jerusalem, up until the British take-over of the city in 1918 – widely perceived as the fulfillment of this destiny.<sup>22</sup> The promotional book for Banvard's moving panorama exhibited at the Georama in New York City from 1851, for example, juxtaposed the representation of the Haram al-Sharif at the center of the sweeping vision of the city with the natives' tradition that “a powerful Christian king will one day enter by it and

take possession of the city.”<sup>23</sup> Within the rotunda at 1596 Broadway, designed for this panorama, the visitor experienced a panoptical possession of Jerusalem as the landscape and its architecture scrolled across the curved inner walls.<sup>24</sup> In one of the most popular books of the late nineteenth century, Thomson’s *Land and the Bible* first published in 1858, the American author expanded upon the perceived destiny of the Haram within Christianity, predicting – along with the demise of the Ottoman Empire – “that the emancipation of the Haram looms up very distinctly.”<sup>25</sup> Mark Twain (1835–1910), in the equally popular (if less serious) *Innocents Abroad* (first published in 1869), repeated the legend, adding “[i]t did not grieve me any to notice that the old gate was getting a little shaky.”<sup>26</sup>

The renewed focus on both the Golden Gate and the Temple of Solomon as the potential symbolic center of a restored Christian (and specifically Protestant) Jerusalem marks the beginnings of an emerging anti-Islamic movement that more and more came to dominate how and why the architecture of the Christian Holy Land was recreated in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century. As in the medieval and Renaissance periods, this entailed both the symbolic appropriation of buildings through the rewriting of architectural history and the physical re-creation of the Holy Land to stage an imagined repossession of the city. Of the former, perhaps the most interesting example was the tendentious rewriting of the history of the primary sacred buildings of Jerusalem, by which the Dome of the Rock was revealed to have been the original Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The author of these at first well received theories, published in 1845, was the British archaeologist James Fergusson (1808–86). His argument elegantly – if preposterously – refuted the sanctity of the historical Church of the Holy Sepulcher at the same time as invalidating Islam’s relation to the history of the Jewish Temple.<sup>27</sup> Such a way of laying claim to the primary Jewish Temple was reminiscent of the period of the First Crusade, when the Dome of the Rock’s history was rewritten and Islam was denied an authentic place within the history of Jerusalem’s sanctity.<sup>28</sup>

The various challenges to the sacred status of the historical Christian architecture of the Holy Land, from Robinson’s study to Fergusson’s theories, were not unanswered by Catholics. Conrad Schick (1822–1901) excavated around the Constantinian church and discovered what he thought to be the ancient walls of the city, in the effort to prove the authenticity of the traditional sites of the Crucifixion and Entombment.<sup>29</sup> Marquis Charles-Jean-Melchior de Vogüé (1829–1916), a French aristocrat who claimed descent from crusaders, produced the most significant study of the Christian churches of the Holy Land, published in 1860 and 1864.<sup>30</sup> In the first work, Vogüé made the pilgrimage buildings the subject of his study, placed in the context of crusader Jerusalem and French patrimony.<sup>31</sup> Vogüé pointed to the descriptions of pilgrims as proof of the invalidity of Fergusson’s theories and offered a new integration of textual study and architectural history. His proposed reconstructions of the ancient states of both the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and Church of the Ascension (Fig. 217) were made by comparison with Adomnán’s drawings originating in the late seventh century (Plates 1 and 2).<sup>32</sup> In the second publication, Vogüé presented his reconstruction of the Temple at the time of Jesus.<sup>33</sup>

Vogüé’s studies of the Temple inspired models, like those by Conrad Schick, as well as a scaled re-creation in France, at Pontchateau, incorporated among re-creations of Calvary, the Holy Sepulcher, the Grotto of Bethlehem, and the Scala Santa, all constructed from the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Another series of re-creations of the pilgrimage buildings was constructed in the United States, conceived in 1880 with the establishment of the US Commissariat of the Holy Land. Although originally planned to be located on Staten Island in New York City, the Franciscan complex was realized years later in Brookland, Washington, DC. The Grottos in Bethlehem and Nazareth – whose features were well known from the studies of Vogüé and Franciscan authors before him – were collapsed into a single underground space, mediated by a Purgatory chapel and passages re-creating martyrs’ tombs in the Roman catacombs (Fig. 218).<sup>35</sup> As in earlier Franciscan books and sacred mountains, architecture provided the framework for creating a continuous



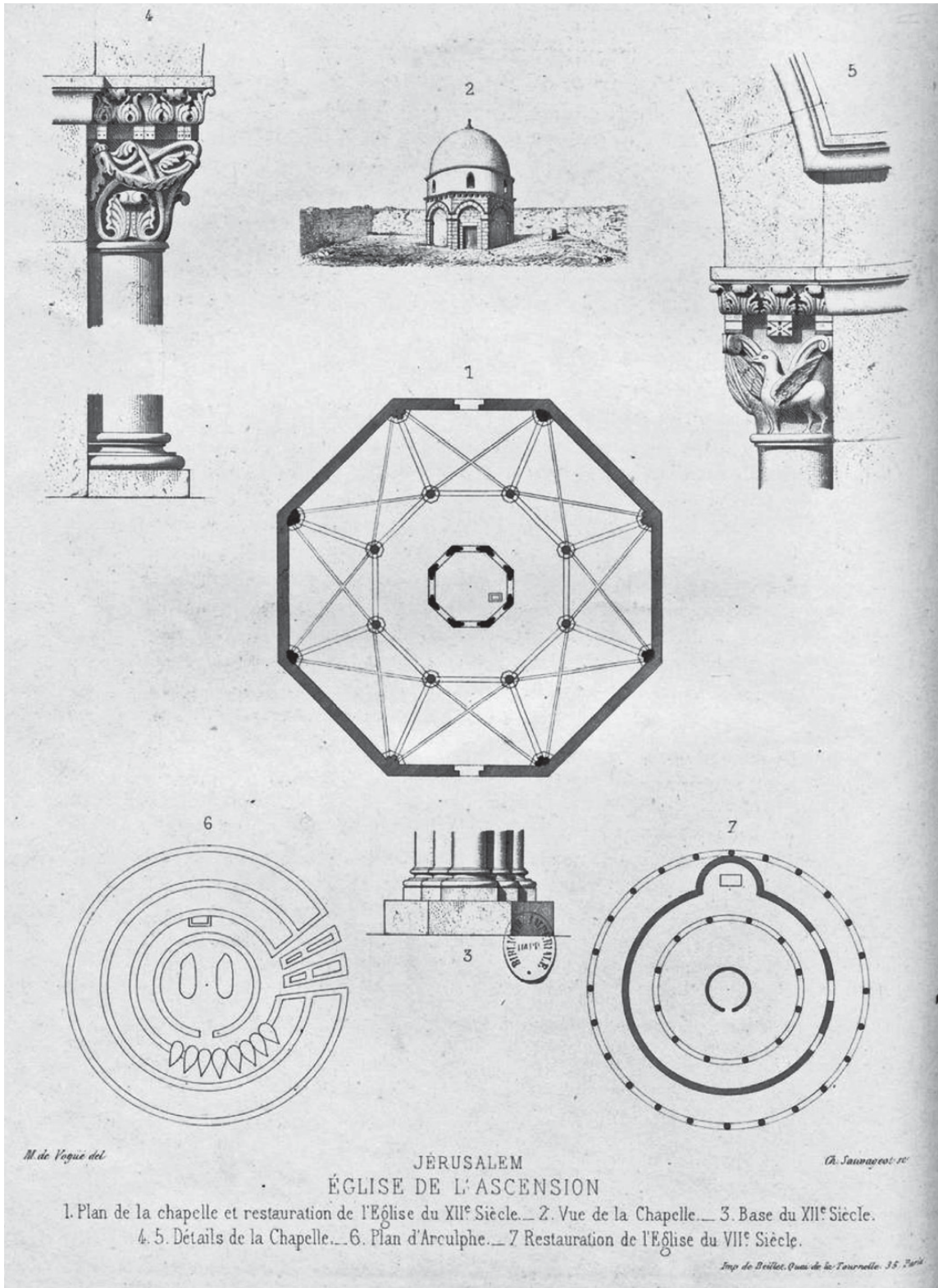


Fig. 217 Melchior de Vogüé, Jerusalem, Church of the Ascension, from de Vogüé, 1860 (Photo: Archive.org / The Library of Congress – Public Domain)

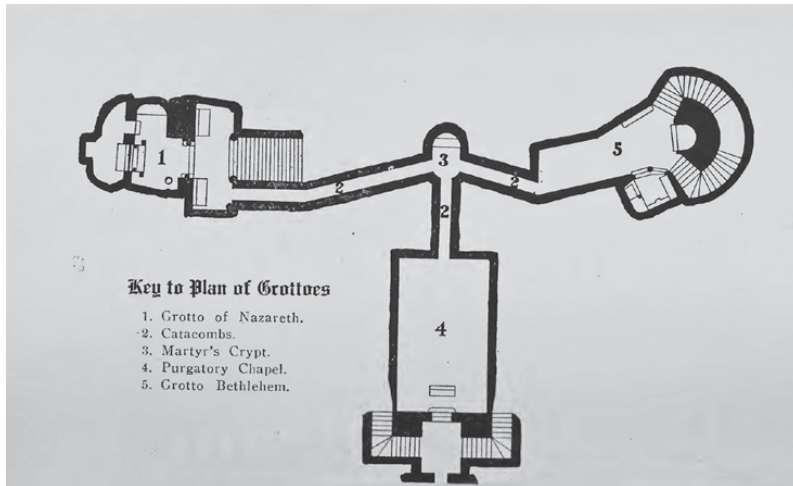


Fig. 218 Chapels of Bethlehem, the Catacombs, and Nazareth at the Franciscan Monastery, Brookland, Washington, DC, from *A Guide to the Franciscan Monastery of Washington, D.C.*, 1914 (Photo: Archive.org / The Library of Congress – Public Domain)

Catholic space, now concentrated in an even more intensive fashion.

Since the sixteenth century, when many Protestants first denied the sanctity of the architecture of the Christian Holy Land, physical re-creations had become a defining feature of Catholicism, in contrast to the absence of such re-creations in predominantly Protestant regions. The surge in American interest in the landscape of the Holy Land in the nineteenth century inspired a new kind of Protestant re-creation of the Holy Land that imagined possession of the landscape, restoration of the Jewish Temple, and the eradication of Islam. This movement reflects Robinson's assertion of the unique proximity between American minds and the biblical landscape, on the one hand, and the ascription of a sanctified quality to the American territory, as a new promised land to which an exiled people had been brought by divine providence, on the other.

The Chautauqua movement, initiated in 1874, was at the heart of this uniquely American development. In addition to biblical study and teaching on sacred geography promoted throughout the United States, the center of the movement in New York became an American re-creation of the Holy Land.<sup>36</sup> Palestine Park's scaled topographic model of the landscape of the Holy Land revolved around Chautauqua Lake representing the Mediterranean. Having entered through Chautauqua's own Golden Gate, visitors

wandered through the biblical landscape wearing oriental dress, could visit an open-air model of the Tabernacle, and would on occasion hear the call to prayer made from a parapet of the Oriental House.<sup>37</sup> The call was made by a salesman who specialized in photographs of the Holy Land for Sunday schools.<sup>38</sup> At the same time, sermons equated the spread of Christianity with modern progress that would lead to the ultimate destruction of "Mohammedanism."<sup>39</sup> In later years a scaled model of Ottoman Jerusalem also allowed pilgrims to juxtapose a view of the real architecture of the city with the pristine landscapes of Chautauqua's Palestine Park.<sup>40</sup>

Protestant interest in the real Holy Land most dramatically expanded with the reported discovery of the true site of Christ's entombment. The discovery – every bit as imaginative as Fergusson's own re-interpretation of Jerusalem's history – was made by the British General Charles Gordon (1833–85), who arrived in Jerusalem in 1883 following investigations into the location of the Garden of Eden. North of the ancient city walls of Jerusalem, Gordon claimed to discover the true Tomb of Christ in an open garden setting.<sup>41</sup> Gordon made use of topographic surveys created by Charles Warren (1840–1927), who had become associated with the British Palestine Exploration Fund since its formation in 1865. Warren had excavated around both the Temple Mount and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher; in relation to

the latter, he hoped to prove that the Church had been inside the ancient walls of Jerusalem, and therefore could not have been the original site of the Crucifixion.<sup>42</sup> Warren's maps presented the purified topography of Jerusalem free of the "rubbish" – as he characterized the architecture – obscuring the true biblical sites.<sup>43</sup> Using Warren's maps, Gordon revealed the true location of Christ's entombment by discovering – he argued – the forms of a skull in the contour lines of Jerusalem's topography (Fig. 219).<sup>44</sup> By doing so Gordon revealed that the biblical identification of the site of the Crucifixion, known as Golgotha or "place of the skull," was literally inscribed into Jerusalem's landscape.<sup>45</sup> As stated by W. H. Mallock in July 1885: "Hell for [Gordon] is a veritable abyss of fire; the new Jerusalem is a veritable city in the heavens; and the Jerusalem of the earth is a spot so sacred, that the configuration of the ground it stands upon is a hieroglyph designed by God."<sup>46</sup>

Although there certainly were skeptics regarding the historical validity of Gordon's claims, the discovery of the Garden Tomb, as it came to be known, provided a new focus for the Protestant pilgrimage and contributed to an ongoing renewal in interest in Jerusalem at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>47</sup> Gordon's Tomb was rapidly incorporated into photographic exhibitions and stereoscopic renderings of the Holy Land, which were uniquely popular in the United States.<sup>48</sup> In *Jerusalem through the Stereoscope*, published from c. 1896 to 1908, the Garden Tomb was presented among a series of paired photographic views – which viewed together through a dual-lens camera seemed three-dimensional – along with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Way of the Cross, Jews at the Western Wall, the interior of the Dome of the Rock, and the minbar of the Aqsa Mosque.<sup>49</sup> The accompanying volume of commentary played an important function in directing the viewer to "imagine that we have been transported back a couple thousand years" and that "[w]e are in the Bible landscape, among people clad in Biblical garments."<sup>50</sup>

Exhibitions of photographs of the Holy Land, popular in the United States in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, consistently emphasized the picturesque qualities of dilapidated buildings. Some Americans now asserted that divine providence had

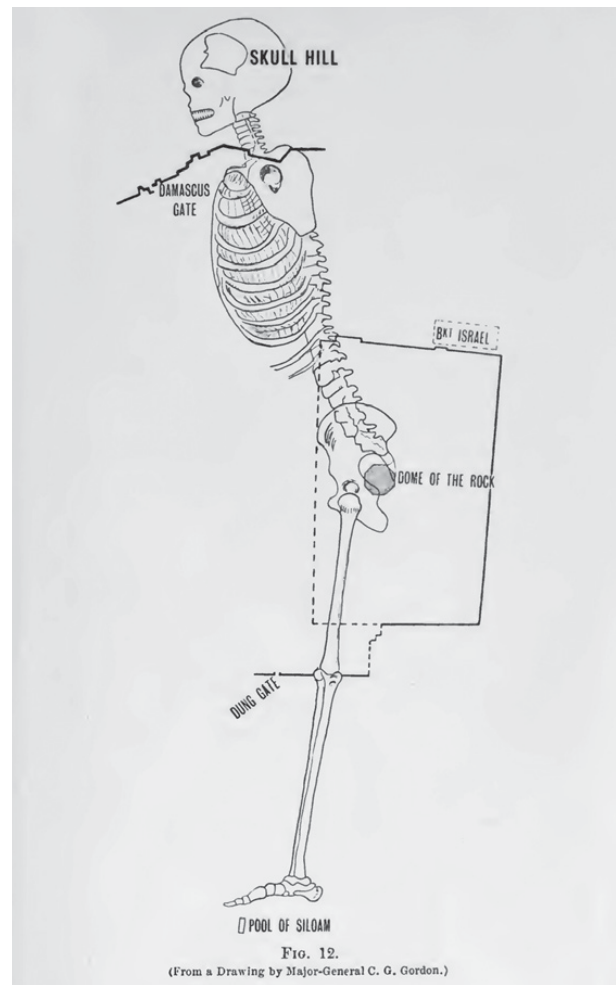


Fig. 219 Plan of Jerusalem, from a drawing by Major-General C. G. Gordon, from Charles Gordon, *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, London, 1916 (Photo: Gallica / BNF – Public Domain)

preserved the biblical lands by intentionally leaving the territory in Ottoman hands; the Ottomans – so the reasoning went – had insulated the Holy Land from secular history and modernization, preserving its authentic relationship to the biblical past.<sup>51</sup> In other words, the architectural rubbish ironically took on a new value, confirming the status of the territory outside the realm of historical progress and development, arrested in a perpetual biblical past.<sup>52</sup> In this context, the presentation of native Palestine figures as if living relics of biblical times in the same photographs achieved a total conflation of the imaginary past and empirically observed present.<sup>53</sup>

Photographic exhibitions, stereographic devices, scrolling panoramas, and lavishly illustrated





Fig. 220 Detail of stereograph of the Jerusalem exhibit as seen from the Ferris Wheel of 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis, Underwood & Underwood, 1904 (Photo: The Library of Congress – Public Domain)

books – which all proliferated in the last decades of the nineteenth century – were designed to satisfy the increasing American interest in making the pilgrimage, which was available only to the wealthiest. The idea of making a full-scale replica of Jerusalem and its architecture at the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis (Fig. 220) was as much a response to this popular interest in vicarious pilgrimage as it was an expression of a particular American self-definition as God's chosen people. In the midst of “all the wonders of the modern electrical world” exhibited at St. Louis, the architecture of Jerusalem at the Fair's center took on a special role in the representation of modernity and American destiny.<sup>54</sup> The 10-acre Jerusalem Exhibit, incorporating re-creations of the Haram al-Sharif, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Way of the Cross, and the Western (Wailing) Wall, was heralded as an “exact model.” And yet the Exhibit conspicuously lacked the signs of electrical marvels, including the street lights and other aspects of modernization that had in fact come to the real city at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>55</sup> In the place of street lights, there were hitching-posts for camels that the visitor could ride, maximizing the oriental qualities of the experience, as promotional materials advertised.<sup>56</sup> The recognition of the truth of the architectural models, precisely re-created in unprecedented fashion – as verified against photographs of the real city – must have fed into the American sense of superiority and ownership associated with technological progress. The visitor's experience,

self-consciously mediated by photography, stood in vivid contrast to that of the hundreds of raggedly dressed Palestinian natives imported from Jaffa, who were perceived by many as standing outside the trajectory of civilization's progress manifested in the surrounding Fair buildings.<sup>57</sup>

There were other divergences from the real Jerusalem that rooted the exhibit at St. Louis in the history of European possession of the city and the First Crusade in particular. The real Dome of the Rock at the center of the Exhibit was juxtaposed with a re-creation of Solomon's Stables – as the subterranean chambers of the Aqsa Mosque had been identified during the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem – conflating contemporary Jerusalem with a fabricated idea of the city's ancient past originally formulated in the context of the crusader conquest.<sup>58</sup> Similar subtle references to the past Christian possession of Jerusalem pervaded the planning and implementation of the exhibit. In the investment prospectus, it was proclaimed that the visitors would be made to feel as if they were in the “actual Jerusalem,” taking on the role of “the Frank from across the seas,” echoing the medieval identification of the European crusaders as Frankish.<sup>59</sup> At the entrance to the Fair, an equestrian statue of the “Apotheosis of St. Louis” – the crusader king Louis IX of France and namesake of the Missourian city – stood as a reminder of the role of American expansionism within the world destiny of Christianity.<sup>60</sup> The Fair was at root a celebration of American territorial expansion, commemorating

the purchase of the Louisiana Territories from the French, and by extension the American inheritance of the traditions of the Frankish crusaders.<sup>61</sup> Jerusalem represented simultaneously the origin point and the telos of the progress of civilization as a Christian enterprise; as a particularly American enterprise, the possession of the sacred landscape of the Holy Land could be imagined as part of the country's unique destiny of limitless expansion. In this sense, like so many re-creations of the architecture of the Holy Land from previous centuries, the version at St. Louis represented a symbolic possession of the Holy Land that pointed to the hope of true possession of Jerusalem.<sup>62</sup>

Visitors to the Jerusalem Exhibit at the 1904 World Fair in St. Louis could conclude their visit by purchasing either stereographic photographs of the Fair or photographs of the real city, as if to confirm that the experience had been equivalent to a pilgrimage to the actual Holy Land. Just a few years later the camera became most explicitly defined as a weapon in an American crusade to claim possession of the biblical territory and its sacred architecture with the publication of Dwight Lathrop Elmendorf's *A Camera Crusade through the Holy Land* in New York in 1912.<sup>63</sup> Picturesque panoramas of the landscape alternated with carefully framed portraits of pilgrimage buildings, which used the camera to demonstrate that the Holy Land matched a pictorial tradition of illustrating the lives of Christ and Mary. For example, the Golden Gate is presented on a distant summit of a hilly path, juxtaposed in the foreground with native Palestinians and a donkey that clearly evoke Christ's Entry into Jerusalem as it had been represented for centuries (Plate 11 and Fig. 221).<sup>64</sup>

The truth-telling function of the camera is also invoked in Elmendorf's contrast between the Church of the Holy Sepulcher – whose dark interiors his camera had refused to capture, as he tells us – and the Garden Tomb, which in contrast is presented as an absolute match to the corresponding biblical descriptions.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps most striking is Elmendorf's account of the Dome of the Rock; he admires the building as a “fine example of Arabian architecture following Byzantine designs,” but concludes by sharing his personal belief that it was the purpose of God to utterly destroy the Temple so that



Fig. 221 Dwight L. Elmendorf, *The Golden Gate*, from Elmendorf, 1912 (Photo: Archive.org / University of California – Public Domain)

it might be raised up anew.<sup>66</sup> The idea of destroying the Dome of the Rock to replace it with the final Temple had in fact progressed from millennial fantasy to contemporary news. Just three years earlier, a main article of the *Illustrated London News* had headlined: “Freemasons Plan to Rebuild the Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem,” accompanied by an illustration of a late nineteenth-century model of the Temple. The article noted that such an attempt “would in all probably bring about the greatest religious war the world has ever known.”<sup>67</sup>

In the period of the First Crusade, textual descriptions of the city's architecture both before it was conquered and afterwards were closely allied with the physical transformations that expanded the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, appropriated the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa Mosque as the Temple and Palace of Solomon, and appropriated numerous other previous mosques on behalf of Christianity. Just as Pope Urban II had preached about the transgressions of idolatrous Muslims who had taken over the

Temple of Solomon, representing the Dome of the Rock as an ancient building with no authentic relation to Islam, lithographs and photographs throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries presented the image of the Dome of the Rock identified as the biblical Temple of Solomon or Mount Moriah, and the Golden Gate as one of its original entranceways.<sup>68</sup> Photographs worked together with textual accounts to claim Christian possession of the Holy Land. Elmendorf, in his *Camera Crusade*, reiterated the idea that “[a]fter capturing the city, the Mohammedans closed the gate again and it has not been opened since. They have a very curious tradition that they will hold Jerusalem until a Christian conqueror opens the gate, enters, and captures the city.”<sup>69</sup>

The memory of past Christian conquest resonated as General George Allenby (1861–1936) walked barefoot into Jerusalem, initiating the British Empire’s protection of the city on behalf of Christianity on December 8, 1918. Illustrated newspapers and stereographs of the event directly compared the image of Allenby’s entry into the city with the First Crusade.<sup>70</sup> The end of 400 years of Ottoman rule in the Holy Land – widely regarded as Europe’s ultimate triumph of over Islam – and Christian repossession of the territory seemed to open up the possibility for the full realization of both Protestant missionary and Zionist dreams. From 1918 and throughout the period of the Mandate (1920–48), British architects and planners sought to realize the idealized vision of a Jerusalem purified of the undesirable building associated with both Catholic superstition and Ottoman neglect. This purification was to be accomplished by both preventing further construction through the designation of a no-build zone and theoretically the destruction of non-biblical-era buildings.<sup>71</sup> Biblical sites were to be actively insulated from industrialization and modernity in general, realizing an updated Protestant vision of the purified landscape of Jerusalem.<sup>72</sup> Implementation first included clearing buildings, expropriated primarily from Palestinians, adjacent to the Old City walls.<sup>73</sup> This was intended to continue with the creation of a sacred park, first planned in 1919 by Patrick Geddes (1854–1932).<sup>74</sup> Excavations – in Geddes’ vision – would finally reveal the true biblical earth submerged under the

“rubbish,” as the architecture continued to be characterized.<sup>75</sup> At the same time writers who sought to guide Protestant pilgrims in this period directed them towards spots free of architecture where the landscape might be taken in.<sup>76</sup>

The British also supported restoration projects, particularly of the Dome of the Rock. This was a period when pilgrims of any denomination could enter the building.<sup>77</sup> The renewal of key Catholic pilgrimage sites likewise signaled the inclusive nature of the Christian triumph facilitated by the British. The Roman Catholic Church, undoubtedly sensitive to the persistent perception of the sacred buildings as rubbish, demolished dilapidated pilgrimage buildings and funded new construction on Mount Tabor, in the Garden of Gethsemane, and Ein Kerem, as well as for the Monastery of the Flagellation in Jerusalem, all designed by Antonio Barluzzi (1884–1960).<sup>78</sup> The question of who would fund the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher – severely damaged by earthquake in 1927 – remained contentious.<sup>79</sup> Beginning in 1936, Italian architects prepared proposals for a new church built on the site, twice the size of the existing structure. This would have entailed demolishing numerous Islamic as well as Greek, Armenian, and Russian properties – an expropriation that could only be accomplished by a totalitarian state. The scale of the four massive spiral bell towers would have far surpassed any minaret in the city.<sup>80</sup> The formal plans, drawn up by the architect Luigi Marangoni (1872–1950) in collaboration with Barluzzi, were created over the course of 1940, as Italy entered World War II. A future victory over the British and the replacement of the Mandate with Italian colonial rule was to be celebrated with the building’s construction.<sup>81</sup>

British victories in 1942 and the eventual defeat of Mussolini did not end dreams of a Catholic restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher under Italian direction. Marangoni and Barluzzi’s unrealized project was published in 1949 (Fig. 222) to coincide with the 800th anniversary of the dedication of the crusader church in 1149.<sup>82</sup> Barluzzi’s design of the *Dominus Flevit* church, completed in 1955, also realized a metaphorical Catholic repossession of the sacred city. Its famous view of Jerusalem (Fig. 223), commemorating Christ weeping over the fate of the



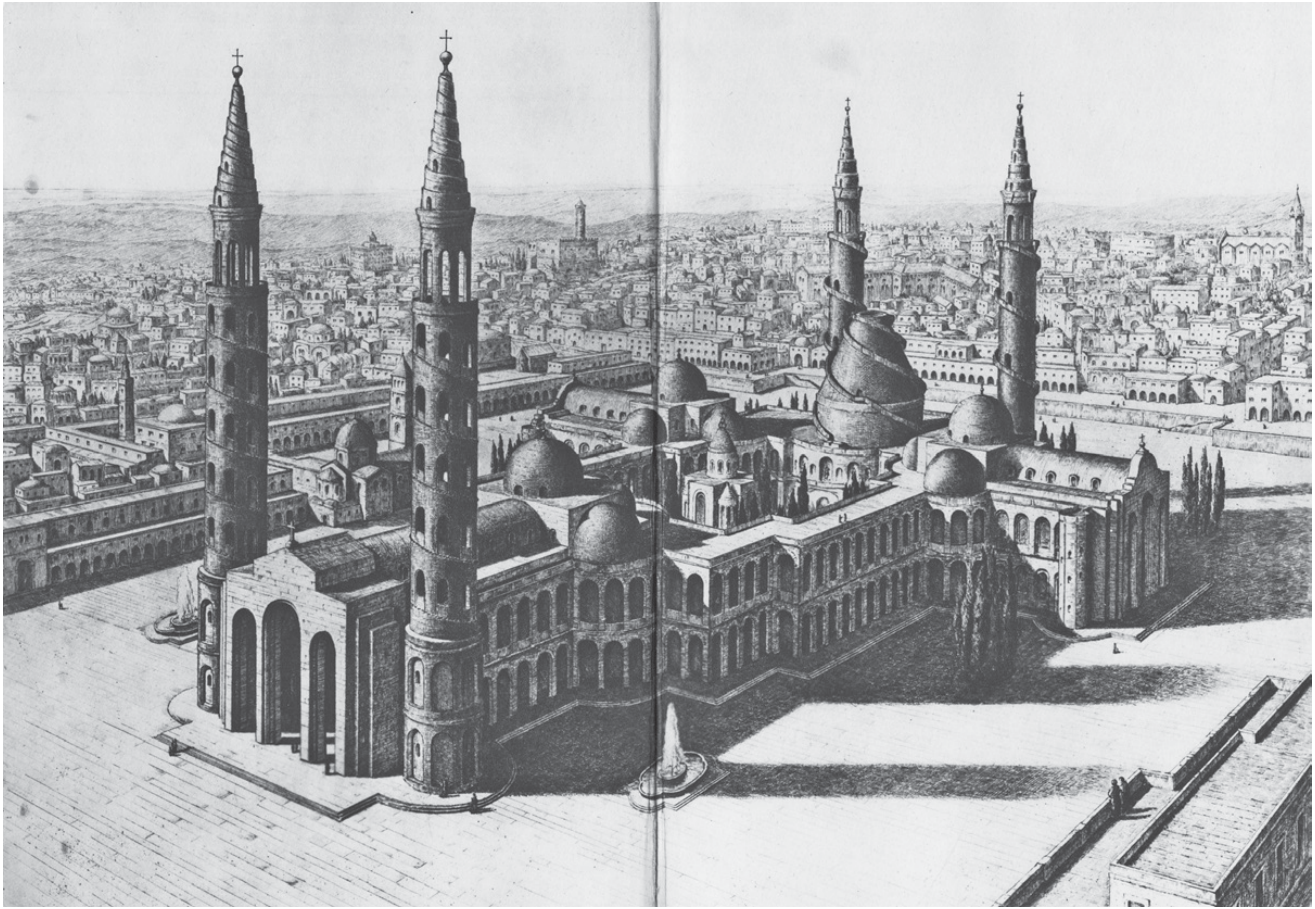


Fig. 222 Luigi Marangoni and Antonio Barluzzi, Project for the reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, from Baldi *et al.*, 1949

city, juxtaposes both the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher with the Eucharistic chalice and Cross, reaffirming the Franciscan conception of the consecrated status of the landscape. Barluzzi would also mentor the young Franciscan archaeologist Virgilio Corbo (1918–91), who excavated at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher from 1960 and produced its first modern archaeological study, published in 1982.<sup>83</sup> The study was presented – and generally received – as the ultimate vindication of the building as marking the true sites of Christ’s Crucifixion and Entombment.<sup>84</sup>

Throughout the twentieth century, efforts to both excavate and restore the Church of the Holy Sepulcher continued to be deeply informed by the long-standing Protestant and Catholic quarrel over the historical veracity of the site. When seen in this light, the interventions of Richard Krautheimer

(1897–1994) within the field of architectural history take on a new significance. In 1942 Krautheimer first proposed to establish an iconography of medieval architecture founded upon the study of the Holy Sepulcher and its copies throughout medieval Europe. The study sidestepped the question of the historical veracity of the sites of the Entombment and Crucifixion and instead proposed a scientific study of signification in medieval architecture. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher emerged as a unifying principal within the architectural culture of Europe from the rise of Christianity until the Renaissance. This, like his silence regarding the archaeological quarrel about the Holy Sepulcher, may have emerged from a nostalgic understanding of the history of medieval architecture before the disenchantment of modernity and the fragmentation of Europe. Krautheimer perhaps shared in



Fig. 223 View of Jerusalem from the Church of Dominus Flevit, Jerusalem (Photo: author)

the same nostalgia of Jerusalem as a relic of a pre-modern, pre-industrial past – a vision informing the contemporary British attitudes towards the city’s architecture – as further suggested by his distinctly anti-mechanistic conception of copying in medieval architecture.

In some ways Krautheimer’s ground-breaking study could be seen as part of the larger rehabilitation of the image of Christian Jerusalem undertaken in the years of the British Mandate. The omission of the context of the crusades and antagonism between Christianity and Islam was similarly suggestive of an interest in stabilizing an image of the architecture of the Holy Sepulcher as a pure expression of medieval Christianity. I, in contrast, see the ongoing impact of the antagonism between Christianity and Islam upon the political meanings of buildings that sought to re-create the Holy Sepulcher – or related

buildings in the Christian Holy Land – as a sign of continuity from the past to present.

In this long history of re-creating the architecture of the Christian Holy Land in Europe and beyond, I think we might see striking continuities from the medieval to modern periods, rather than difference. Beyond the ongoing antagonism between Christianity and Islam is the reality of the mediated nature of the experience of the architecture of the Holy Land. The media may have changed over the centuries, from sermons and manuscripts and printed books to photographs, stereoscopes, or Internet-based virtual tours. But rather than seeing in these technological developments signs of epochal breaks, I think we may more productively observe that the experience of the real Holy Land from the outset had a tendency to be preceded by its representations. By admitting verbal description into the field



of significant representations that may mediate the experience of architecture, it becomes possible to see the gradual emergence of an image culture in relation to oral or textual description, as a prior and allied form of virtuality. By doing so, it may also be possible to more fully realize Krautheimer's conception of an architectural "iconography," as a joint study of images (*eikon*) and writing (*graphia*) in relationship to the meaning of architecture.

I also think that it is problematic to understand only objective realism as the driving force in the Renaissance or modern representations of the architecture of the Holy Land. The illusion of precise and truthful representation, whether in paintings, prints, photographs, or architectural re-creation, often depended upon previous representations and textual frameworks that tendentially staged the city as a Christian possession.<sup>85</sup> This was certainly the case for the sacred mountains and Ways of the Cross constructed in Europe and the Americas, which imagined a purified Christian space of Jerusalem, as well as for contemporary re-creations of the Holy Land. Probably the best known of the contemporary examples is the Holy Land Experience Theme Park in Orlando, Florida. The Garden Tomb and a gold-and-white Herod's Temple manifest an evangelical Protestant vision of a Jerusalem purified of Islam and Catholicism, in which actors re-enact the life of Christ.<sup>86</sup> Although initially opened to the public on February 5, 2001, since September 11 the message of the Park's parent organization – Zion's Hope Ministry – has been distinctly anti-Islamic, invoking the dual themes of the Antichrist and the imminent apocalypse.<sup>87</sup>

The Holy Land Experience Theme Park is a well-publicized example, but in fact the re-creation of select Holy Land buildings enacting a symbolic possession and purification of the biblical landscape can be found elsewhere in the United States. At Eureka Springs, Arkansas, a re-creation of the double-arched Golden Gate admits the paying visitor into a 50-acre park identified with the landscape of the Old and New Testament. The founder of Arkansas' "New Holy Land," Gerald Smith (1898–1976), also founder of the Christian Nationalist Crusade (1942–77), had raised funds in the 1970s by alerting his supporters to the despoliation of the real Holy Land at the hands

of those who "glorify the antichrist instead of our Savior."<sup>88</sup> The Tabernacle model at the center of the park is presented as containing God's plans for the salvation of believers, claiming Jewish history within a timeless territory of Christian possession.<sup>89</sup>

While the evangelical Christian re-creations of the Holy Land have selectively re-created the Golden Gate and the Tabernacle to appropriate the Jewish past and eradicate the Islamic present, an opposing movement has sought to reaffirm Islam's unique custody of the Haram al-Sharif by denying the historical existence of a Jewish Temple at the site.<sup>90</sup> These claims began to be voiced in the first decade of the Israeli State, formed in 1948.<sup>91</sup> This stands at one extreme of the opposing impulses of architectural destruction and re-creation that continue to define the charged nature of both the real and conceptual space of Jerusalem. At the opposite extreme is the virtual re-creation of the Jewish Temple, suggesting a potential reconstruction over the site of the Dome of the Rock. The most significant contemporary example is the computer simulation of the Herodian Temple Mount installed at the Ethan and Marla Davidson Exhibition and Virtual Reconstruction Center.<sup>92</sup> The tension between the imaginary and real is particularly forceful in this case, given that the location for the computer simulation is in subterranean areas just south of the Temple Mount, formerly a seventh-century palace of the early Islamic period.

In the virtual realms of cyberspace, Franciscans have also continued in the tradition of their Renaissance predecessors, creating an imagined experience of the Holy Land, crafted as a virtual tour into a continuous Catholic space ([Virtualtoursantosepolcro.org](http://Virtualtoursantosepolcro.org)). As for Bernardino Amico, the imagined space of the Catholic Holy Land is shaped by an embodied experience of moving through the precisely represented material buildings that memorialize the movements of Christ centuries before. The buildings together construct an apparently continuous Catholic territory, as the virtual counterpart to the Franciscan complex in Washington, DC or the sacred mountains of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The origins of this virtual experience in the printed books of early modern Franciscans is also suggested by the presentation of the architectural plans of



Bernardino Amico on the same website. In contrast to the embodied virtuality of imagined Catholic pilgrimage, the conceptualization of cyberspace as an egalitarian and homogenous space of disembodied information could be viewed as the digital incarnation of the Protestant idea of Jerusalem.<sup>93</sup> Comparisons between cyberspace and a transcendent Jerusalem reflect this enduring paradigm.<sup>94</sup>

Even the earliest representations of the architecture of the Christian Holy Land have taken on a new kind of abstract existence in cyberspace, through the digitization of manuscripts once limited to a small audience who could access them in collections of rare books. For Quaresmio, writing in the seventeenth century, the printing of Adomnán's drawings (Fig. 215), taken from manuscripts then almost a millennium old, seemed to offer a more permanent existence to those symbolic figurations that had become

the primary material traces of the earliest buildings in the Christian Holy Land. Many of those manuscripts have now been digitized and are available in virtual libraries, such as those of the monasteries of Reichenau and St. Gall (Stgallplan.org), where the Reichenau copy of Adomnán's manuscript (Plates 1 and 4) can now be found. Adomnán's drawings seem to have found their natural home in this new spatial realm that, like the imaginary world of monastic readership, has achieved a similar illusion of transcendence. The simultaneous existence of Adomnán's ground-plans, Amico's three-dimensional renderings, Elmendorf's photographs, stereographs of St. Louis' Jerusalem exhibit, and many more such representations of the architecture of the Christian Holy Land within cyberspace, now constitute the primary and most lasting traces of a rich and contested history of imagining and longing for a real Jerusalem.

## NOTES



### NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

- 1 The most accessible and comprehensive archaeological survey of the Christian buildings in Palestine focuses on the crusader period. Pringle 1998, 2007; Pringle and Leach, 1993.
- 2 Morris, 2005; Schein, 2005. The majority of the pilgrimage accounts from the early Christian period through the end of the first crusades are available in two volumes. Wilkinson *et al.*, 1988 and Wilkinson 2002. The best introduction to the early modern pilgrimage literature is provided by Mitchell, 1965.
- 3 Krautheimer, 1942. Probably the two most important examples of influential studies which cite Krautheimer's study as the basis of their interpretations of medieval copies or replicas of the Holy Sepulcher are Ousterhout, 1981 and Nagel and Wood, 2010.
- 4 Krautheimer, 1942, 5. See also the related discussion in Moore, 2010b.
- 5 Krautheimer, 1942, 14.
- 6 A similar lack of attribution of agency – most obviously revealed in a penchant for the passive voice – is found in Bandmann's study of medieval architecture, which extended Krautheimer's scope far beyond its original purview. Bandmann, 1951 and 2005.
- 7 I have avoided the term *martyrium* for similar reasons: as Ousterhout rightly points out, the term suggests a false correspondence of form and function for central-plan churches associated with the tombs of martyrs, long thought to have been patterned on the exemplar of the Anastasis Rotunda. Ousterhout, 1990a, 50–1; Grabar, 1946.
- 8 Krautheimer had primarily used the term “copy” throughout his discussion. Krautheimer, 1942; Kroesen, 2000, 34. Nagel and Wood instead used terms like substitute and replica, implicitly invoking George Kubler's concept of a replica chain. Nagel and Wood, 2010; Kubler, 1962, 71.
- 9 In contrast to this approach, the two most notable examples of attempts to exhaustively survey churches recreating the Holy Sepulcher are Dalman, 1922, focused on German examples (preceding Krautheimer's study), and Bresc-Bautier, 1974, focused on French examples.
- 10 Morris, 2005, 121–2.
- 11 Ousterhout, 1990a, 51–2. The same can be said of Santo Stefano Rotondo, a fifth-century church sometimes referred to as a copy or replica of the Anastasis Rotunda; this proposed relation again originates in Krautheimer's interpretations. Krautheimer, 1935, 93–5; Sahner, 2009, 103 and 115–16, with further bibliography. Krautheimer later offered a different interpretation of Santo Stefano Rotondo. Krautheimer, 1994.
- 12 Sahner, 2009.
- 13 McCurrach, 2011, 51.
- 14 Meehan, 1958.
- 15 Meehan dated the creation of the book to 683–6 (1958, 11), while Woods proposed *c.* 699 (2002, 46–7). Too much, however, remains unresolved regarding the nature of his source described as the pilgrim Arculf, and the only certainty is that Adomnán completed his book before dying at Iona in 704.
- 16 O'Loughlin, 1994, 51.
- 17 Although there are frequent references to the Franciscans having impacted the perceptions of the architecture of the Holy Land, particularly due to the formation of the Custody, the details have remained

- hazy. Exceptional studies which have explored this question have been undertaken by Italian scholars, including Piccirillo (1999, 2004, 2006, 2009) and Bacci (2009a, 2011, 2012).
- 18 The modern edition of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's book was published in 1945, in both Italian and English translation. Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945a and Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b.
- 19 The first edition was published in Bologna. Poggibonsi, 1500. The second and most subsequent editions were published in Venice. Poggibonsi, 1518. For a detailed historiographical discussion of these editions and their relation to the previous manuscripts, see Moore, 2013.
- 20 Moore, 2013.
- 21 Stewart, 1993, 23.
- 22 Delano-Smith and Ingram, 1991, xxi, 81–98, and 121–2.
- 23 This idea would be most clearly stated by William McClure Thomson: “In a word, Palestine is one vast tablet where-upon God's messages to men have been drawn, and graven deep in living characters by the Great Publisher of glad tidings, to be seen and read of all to the end of time.” Thomson, 1858, I: xv.
- 24 Amico, 1610.
- 25 Summers, 2003, 431.
- 26 Kirkland-Ives, 2013; Kühnel, 2012a; Rudy, 2011; Blick and Tekippe, 2005.
- 27 I am echoing the observations of Flood, who instead opted for the term “production.” Flood, 2007.
- 28 Taussig, 1993, 2 and 16.
- 29 Grimshaw, 2014, 7.

## NOTES TO PART I INTRODUCTION

- 1 Bynum, 2011, especially 19 and 41.
- 2 Bynum, 1991, 278.
- 3 Muir, 1997, 148 and 158–9.
- 4 Schmitt, 2006.
- 5 Matthew 26:26–28; Mark 14:22–24; Luke 22:17–20; 1 Corinthians 11:23–25.
- 6 Bynum, 2011, 208.
- 7 Limor, 2006, 327.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

- 1 Pringle, 2007, 6. On the early sources identifying the site of the Crucifixion with Adam's tomb, see Kühnel, 2012b.
- 2 Pullan, 1999, 595–6; Corbo, 1981a, 36.
- 3 Corbo, 1981a, 51.

- 4 Corbo suggested the possibility of an originally D-shaped plan for the Anastasis Rotunda, although the consensus seems to still hold that the original building – like subsequent versions – was most likely built on a circular ground-plan. Ousterhout, however, found the argument convincing. Ousterhout, 1984, 266. The original Rotunda has generally been thought to have been constructed in the reign of Constantine, although others have argued that it may have been constructed under his son and successor, Constantius II (r. 337–61). Pringle, 2007, 6–7; Coüasnon, 1974; Kleinbauer, 2006. A mosaic map of Jerusalem made sometime in the sixth century, decorating the floor of a church at Madaba (in modern-day Jordan), provides an idea of the original complex before its first destruction in 614 by the Persians, with the Holy Sepulcher at the center of an idealized, oval-shaped Jerusalem. Kühnel, 1987, 89–91. For speculation about other maps from the same period that may not survive, and their possible textual sources, see Tsafir, 1986.
- 5 Corbo, 1981a, 989; Pringle, 2007, 9.
- 6 The primary textual source is Eusebius' (c. 260–339/40) *De Vita Constantini* (On the Life of Constantine), which is cited and discussed in Corbo, 1981a, 39–47 and Pullan, 1999, 595–7. Excavations of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher were carried out from 1960 to 1980, and the results were published in three volumes. Corbo, 1981a, 1981b, and 1981c.
- 7 Holum, 1990, 66; Corbo, 1981a, 34.
- 8 The exact date of the Tomb Aedicule remains a question. Most recently, Bardill asserts that it must have been constructed by 387, if not 350. Bardill, 2011, 255. Although Eusebius mentions the rotunda, basilica, and courtyard, he does not refer to a structure like the Tomb Aedicule. Corbo, 1981a, 41–7; Bardill, 2011, 255.
- 9 Wilkinson, 1972; Lauffray, 1962; Bonnery, 1991. The marble model was first found in 1636. Grenier, 1959, 76–7 and Rey, 1949, 22. The model was found during the demolition of the *Tour mauresque* and was perhaps made as a reliquary for the adjacent cathedral.
- 10 Pringle and Leach, 1993, 137–8. Bagatti, 1952.
- 11 Morris, 2005, 40; Holum, 1990, 66. The Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth is generally dated to the reign of Constantine, and whatever remained of that early church was replaced by a new one in the twelfth century, which was then entirely destroyed in 1263. Pringle, 1998, 116–21.
- 12 Frank, 2000b, 99 (with English translation). Paulinus of Nola and Santaniello, 1992, II: 210.
- 13 Wilkinson, 2002, 43. The *Onomasticon* (On the Place-Names in the Holy Scripture) of Eusebius, likely



- dating to the 290s, is often cited as evidence of the expanding interest in the places associated with biblical events. Maraval, 2002, 66; Limor, 2006, 328.
- 14 Wilkinson, 2002, 1.
- 15 Frank, 2000a, 102 (with English translation). Egeria's account was lost until the late nineteenth century, when a fragment (the middle portion) was discovered, although the pilgrim's name was not in the manuscript. The journey was recounted in a letter to her "sisters," whose identities are unknown. The identification of Egeria as the author is based upon references made by later writers of the seventh and eighth centuries.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 118 (with English translation). Wilkinson, 1981, 1–4.
- 17 ... *quasi recentia nativitatis et crucis ac passionis vidisse vestigia*. Wilkinson, 2002, 70.
- 18 Wilkinson, 2002, 70; Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 3.3.
- 19 Milwright, 2003.
- 20 "Chrism" refers to oil mingled with balm, that is, with the balsam grown from the water in which Christ bathed. The fourteenth-century pilgrim Ludolph von Suchem, for example, notes the use of the balsam from al-Matariyya in the production of chrism: *Balsamum coctum est etiam bene multum nobile et mittitur in sacrum chrisma*. Von Suchem and Deycks, 1851, 54. Chrism was also used to anoint sacred images. Freedberg, 1989, 92.
- 21 Wilkinson, 2002, 9. Wilkinson suggests that the sources for the distances were secular itineraries, although he does not identify them; Tsafrir points out that no surviving secular itineraries confirm Wilkinson's suggestion. Tsafrir, 1986, 134.
- 22 Tsafrir suggests that such accounts of distances traversed may have corresponded to pictorial maps that do not survive. Tsafrir, 1986, 136–7.
- 23 ... *vie vestigia Christi sequi cupiens & miracula prophetarum pervidere, edicere curabo*. Tobler, 1867, 91
- 24 Kitzinger, 1954, 105. According to the Gospels, Jesus was flagellated in the Praetorium, but a tradition developed that he was also flagellated in the house of Annas. Pringle, 2007, 93–7; Magness, 2012, 158–9.
- 25 Geyer, 1898, 174; Milani, 1977, 21.
- 26 The Flagellation is recounted in John 19:1, Mark 14:65, and Luke 22:63–65. The idea of the scourging having occurred at a column is first attested in the fourth century. In his letter to Eustochium, Jerome also mentions a column in the portico of the church on Mt. Sion stained with Christ's blood during the scourging. O'Loughlin, 2014, 1–2.
- 27 Geyer, 1898, 154.
- 28 Wilkinson, 2002, 107.
- 29 Geyer, 1898, 141.
- 30 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945a, 16–17.
- 31 Geyer, 1898, 175.
- 32 Kitzinger, 1954, 96. Hoffmann and Wolf imply that this account may relate to an earlier reference to a portrait of Christ painted by Pilate, made by Irenaeus of Lyon (c. 125–c. 200). Hoffmann and Wolf, 2009, 396.
- 33 The question about the veracity of Adomnán's pilgrimage arises from the lack of details furnished by Arculf regarding the beginning and end of his source's journey. O'Loughlin (2000) has argued that Arculf was invented by Adomnán, especially because he cites Arculf as his source when it is instead clearly a text, like Jerome's. On the other hand, O'Loughlin does not consider the possible source for Adomnán's architectural descriptions or ground-plans, which had no precedent in any of the surviving manuscripts. On the question of Arculf's existence, see also Chatillon, 1967 and Woods, 2002. The most recent discussion of Arculf's sources notes that none of the known texts that were available at Iona could have provided the information that is attributed to Arculf; and I would again observe that this includes the architectural descriptions. Hoyland and Waidler, 2014.
- 34 Wilkinson, 2002, 18.
- 35 Most of the information in Adomnán's book comes from Jerome's *Liber de situ et nominibus*, a translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, as noted by O'Loughlin. O'Loughlin however has never observed that Adomnán's descriptions of the architectural forms of the pilgrimage sites could not have come from any previous known source. On Adomnán's dependence upon Jerome, see O'Loughlin, 1994, 35, including a list of the manuscripts likely in Iona and available to Adomnán.
- 36 According to Bede, Adomnán presented his book to King Aldfrith, who then handed it "to be read by lesser people." Woods, 2002, 46–7. On Bede's version of *De Locis Sanctis*, see Laistner and King, 1943, who list forty-seven manuscripts, mostly dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
- 37 Meehan, 1958, 44–5; Tobler, 1867, 146–7. All English translations from Adomnán's account are mine, based upon the Latin of the editions of both Meehan and Tobler.
- 38 Bagatti, 1949, 128–9. The same is true of the rocky Mt. of Calvary, which presumably has been diminished due to the enthusiasm of pilgrims for acquiring

- material associated – in this case – with the blood of Christ. *Ibid.*, 132–3.
- 39 Ezekiel 40, 41:1, and 42:12; Revelation 11:1–2.
- 40 Exodus 25: 8–9; 1 Kings 6:1–38.
- 41 Fassler, 2010, 212–13.
- 42 Wilkinson, 2002, 70.
- 43 Ousterhout, 1990, 46–7; Wilkinson, 1977, 60. The altar of Isaac’s sacrifice is also identified at Golgotha by the Piacenza Pilgrim and Adomnán. Wilkinson, 1977, 83 and 97. The very form of Christ’s Tomb may have intentionally been designed to recall the lost Jewish Tabernacle. Pictorial representations thought to symbolize the Tabernacle in Jewish art of the second and third century focus on a scallop-shell niche framed by four spiral columns; the earliest evidence for the appearance of the Tomb Aedicule suggests that a similar niche was seen above the entrance into the Tomb chamber. The scallop-shell of the Tomb Aedicule has also been related to symbols for regeneration associated with Venus, to whom the Hadrianic Temple on the site of Christ’s death and Resurrection had been dedicated. Pullan, 1999, 596.
- 44 Ambrose (c. 330–97), bishop of Milan, and Paulinus, bishop of Nola, were among the first to assert that Helena had discovered the True Cross on Golgotha. Holm, 1990, 67. The legends surrounding the discovery of the Cross were quickly elaborated and from the beginning focused on Helena’s typological role as a second Mary, in which context the Cross stood for the body of Christ. Helena was said to have discovered the Cross within the Hadrianic Temple of Venus; its true life-giving nature was revealed when the Cross revived a corpse. Helena had the Temple torn down and the site ploughed up, suggesting a harvest in which Helena fertilized the earth in a generative act producing the living wood of the True Cross. Baert, 2004, 195–6.
- 45 Wilkinson, 1981, 172. Egeria also noted that great effort was taken during this ritual to preserve the relics, especially because one pilgrim had bitten off a piece of the Cross.
- 46 Wilkinson, 1974; Hahn, 1990.
- 47 Wilkinson, 2002, 139; Geyer, 1898, 172–3.
- 48 Vikan, 1982; Barag, 1970. Some evidently contained oil from the lamps of the holy sites.
- 49 Morris, 2005, 76.
- 50 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV.
- 51 Hahn, 1990, 85.
- 52 Many of the ampullae were also fitted with rings and attached to strings, to be worn around the neck like amulets with a protective power, just like the measures

taken from the imprints of Christ in the Column of the Flagellation. Hahn, 1990, 92.

- 53 Vikan, 1982, 101; Ousterhout, 2009a, 155.
- 54 Vikan, 1982, 88–90.
- 55 Pentcheva, 2010, 23.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 24 and 29–32.
- 57 Kessler, 1998, 132.
- 58 Kühnel, 1987, 99.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

- 1 Chkhartishvili, 2009, 149–50.
- 2 Mgaloblishvili, 2014, 58–61; Gagoshidze, 2012. When the capital of Georgia moved to Tbilisi at the beginning of the sixth century, a number of toponymics appeared in that area as well: for Zion, Bethlehem, Golgotha, Tabor, and Bethany. On the surviving liturgical hymns relating to the Georgian devotion to the Jerusalem sacred sites, see Shoemaker, 2002, 120–1.
- 3 Heldman, 1992, 228. See also Heldman, 1995. The classic source for the history of the engagement between Christian Ethiopia and the Holy Land is Cerulli, 1943.
- 4 Heldman, 1992, 228.
- 5 Wilkinson, 2002, 174; Klein, 2004.
- 6 The residence was known as the Sessorian Palace. Bardill, 2011, 247.
- 7 Krautheimer, 1937, 165; Blaauw, 1997, 64. The *Liber Pontificalis* entry for Pope Sylvester (314–25), whose authenticity has been questioned, provides a description of the origins of the church. Davis, 2000, 21; Duchesne, 1955, 179. The earliest epigraphic evidence for an association with Jerusalem dates to the beginning of the fifth century, referring to the church as Sancta Ecclesia Hierusalem. Blaauw, 1997, 56–62; Blaauw, 2014, 146.
- 8 Sahner hypothesizes that the layout of the fourth-century basilica may have intentionally re-created the general arrangement of the Golgotha martyrrium. Sahner, 2009, 108. The argument is primarily based upon the potential off-axis placement of the relic of the Cross in the apse of the basilica. Grisar had originally observed the potential parallelism. Grisar, 1899, 556–8.
- 9 Thunø, 2002, 14.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 50. Underwood, 1950. Pope Symmachus (498–514) also built an oratory at St. Peter’s for another fragment of the True Cross. Thunø, 2002, 13–14; Frolow, 1961.
- 11 Blaauw, 2014, 149; Blaauw, 1994. The first reference to the relic is found in the entry for Pope Theodore

- (642–9) of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Duchesne, 1955, 331. The church was an assemblage of ancient spolia, taken from the third-century Baths of Caracalla, which reinforced the antiquity and authenticity of the crib relic contained within. Kinney, 1986.
- 12 Guarducci, 1942–3.
- 13 The initial construction of St. Peter's has traditionally been associated with Constantine, although other sources suggest an association with Constans (r. 337–50). Bardill, 2011, 243.
- 14 Nagel and Wood, 2010, 219. When exactly the stairs had become identified with the Palace of Pilate is unclear; Blaauw notes that the first direct reference dates to the thirteenth century. Blaauw, 2014, 157; Horsch, 2003.
- 15 The best visual record of the Scala Santa before the sixteenth-century renovations is a drawing by Maarten van Heemskerck made in 1534/5, which shows the stairway covered but open on the sides. Horsch, 2003.
- 16 Thunø, 2002, 166.
- 17 When exactly the reliquary box arrived in the Sancta Sanctorum is unknown. The box could have first been made in Constantinople and then sent as a gift in the tenth century. Lidov, 2004, 21. The overall history of the chapel and its treasure is provided by Grisar, 1908. The box is now in the BAV Museo Sacro (Inv. 1883A–B).
- 18 Weitzmann, 1974, 41.
- 19 Thunø, 2002, 17–20 and 160.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 163–4.
- 21 And identifies Leo III as its creator: LEO INDIGNUS TERTIUS EPISCOPUS DEI FAMULUS FECIT. Nussbaum, 1959, 234–40. Processions also linked the sanctity of the Lateran to Helena's holy earth in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. From at least the ninth century, on Good Friday the pope led a procession from the Lateran to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, bearing the relic of the True Cross, which was placed on the altar and exposed to worshippers. Thunø, 2002, 22; Blaauw, 1994. An older theory argued that the original disposition of the churches in early Christian Rome and the liturgy developed for them were based upon the relative position of the holy sites in Jerusalem. See Cabrol, 1906, 187.
- 22 Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 39.
- 23 *Aula Dei haec similis Synai sacra iuriferenti ... lex hinc exivit mentes quae ducit ab imis. Ibid.*, 134.
- 24 Champagne and Boustan, 2011, 478; Ciampini, 1693, 16.
- 25 Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 62.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 61–2.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 65–6.
- 28 Thunø, 2002, 125.
- 29 Lidov, 2007, 146.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 148.
- 31 Klein, 2006, 93–4.
- 32 Wilkinson, 1981, 130–6.
- 33 Guscini, 2009, 141.
- 34 Kitzinger, 1954, 103.
- 35 Lidov, 2007, 146.
- 36 Heldman, 1992, 229–32. The Ethiopian capital in this period also had a rock-hewn church named Golgotha among other references to the pilgrimage sites of the Holy Land, including a hill known as the Mount of Olives (*Dabra Zayt*) and a stream named the Jordan River.
- 37 Likewise, Pentcheva has hypothesized that painted icons entered cult practice as a consequence of the Islamic conquest of the Holy Land, as a form of compensation for the lack of access to relics and holy sites. Pentcheva, 2010, 35.
- 38 Kessler, 1998, 136. Kessler suggests that the Edessa portrait may belong to an older tradition of Egyptian funerary portraits, painted in the first to fourth centuries on linen and used in sarcophagi and shrouds. This may also help account for the location of the first reference to such a portrait of Christ: Memphis. Kessler, 2007, 232. The first specific reference to the Image of Edessa is found in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Euagrius (c. 592), which asserted that the portrait had been received by Abgar together with the letter, but hidden after his death, and not discovered until during the Persian siege of 544. Lidov, 2007, 146.
- 39 Trilling, 1998, 116.
- 40 Lidov, 2007, 147.
- 41 Kessler, 1998, 142. Skhirtladze, 1998, 70.
- 42 Lidov, 2012, 64–5. Magdalino hypothesized that the chapel was constructed as a reliquary for Jerusalem relics in the wake of the Arab invasions. Magdalino, 2004, 24–7.
- 43 Kessler, 1998, 147; Ciggaar, 1973.
- 44 Lidov, 2012, 75; Ousterhout, 2014, 443.
- 45 Mango, 1958, 177–90.
- 46 Lidov, 2012, 67. Fifteen descriptions by pilgrims were made from the eleventh through the thirteenth century. Bacci, 2003, 234–48.
- 47 Kessler, 1998, 137. Nagel and Wood are more skeptical, noting that there is no known documentary reference to the presence of the Mandyllion in Genoa until 1537, when it was said to have been a gift from the Byzantine emperor to the Genoese doge in 1384. Nagel and Wood, 2010, 205.



- 48 Peers, 2004, 118.
- 49 Kessler, 2007, 231.
- 50 Skhirtladze, 1998, 72–3.
- 51 Jolivet-Lévy, 2007, 137–9; Nicolotti, 2014, 139. The church also incorporated paintings of the Crucifixion and Holy Women at the Tomb. Ousterhout, 2013, 241–2.
- 52 There are a number of other examples, including in Russia, as in Pskov. Lidov, 2012, 91.
- 53 Lidov, 2007, 145–50. In some accounts, Christ had also inscribed these seven seals into the letter written to Abgar.
- 54 Kessler, 1998, 148; Grabler, 1958, 288.
- 55 Maraval, 2002, 70; Shoemaker, 2008, 61.
- 56 Ousterhout, 2012b, 289–90.
- 57 Belting, 1994, 257. It is even possible that relics or devotional crosses were originally embedded into the columns and arches of the church. Marinis and Ousterhout, 2015, 162–3.
- 58 Grelot, 1680, 146; Wilson, 2010, 179. Other visitors to the church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries do not illustrate the Mandylion, so it remains in question if or when such a mosaic may have been found at Hagia Sophia. Nicolotti, 2014, 146–8.
- 59 Lidov, 2004, 8–9.
- 60 Geyer, 1898, 173; Lidov, 2004, 7. Epiphanius, a Byzantine pilgrim of the ninth century, also mentions the icon above the portal of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Wilkinson, 2002, 117.
- 61 Lidov, 2004, 6.
- 62 Wilkinson *et al.*, 1988, 103; Pringle, 2007, 14.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

- 1 Marinis and Ousterhout, 2015, 163–7.
- 2 Hahn, 2005b, 239.
- 3 Eusebius' (c. 260–339/40) descriptions of Constantine's Church of the Holy Sepulcher are the earliest written accounts of the building, its construction, and symbolism; the works do not all survive, and their interpretation is contested. None appears to have been written with the context of pilgrimage in mind. Smith, 1989, 239–41. Adomnán does not appear to have known Eusebius' description of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and its relationship to a previous pagan temple. Adomnán simply refers to the church having been constructed "over some remains of some ruins" (*super quasdam ruinarum reliquias*). Meehan, 1958, 42–3.
- 4 "Ceterum in illo famoso loco ubi quondam templum magnifice constructum fuerat in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum nunc Saracini quadrangulam orationis domum, quam subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam ruinarum reliquias construentes vili fabricate sunt opera, ipsi frequentant." Meehan, 1958, 42. How this description may have related to the earliest surviving Islamic buildings on the Temple Mount remains an open question. Nees, 2014.
- 5 This is my response to the interesting question, "Why place a non-Christian monument in such a prime position in the text?" Hoyland and Waidler, 2014, 799.
- 6 It seems possible that Adomnán and/or Arculf may have been influenced by the recent controversies surrounding Monothelitism, which challenged the duality of Christ's human and divine natures. Although making no link to the content of *De Locis Sanctis*, Meehan had speculated that Arculf may have been in Constantinople in 681 when the doctrine was denounced as heretical. Meehan, 1958, 2.
- 7 The best color reproductions of examples of the manuscript drawings from Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* are found in Horn and Born, 1979, I: 54–6. Some of the drawings are discussed (and illustrated in black and white) in Wilkinson, 2002, 343–8. The ninth-century manuscripts with figures are: ÖNB Ms. 458 (Salzburg), BNF Ms. Lat. 13048 (Corbie), ZB Ms. Rh. 73, BRB Ms. 3921–2, BLK Ms. Aug. 129 (fragmentary with one plan, of the Holy Sepulcher, fol. 10r), BML Ms. 216 (fragmentary with one plan, of Mount Zion, fol. 68v), and BSB Ms. 6389 (also with only the plan of Mount Zion); the last two manuscripts are Bede's version. Wilkinson, 2002, 371; Meehan, 1958, 30–1. The plan in the BLK manuscript is reproduced in Krüger, 2000, 189. One tenth-century copy and two eleventh-century versions contain the same ground-plans; of the total nine surviving illustrated copies, five are the condensed version of Bede. The tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts are: BNF Ms. 2321, ÖNB Ms. 580, and BSN Ms. 37 (all of which are Bede's version). Wilkinson, 2002, 371. A thirteenth-century manuscript in Vienna also has illustrations: ÖNB Ms. 609. See also Gorman, 2006, for a discussion of the diagrams and a related manuscript in Milan.
- 8 The church was entirely rebuilt in the twelfth century, when it first was given an octagonal ground-plan, as it still has today. Pringle, 2007, 72–3. Archaeological excavations confirmed that the Byzantine church was round as described by Arculf. Corbo, 1965.

- 9 Aist, 2009, 206. Paulinus of Nola, in a letter to Sulpicius Severus, described the locus of the Ascension as a grassy area “so sanctified by [the Lord’s] divine footprints that it has never been possible to cover it over or pave it with stone” (*ita sacratus divinis vestigiis dicitur, ut numquam tegi marmore aut paviri receperit semper excussis solo respuente quae manus adornandi studio temptavit adponere*). Canetti, 2011, 170; Wilkinson, 2002, 334 (English translation). See also Pullan, 1993, 31–2.
- 10 Pringle, 2007, 72. The church became ruined and was rebuilt in its current octagonal form in the period of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187). Wilkinson, 1981, 13–16.
- 11 Wilkinson, 2002, 181; Pringle, 2007, 6–7 and 72; Corbo, 1965.
- 12 Meehan, 1958, 64–5; Tobler, 1867, 162–3.
- 13 Sulpicius Severus described the Mount of Olives in similar terms, with the important exception that he – like Paulinus of Nola – does not refer to the architectural features of the related church: “For the earth, unaccustomed to mere human contact, rejected all the appliances laid upon it, and often threw back the blocks of marble in the faces of those who were seeking to place them. Moreover, it is an enduring proof of the soil of that place having been trodden by God, that the footprints are still to be seen [*Quin etiam calcati Deo pulveris adeo perenne documentum est, ut vestigia impressa cernantur*]; and although the faith of those who daily flock to that place, leads them to vie with each other in seeking to carry away what had been trodden by the feet of the Lord, yet the sand of the place suffers no injury; and the earth still preserves the same appearance which it presented of old, as if it had been sealed by the footprints impressed upon it.” Roberts, 1991, 113 (with English translation). For the Latin, see Severus and de Senneville-Grave, 1999, 302.
- 14 Meehan, 1958, 64–7; Tobler, 1867, 163.
- 15 *De terra ubi stetit quando in coelum ascendit*. Bagatti, 1949, 138.
- 16 *De loco Ascensionis Christi in coelom*. *Ibid.*
- 17 The relic is recorded in the fourteenth century: *De lapide quo stetit dum ascendit* (From the stone where he stood when he ascended). Bogatti, 1949, 138.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 164.
- 19 The ground-plan of the Church of the Ascension in BNF Ms. Lat. 2321 includes the footprints (fol. 139v). The Italian manuscript, dated to the tenth or eleventh century, includes the drawings of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (fol. 137r) and Mount Sion (fol. 137v), as well as the church at Jacob’s well rendered as a cross (fol. 142r).
- 20 In contrast especially to Mario Carpo’s over-emphasis of the distrust of Arculf’s – or any hand-made – architectural drawings. Carpo, 2001b, 223–5.
- 21 Meehan, 1958, 52–3; Wilkinson, 2002, 175–6.
- 22 Meehan, 1958, 48–9; Tobler, 1867, 157–8.
- 23 Pringle, 2007, 287–306; Shoemaker, 2002, 98–9. Archaeological excavations connected to restorations following a flood in 1972 revealed that the ancient church had been carved into a necropolis, suggesting – as Shoemaker argues – that from the outset the church was primarily associated with the entombment of Mary. Shoemaker, 2002, 102–4; Bagatti, Piccirillo, and Prodomo, 1975.
- 24 Bagatti *et al.*, 1975, 43. Krautheimer also suggested that central-plan churches with oculi in their vaults – most notably the Pantheon (dedicated to *Sancta Maria ad Martyres* in 610) – were “reminiscent” of this Marian church in Jerusalem in the early medieval period. Krautheimer, 1954, 26.
- 25 Meehan, 1958, 42–5; Tobler, 1867, 145–8.
- 26 Meehan, 1958, 62–3; Tobler, 1867, 160. Wilkinson translates these various terms as “sketch,” but I believe this loses the sense of the molded quality of the drawing imprinted into wax. Wilkinson, 2002, 179.
- 27 Wilkinson, 2002, 373; O’Loughlin, 2012, 34–5.
- 28 O’Loughlin, 2014, 7.
- 29 This may also help account for the perceived significance of the *De Locis Sanctis* within Carolingian monastic communities, since the period in which the book was copied and interpreted is also the period of the translation and interpretation of the Dionysian corpus on the theory of symbols. Bogdanović, 2011, 117–24.
- 30 The manuscript (BSB Ms. 6389) contains only one illustration, of the Church on Mount Sion (fol. 4v), with spaces apparently left for the other never completed ground-plans.
- 31 The sixth-century church was a reconstruction of one of the fourth century, built around the site associated with Jacob’s well. By 1099 the Byzantine church had long been in ruins, but a new church was constructed by the later twelfth century. The area was lost in 1187 and subsequent references to the site indicate a continual state of ruination. Modern attempts to rebuild the church were abandoned in 1915, but the project also further obscured the church’s original forms. Pringle and Leach, 1993, 258–9.
- 32 Meehan, 1958, 90–1; Tobler, 1867, 180–1. Bede retains the emphasis on the cross-like form of the church. Tobler, 1867, 229.

- 33 Werner, 1990, 174–7. Werner interprets the cross in terms of Adomnán’s account of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.
- 34 Labyrinths were visualized as a series of concentric circles in a number of manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries associated with Fulda (and Hrabanus Maurus in particular), Reichenau, and St. Gall. Kern, 2000, 115–17.
- 35 Meehan, 1958, 56–7.
- 36 On the relation of the interpretation of texts to the experience of a labyrinth, including in the writings of Augustine, see Doob, 1990, 60–71.
- 37 Meehan, 1958, 42–3; Tobler, 1867, 145–6.
- 38 Cary, 2008, 5; Bogdanović, 2011, 125.
- 39 Panofsky, 1968, 29.
- 40 Moore, 2010a.
- 41 Smith, 1989, 230.
- 42 Or an “intellectual vision”: “a non-discursive mental act involving a direct cognitive contact with the object of contemplation”. Gavriilyuk and Coakley, 2011, 7.
- 43 Augustine discusses three types of vision – corporeal, spiritual, and intellectual – in *De genesi ad litteram*. Hahn, 2000, 171.
- 44 Fulton, 2002, 256.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 548.
- 46 Barclay, 2002, 17.
- 47 Kessler, 1998, 134.
- 48 Fulton, 2002, 256.
- 49 Hahn, 1990, 86–90; Pentcheva, 2010, 33.
- 50 On the fundamental concept of memory as a waxen tablet, ultimately based upon the writings of Aristotle, see Carruthers, 1990, 16–22.
- 51 Pentcheva, 2010, 33.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 85.
- 53 Fulton, 2002, 255.
- 54 Irvine, 1994, 173; Christie, 2012, 287–92.
- 55 Christie, 2012, 287.
- 56 Aist, 2009, 207; Bitton-Ashkelony, 2005, 106.
- 57 Rettig, 2010, 217 (with English translation). For the Latin, see Augustine and Willems, 1954, 13. See also Aist, 2009, 207. Augustine elsewhere discusses the feet of Christ as symbols of his humanity in references to the Ascension. Marvee, 1967, 57–8 and 132–43.
- 58 Christie, 2012, 286.
- 59 Most translate as “conventional” signs, but Cary argues that “given” is a more accurate translation. Cary, 2008, 77.
- 60 Irvine, 1994, 181.
- 61 Cary, 2008, 128.
- 62 Irvine, 1994, 188.
- 63 Christie, 2012, 288.
- 64 Irvine, 1994, 178–81.
- 65 The first evidence of the particular story that Arculf came to the British shores due to violent storms at sea is found in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* (completed 731). Meehan, 1958, 4; Nees, 2014, 7–8.
- 66 O’Loughlin, 1994, 51.
- 67 An idea reiterated by later authors, such as Hugh of St. Victor in the twelfth century. Carruthers, 1998, 230.
- 68 Doob, 1990, 69–70; Carruthers, 1998, 133–4.
- 69 The relationship between architecture and exegesis would become more explicit in the writings of Hugh of St. Victor in the twelfth century. See Carruthers, 1998, 20–1.
- 70 Henderson, 1994; Blaauw, 2014, 153.
- 71 Adomnán’s account may have been inspirational for Anglo-Saxon descriptions of the Ascension as seen by the Apostles, referring to Christ’s departure through a temple, as for instance in the ninth-century poetry of Cynewulf. Clemons, 1995, 323.
- 72 Kelly, 2003, 183; Christie, 2012, 288.
- 73 Kelly, 2003, 89.
- 74 Dushman, 1997, 520. Shapiro had first referred to this type of image as the “disappearing Christ.” Schapiro, 1979, 267–88.
- 75 Dushman, 1997, 528. The image of Christ’s disappearing feet was also adopted in Europe as well, as in the Bernward Gospels (c. 1015). *Ibid.*, 521.
- 76 Heitz, 1963, 135–6. In addition to the example illustrated here, a closely related map is found in BNF Ms. NAL 1132, fol. 33r.
- 77 Kühnel, 1987, 129.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 127.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 137–9; ZB Ms. Rh. 73.
- 80 Garrison, 2000, 154–5; Allot, 1974, 83–4.
- 81 Dodds, 2012.
- 82 *Ad aquilonem est templum Salomonis, habens synagogam sarracenorum*. Wilkinson, 2002, 266. For the original Latin text, see Tobler, 1874, 85–99.
- 83 Berger, 2012, 55–6.
- 84 Kühnel, 1995b.
- 85 Isar, 2009, 323. Notker (c. 840–912), in his biography of Charlemagne (*Gesta Karoli*), wrote that the emperor was following the example of Solomon. Notker, who was a Benedictine monk at the abbey of St. Gall, had never been to Aachen, but his remarks may have been based upon Alcuin’s letters to Charlemagne, or other sources. Garrison, 2000, 155.
- 86 Isar, 2009, 321 and Kleinbauer, 1965.



- 87 ... *claves Sepulchri dominici ac loci Calvariae, claves etiam civitatis et montis cum vexillo*. Monteleone, 2003, 96–7.
- 88 Runciman, 1935, 610; Isar, 2009, 319. Morris believes that the gifts were really made, and that they were memorials of the holy places. Morris, 2005, 95.
- 89 Isar, 2009, 320; Limor, 2006, 338.
- 90 Heitz, 1963, 119–20; Tobler and Molinier, 1879, 301.
- 91 Chazelle, 2001, 34. For the list of relics: Heitz, 1963, 103. Heitz poses the question of whether the Church of Saint-Riquier was intentionally disposed to be like the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem; there was, however, no dedication relating to the Sepulcher of Christ or known re-creation of the Tomb of Christ. Heitz, 1963, 106. The first surviving description of Charlemagne's pilgrimage to the Holy Land is found in the *Chronicon* (972–1000) of Benedetto del Monte Soratte. Monteleone, 2003, 145.
- 92 Hahn, 2012.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

- 1 Morris, 2005, 15.
- 2 Schein, 2005, 128; Constable, 1976.
- 3 Bernhardt, 1993, 241–2.
- 4 Neuhofer, 1999, 35.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 36.
- 6 Parsons, 1994, 736. Aist agrees that either Arculf's or Bede's version of the *De Locis Sanctis* was in the possession of the monastery of Fulda by the early ninth century. Aist, 2009, 19.
- 7 Pralle, 1974, 8–10.
- 8 McKitterick, 2004, 281, Aist, 2009, 19.
- 9 Bernard the Monk, writing in the ninth century, similarly states that it is not necessary to describe it in greater detail since what Bede says is sufficient. Tobler, 1874, 92.
- 10 Aist, 2009, 1.
- 11 Raaijmakers, 2012, 24.
- 12 ZB Ms. Rh. 73. O'Loughlin, 2000, 95–8. The *De Locis Sanctis* appears to have been used as a kind of school textbook in at least two ninth-century monasteries: Reichenau and Salzburg.
- 13 McKitterick, 2004, 101. Hrabanus Maurus also mentions a relic of Bede at Fulda, suggesting a special reverence for the Benedictine monk who had created his own version of Adomnán's book. DeGregorio, 2010, 196–7.
- 14 The round church at Fulda has characterized as the first "copy" of the Holy Sepulcher in Europe. Ousterhout, 1990b, 110. Dalman describes the church as the first one made in the image of the Holy Sepulcher in Germany. Dalman, 1922, 26–30.
- 15 Ellger, 1989, 233; Becht-Jördens, 1994, 15–17; Coon, 2011, 144.
- 16 *Istius ecclesiae et Christi praeferre figuram*. Ellger, 1989, 236.
- 17 Parsons, 1994, 736.
- 18 Coon, 2011, 26. Ellger, 1989, 238–9.
- 19 On the view that a Tomb Aedicule had stood at the center of the round chapel, see Kroesen, 2000, 16 and Dalman, 1922, 27–8. For the opposing view that *tumulus* refers to the round chapel, see Untermann, 1989, 57–8.
- 20 *Hoc altare deo dedicatum est maxime Christo, / Cuius hic tumulus nostra sepulcra iuvat. / Pars montis Sinai, Moysi et memoratio digna, / Hic Christi domini est et genitale solum*. Ellger, 1989, 238. My translation. See also Morris, 2005, 122.
- 21 Morris, 2005, 121.
- 22 Ferber, 1966, 323. The cover was used for a manuscript probably illuminated in the abbey of Reichenau. Other examples of the Tomb of Christ depicted as a tower are discussed in Heitz, 1963, 209–20.
- 23 Morris, 2005, 103.
- 24 Young, 1933, I: 112–13. The Easter ceremony using the host to stand for the body of Christ never became an official liturgy, and in the thirteenth century the use of the host – in which Christ was understood to have a living presence – for the dead body of Christ was criticized. *Ibid.*, I: 132.
- 25 Although it is generally thought that Hrabanus Maurus is referring to a re-creation of the Tomb of Christ that once stood in St. Michael's, yet another possibility is that the *titulus* is referring to the entire chapel as the *tumulus*. Merback, 2013, 149.
- 26 Hahn, 2012, 111.
- 27 Most have assumed that the *tumulus* would have resembled the Tomb Aedicule in Jerusalem. Kroesen, 2000, 36.
- 28 Ellger, 1989, 40–51.
- 29 Coon, 2011, 12.
- 30 BAV Ms. Lat. 124, fol. 8v; Noble, 2009, 347.
- 31 Chazelle, 2001, 79; Ferrari, 1999.
- 32 According to Candidus, in his *Life of Eigil* (*Vita Eigilis*), the round church was built to house the bodies of the Benedictine brothers at Fulda (*ecclesiam parvam aedificavit rotundam, ubi defuncta corpora fratrum sepulturae tradita requiescunt*). Ellger, 1989, 232.
- 33 Chazelle, 2001, 100–1.

- 34 The saving efficacy of the blood of Christ first emerges as a major theme among scholars of Charlemagne's court. Chazelle, 2001, 9.
- 35 The history of the donation of the relic was written in the middle of the tenth century, entitled *De pretioso sanguine domini nostri* or *Translatio sanguinis domini*. Capuzzo, 2009, 85. BLK Ms. Aug. 84, fols. 125–36. Binder, 1994.
- 36 Monteleone, 2003, 148–9.
- 37 Morris, 2005, 130–1; Kroesen, 2000, 18. Head, 1997.
- 38 ... *die capell des hailigen crütz, rotund nach form des hailigen grabs gemacht, da jetz der Chor steht*. Oheim and Barack, 1866, 27. The chronicle was written by Gallus Oheim between 1491 and 1508. Garland and Garland, 1986, 140. Heinrich Otte had hypothesized that there was also a re-creation of the Tomb of Christ housed in the same church at Reichenau, although Dalman notes he does not give any references. Otte, 1883, 366; Dalman, 1922, postscript.
- 39 Krautheimer, 1942.
- 40 The drawings are found on fols. 5r, 9v, 12r, and 18v. The manuscript also includes a copy of the sixth-century account of the Piacenza Pilgrim (fols. 30r–43v), immediately following Adomnán's (fols. 2r–28r)
- 41 Stephen, 1896, II: 59.
- 42 Horn and Born, 1979, I: 53.
- 43 Although it is unknown if Adomnán himself had read Vitruvius' treatise on architecture, in which a discussion of ground-plans was an important component, the readers in the ninth century at Reichenau certainly had the ancient Roman treatise available in their library. Schuler, 1999, 114.
- 44 Sanderson, 1985, 615–17; Carruthers, 1998, 229–30.
- 45 Coon, 2011, 21–2.
- 46 Clark, 1926, 88. See also Ogden, 2002, 33 and 215. Schiller refers to “the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in the minster at St. Gall.” Schiller and Seligman, 1972, 182. The Tomb of Christ was represented in an eleventh-century manuscript at St. Gall: SB Ms. 341. Bonnery, 1991, 29 and 43 (with illustration).
- 47 Schiller and Seligman, 1972, 182.
- 48 SB Ms. 320. O'Loughlin, 2000, 96.
- 49 SB Ms. 484. Young, 1933, I: 202; Heitz, 1963, 183–4. Another manuscript from St. Gall, a breviary of the eleventh century, contains a related prescription for dialogue between the angel and women at the Tomb. SB Ms. 387. Young, 1933, I: 130; Kroesen, 2000, 170–1. A similar play may have been performed in the Rotunda at Reichenau in the same period. Young, 1933, I: 385; Sanderson, 1971, 33.
- 50 Maurer, 1979, 1–33.
- 51 Dalman, 1922, 30–4; Hecht, 1928, 214–17. St. Maurice became the patron saint of the Holy Roman Empire under Henry II (1002–24). The saint was associated with the Lance of Longinus, whose history legendarily originated in Charlemagne's collection of Jerusalemic relics. Loomis, 1950.
- 52 Kühnel, 2010, 44.
- 53 Kroesen, 2000, 16–17.
- 54 *Sepulchrum Domini in similitudine illius Jerusalemiani*. Morris, 2005, 121.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 126 and 152; Young, 1933, I: 123; Kühnel, 2010, 44–5. A closely related chapel was created for Magdeburg Cathedral in the mid thirteenth century, either replacing an earlier version or inspired perhaps directly by the thirteenth-century Konstanz Sepulcher. Dalman, 1922, 34–5; Kroesen, 2000, 51–2.
- 56 Lutz, 2012, 471–2; Jezler, 1985.
- 57 As for example in the ninth-century BNF Ms. Lat. 9453. Bonnery *et al.*, 1998, 180–1; Ferber, 1966.
- 58 Frank, 2000b, 99.
- 59 As far back as the writings of Christian of Stavelot, some predicted the year based upon when Good Friday fell on March 25, believed to be the date of Christ's Crucifixion, as it did in 847 and again in 1011. Van Meter, 2003, 315–16.
- 60 It is interesting to note that the plays were nonetheless subject to criticism from Byzantine clerics, which may help explain why similar architectural re-creations of Christ's Sepulcher were not created in the Byzantine Empire. Ousterhout, 2013, 232–3.
- 61 Krautheimer, 1942; Nagel and Wood, 2010.
- 62 Writing in the Byzantine context immediately after the iconoclastic controversy, Patriarch Photios included his account of the “life-giving” Tomb of Christ – said to be based upon the description of a pilgrim – within a theological discussion of the Incarnation. Bogdanović, 2014, 6–7.
- 63 The defenses of the cross included the *Liber officialis* of Amalarius of Metz (823, first version), the *De picturis et imaginibus* by Agobard of Lyons (c. 825), and Einhard's *Quaestio de adoranda cruce* (836). Chazelle, 2001, 120.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 211.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 267.
- 66 Nichols, 1983, 67–76; Moffitt, 2007, 88 and 99.
- 67 Kleinbauer, 1965, 4–5.
- 68 The church was illustrated in an eighteenth-century engraving by Remacle le Loup. Timmers, 1971, 133, pl. 178.
- 69 Hartog, 1992, 39–40.

- 70 *Ibid.*, 42.  
 71 Derrida, 1997, 70–1.  
 72 The phrase is Blaise de Vigenère's, formulated in reference to a discussion of the Hebrew script, in his *Traicté des Chiffres, ou, Secretes Manieres d'Ecrire* (1587), which he considered to be the most ancient form of writing. Derrida, 1997, 76.  
 73 *Ibid.*, 14 and 37.

## NOTES TO PART II INTRODUCTION

- 1 Ousterhout, 1981, 23–4.  
 2 See Ousterhout, 1984, 93; Schein, 2005, 147; Monteleone, 2003, 23. The destruction of the Holy Sepulcher received relatively little attention in the Byzantine world. Bogdanović, 2014, 4.  
 3 A text originally written in the seventh century in Syriac, in response to the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem. Monteleone, 2003, 26.  
 4 Morris, 2005, 99–100; Schein, 2005, 35.  
 5 Quoting Gregory of Nyssa. Wilkinson, 2002, 70.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

- 1 Canard, 1965.  
 2 Schein, 2005, 40; Kedar, 2001, 60.  
 3 Pringle, 2007, 10.  
 4 Callahan, 2008, 42, with both English and Latin from Aedemar's *Chronicon*.  
 5 *Ibid.*  
 6 *Ibid.*, 46–8; Monteleone, 2003, 20–2.  
 7 Corbo, 1981a, 71; Wilkinson, 1972, 84.  
 8 Birch, 1998, 173.  
 9 Ousterhout, 1997–8, 399; Kroesen, 2000, 18.  
 10 Cardini, 1987b, 37.  
 11 Morris, 2005, 152–6. A crypt in the church of Acquapendente has been identified as a copy of the Tomb Aedicule, dating to either the end of the tenth or eleventh century, although the historical sources are scant. Cardini, 1987b, 37.  
 12 Pejrani-Baricco, 1996, 92–3.  
 13 William of Volpiano also served as abbot of Dijon. The reconstruction of the cathedral in Dijon, begun in 1002, was underway when news of the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher would have reached France. Although there are no surviving indications of a dedication to Christ's Sepulcher, hypothetical reconstructions of the original rotunda consecrated in 1018 include a double ambulatory and a dome with an oculus; under the rotunda, a crypt housed the relics of St. Bénigne. Kroesen, 2000, 18. Rossi notes the similarities of the rotunda of Dijon and the Anastasis Rotunda. Rossi, 2004, 97. See also Sapin and Jannet-Vallat, 1996. Malone however does not agree that the Dijon Rotunda was intended to re-create the Anastasis Rotunda, since there is no evidence of related relics or liturgical re-enactments relating to the Holy Sepulcher. Malone, 2000, 302.  
 14 Malone, 2000, 301–2; Pejrani-Baricco, 1996, 98.  
 15 In other instances, there are records of liturgical re-enactments of the *Visitatio* in crypts with reference to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Important examples are the crypt of St. Hubert in the Ardennes and St. Maximin at Trier (destroyed in the seventeenth century). Sanderson, 1971, 28. The crypts of both abbey churches, like the one at Stavelot (destroyed in the early nineteenth century), were associated with the reforming leadership of Abbot Poppo or Poppon (978–1048), who is recorded as having made a pilgrimage. Bresc-Bautier, 2002, 565.  
 16 As well as Foulque Nerra (see below). Bresc-Bautier, 2002, 566.  
 17 Dalman, 1922, 35–7; Brandt, 1986.  
 18 Wesenberg had argued that another church in the Holy Land may have inspired the ground-plan, suggesting specifically one in Nyssa. Wesenberg, 1949, 32.  
 19 Tenckhoff, 1921, 128. My translation.  
 20 *Ibid.*, 129; Hartog, 1992, 37.  
 21 Wesenberg, 1949, 39; Remensnyder, 1995, 27.  
 22 At the beginning of the following century, another bishop of Paderborn, Willebrand of Oldenburg, would make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving a significant account of his journey. Wesenberg, 1949, 34; Jeep, 2001, 339.  
 23 Gregory and Greenfield, 2000, 2; Delehay, 1923.  
 24 Maguire, 2013, 25.  
 25 Gregory and Greenfield, 2000, 66–7. The origins of the monastery dedicated to the Anastasis in Constantinople seem to be obscure. The only certainties seem to be that it existed by the twelfth century, was taken over by the Latins and more or less ruined by the end of their rule in 1261. Thomas *et al.*, 2000, 1374.  
 26 The date had originally been given as 1007, but Bachrach has argued for the date of 1012, accepted by Foulon. Foulon, 2005, 252; Bachrach, 1993, 110 and 130.  
 27 Foulon, 2005, 266; Bachrach, 1993, 101.



- 28 Bachrach, 1993, 112–13. Foulon suggests that Foulque may have reached Jerusalem before the destruction under al-Hakim. Foulon, 2005, 277.
- 29 Raoul Glaber characterizes the reconstruction as necessitated by a wind storm that occurred the same night of the original consecration. Hardion and Bosseboeuf, 1914, 64.
- 30 The view was in the collection of Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715). A description of the monument as *une pyramide* also dates to around 1700. *Ibid.*, 12 and 85. On the possible relationship to the Holy Sepulcher, and the question of when the pyramid was first built, see *ibid.*, 95–9. Bachrach argues that the idea for constructing the reliquary only emerged in the 1030s, while Foulon suggests a broader date range of 1010–40 for its construction. Foulon, 2005, 277; Bachrach, 1993, 248.
- 31 Foulon, 2005, 252. For the text of Raoul Glaber's history, composed between 1016 and his death in 1047, see Marchegay and Salmon, 1871, 96. For the historical sources regarding the foundation of the monastery, see Halphen, 1906, 213–31.
- 32 Bachrach, 1993, 130. This coinage was already extremely rare by the nineteenth century, and the specific example incorporating a depiction of the Holy Sepulcher seems to be known only from a description made in 1874. Halphen, 1906, 222–3.
- 33 Foulon, 2005, 277.
- 34 Corbo, 1981a, 68. Kühnel maintains that the emperor likely initiated construction the first year of his reign, i.e., 1042. Kühnel, 2010, 37.
- 35 Morris, 2005, 192.
- 36 Kroesen, 2000, 47.
- 37 Ousterhout, 1981, 317; Young, 1933, I: 144–8.
- 38 Morris, 2005, 146.
- 39 His biography of the bishop was written between 1092 and 1133. Morris, 2005, 146 and 161–4; Munteanu, 1977. Latin text from Lehmann-Brockhaus, 1938, no. 1670.
- 40 Kroesen, 2000, 20; Dalman, 1922, 41–4.
- 41 Kroesen, 2000, 21; Bresc-Bautier, 2002, 571.
- 42 Bonnery *et al.*, 1998, 97.
- 43 Kroesen, 2000, 14; Bresc-Bautier, 1974, 322.
- 44 According to Albert of Aachen. Morris, 2005, 156–60. The date of 1042 is derived from the *Chronicle* of Guillaume Godel (d. 1173), who refers to a building charter of 1042 and a foundation of 1045, while later chronicles vary on the foundation date, citing different years in the 1040s. Laos, 2005, 320–1.
- 45 Hubert, 1931–2, 92.
- 46 Laos, 2005, 32.
- 47 Morris, 2005, 160; Laos, 2005, 317 and 325. Before the Tomb Aedicule was destroyed, it was described in the nineteenth century by Abbot Caillaud. He states that it was first constructed to house the relics installed in the church in the thirteenth century. Caillaud, 1865, 83.
- 48 Morris, 2005, 160–1; Hubert, 1931–2, 98. See also Gardner, 1996. Morris says this occurred in the twelfth century, while Laos cites the year 1257 and attributes the relics to Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux.
- 49 Kroesen, 2000, 21.
- 50 Laos, 2005, 315–16; Kühnel, 2010, 45. In 1075–96, a nave was similarly added to the western side of the Rotunda at Fulda, perhaps inspired by the new basilica constructed in Jerusalem under Constantine Monomachus. Kühnel, 2010, 45.
- 51 Birch, 1998, 174–5.
- 52 Riley-Smith, 1986, 20. In the twelfth century, the sculptural program of the cathedral in Santiago created under Diego Gelmírez (1100–40) also visualized some of the central goals of the Jerusalem pilgrimage, including for instance a prominent representation of the Column of the Flagellation. Mathews, 2000, 4–5.
- 53 Morris, 2005, 175; Campi, 1651, i. 515–14, no. 89; Racine and Flori, 1995.
- 54 Riley-Smith, 1986, 13.
- 55 Crozet, 1937.
- 56 Monsabert, 1910, 6–7 and 25–6. For the architecture of the church, see Oursel, 1975, 135–8.
- 57 Eygun, 1969, fig. 3.
- 58 For Ademar's reference to the relics of the Cross given by Charlemagne, see Callahan, 2008, 42. The earliest version of the legend of Charroux was developed sometime just after 1047. The relics are recorded in a non-legendary inventory made in 1045. Remensnyder, 1995, 53 and 167. For the original documents, see Monsabert, 1910.
- 59 The legends held that Charlemagne deposited the relic in the Palatine Chapel in Aachen, and that Charles the Bald transferred it to Charroux. One of the first miraculous emissions of blood was recorded in the early twelfth century. Remensnyder, 1995, 172–4.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 171. On the Charroux reliquary, see Recht, 2008, 90–2.
- 61 Monteleone, 2003, 11–12.
- 62 Camille, 1989, 96–7.
- 63 The association of the Dome of the Rock, referred to as the Templum Domini, with the Antichrist relates to a twelfth-century play composed at the Benedictine abbey at Tegernsee, dramatizing the devil's temptation of Christ at the pinnacle of the Temple in Jerusalem.

- The play was composed in the twelfth century and the setting is described as the *Templum Domini*. Young, 1933, II: 369–87; Tydeman, 2001, 154.
- 64 Swanson, 2007, 10.
- 65 Riley-Smith, 1986, 23; Schein, 2005, 16.
- 66 Schein, 2005, 46; Leclercq, 1954, 592.
- 67 *Petrus Venerabilis et al.*, 1854, cols. 973–92.
- 68 In the twelfth century, the Sepulcher of Christ emerged as a pictorial emblem for the Patriarchy of Jerusalem, as evidenced on the seals of the earliest patriarchs, Guermond (r. 1118–28) and William I of Massines (r. 1130–45). Schlumberger, 1943, 73–4 and 134–5. The distinctive three port-holes of the Tomb Aedicule, as it was reconstructed in the eleventh century, appear also in the seals of the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher. Lamia, 2005, 376.
- 69 Corbo, 1981a, 193; Folda, 1995.
- 70 Riley-Smith, 1995, 145; Schein, 2005, 104; Corbo, 1981a, 204.
- 71 The conical vault, destroyed in the eighteenth century, was replaced with a dome in the nineteenth century. Pringle, 2007, 39.
- 72 Corbo, 1981a, 203.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 204.
- 74 Schein, 1984, 184.
- 75 Corbo, 1981a, 204.
- 76 Pringle, 2007, 37; Folda, 1995, 38–9.
- 77 They were later illustrated in the seventeenth century and again in the work of another Franciscan, Fra Elzear Horn, dating to the first half of the eighteenth century. Jacoby, 1979. Jacoby attempts to identify excavated fragments with parts of the tomb of Baudouin V.
- 78 Corbo, 1981a, 209.
- 79 Ousterhout, 2003.
- 80 In the period of the expansion of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the production of pilgrimage ampullae was also revived, perhaps as a self-conscious return to the practices of early Christianity in Jerusalem. The new ampullae were mostly made of lead or tin and contained dust from the Holy Sepulcher or oil from its lamps; some now had small handles so that they could easily attach to a pilgrim's belt. Among the images impressed on the ampullae was a rendering of the new Church of the Holy Sepulcher: the Tomb Aedicule with its three port-holes and the body of Jesus, and behind this, the open cone of the Anastasis, the dome above Calvary, and the bell tower. Morris, 2005, 228; Kötzsche, 1988. Some instead simply had an image of the risen Christ and may have resembled mosaics that decorated the interior of the reconstructed Holy Sepulcher. Morris, 2005, 229.
- 81 Morris, 2005, 230–1; Casartelli-Novelli, 1977.
- 82 Burgtorf, 2008, 55. The first mention of a hospital in Asti relating to the Order dates to c. 1135. Salerno, 2001, 99.
- 83 Morris, 2005, 230; Cardini *et al.*, 2000, 86.
- 84 The church was substantially reconstructed in later periods. Kroesen, 2000, 13; Puricelli, 1645, 481–5; Bresc-Bautier, 1974, 32. In the eighteenth century, Serviliano Latuada cited the founding decree: HOC SEPULCHRUM AD EIUS VERAM SIMILITUDINEM FACTUM. Latuada, 1738, 65. See also Schiavi, 2005.
- 85 Hartog, 1992, 68–9. Before the abbey church was destroyed, it was described in the eighteenth century as having been “built after the model of St. Sepulchre in Jerusalem and that until the time that certain changes were made to the fabric it was an exact copy.”
- 86 Riley-Smith, 1986, 123.
- 87 Morris, 2005, 233. Sciarra, 1962.
- 88 Kroesen, 2000, 29–30 and 52–3. Dalman, 1922, 57–65. The traditional consecration date had been given as 1194, but Riain argues that it may have occurred earlier, in the 1180s. Riain, 2012, 266; Riain, 2008, 314–15. Although the round church at Eichstätt does not survive, a view of the city dated 1537 shows the structure (still outside the city walls) before its demolition in the first decades of the seventeenth century, and its ground-plan has been hypothesized. The illustration is found in the *Reisealbum des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich*, in the Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, Delin VI.3. Biller, 2002; Riain, 2012, 241–3. The precise architectural features of the church are unknown.
- 89 Riain, 2012, 219–20.
- 90 *Ibid.*, 221–3. The first mention of the monastery is in a charter dated 1166.
- 91 Folda, 1995, 82; Murphy, 2006, 93–4. Lamia has argued that the motif of the holes was also incorporated into sculptural representations of Christ's Tomb from the same period (the middle of the twelfth century). He cites decorative motifs resembling the three holes in a depiction of Christ's Entombment and the Visit of the Holy Women to the Sepulcher on the capital frieze of the west façade of Chartres Cathedral and in the Women at the Tomb on a capital over the south portal of Notre-Dame, Étampes. Lamia, 2005, 372.
- 92 Pilgrims also came to Eichstätt to visit a shrine to St. Willibald and also his sister, St. Walburga, in the cathedral and Benedictine nunnery. Riain, 2012, 227.

- 93 Riain, 2012, 224. Riain hypothesizes that the Regensburg chapel pre-dated the Eichstätt one.
- 94 Riain, 2008, 33. In 1862, Josef Schuegraf had referred to a round chapel with a stone tomb re-creating the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Riain located a fifteenth-century source which seems to confirm Schuegraf's assertions, referring to three chapels build in imitation of Charlemagne's tent: at Altenfurt, Nabburg, and Regensburg. Riain, 2008, 35–6. The round chapels at Altenfurt and Nabburg survive, each with a conical roof, but otherwise historical relations to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem remain unclear. For both, there is no evidence of a dedication to the Holy Sepulcher or inclusion of a Tomb Aedicule. The round chapel at Altenfurt was dedicated to Sts. Catherine and John the Baptist. Sanden nonetheless argued that it was founded as a re-creation of the Holy Sepulcher in the period of the second crusade. Sanden, 1984, 3–11. For Nabburg, see Strobel and Weis, 1994, 163–6.
- 95 Kroesen, 2000, 26–7.
- 96 Gelfand, 2010b, 263.
- 97 Kroesen, 2000, 27. A document of March 13, 1129 refers to the Augsburg church and its dedication to the Holy Sepulcher (*in honore sancti Sepulchri*). Dalman, 1922, 46. A ground-plan has been hypothesized, primarily on the basis of a plan and views of the interior that suggest an idiosyncratic re-creation of the Tomb Aedicule from the seventeenth century. Dalman, 1922, 44–56. The triumph of the crusaders in Jerusalem was also celebrated in Denmark by the erection of four central-plan churches on the island of Bornholm. The Danish king Sigurd the Great reportedly made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem between 1107 and 1111, and the churches were constructed shortly thereafter. They may have been inspired by the Holy Sepulcher, although it seems that no evidence of a specific dedication to the Tomb of Christ has been found. Conant, 1959, 270.
- 98 Kroesen, 2000, 32–4.
- 99 Folda, 1995.
- 100 Munteanu, 1977, 27.
- 101 *Ibid.*, 28–32.
- 102 Oakeshott, 1981, 10–14.
- 103 Park, 1983, 41–8. Park proposes a specific date of c. 1220.
- 104 Smith, 1987; Sheingorn, 1987.
- 105 Young, 1933, I: 132–3.
- 106 Cox and Kastan, 1997, 28–9.
- 107 Young, 1933, I: 261–5 and 591; Kohler, 1900–1, 403.
- 108 Ousterhout, 1981, 317.
- 109 Young, 1933, I: 262.
- 110 Kroesen, 2000, 49. Dalman suggests that the dedication of the chapel to the Holy Sepulcher dates back to the c. 989. Dalman, 1922, 65–9.
- 111 Schiller and Seligman, 1972, 182; Kroesen, 2000, 47; Günther and Stekovics, 1995.
- 112 Park, 1983, 50.
- 113 Dalman, 1922, 39.
- 114 Wesenberg, 1949, 36; Schiller and Seligman, 1972, 167 and 182; Fuchs, 1934.
- 115 Marinis, 2014, 143.
- 116 Ousterhout, 2001, 133–4; Ousterhout, 2013, 236–8.
- 117 Marinis and Ousterhout, 2015, 162. For the elaborate ceremony involved in the installation, see Antonopoulou, 2013.
- 118 The stone did not come directly from Jerusalem, but instead was translated from Ephesus, where it had apparently been in a church for some years. The pre-crusades form of the Unction Stone in Jerusalem is unclear, although relics are recorded in Europe, for example a piece of the stone at Saint-Riquier in the ninth century. The stone in Constantinople is thought to have remained in place until the Ottoman conquest, when it may have been taken by Mehmed Fatih along with other relics of the Byzantine Empire that he collected. Antonopoulou, 2013, 114–15.
- 119 Mango, 1969–70, 273–5.
- 120 Ousterhout, 2001, 149–50.
- 121 Magdalino, 2002, 70–5 and 490–1. Throughout the existence of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Komnenian emperors sought to bring Jerusalem within their sphere of political influence, although their success was limited to the years 1158–80, when the kingdom was made a satellite state of the Byzantine Empire.
- 122 Wilkinson, 2002, 6.
- 123 *Ibid.*, 8.
- 124 *Ibid.*, 9–10.
- 125 *Ibid.*, 11–15 and 17–18; Birch, 1998, 107–9.
- 126 Wilkinson, 2002, 19.
- 127 Birch, 1998, 12.
- 128 Dolbeau, 1985. Dolbeau introduces a previously unpublished manuscript copy of Theoderich's book. The primary surviving manuscript (ÖNB Ms. 3529, fols. 192–207) and the manuscript discussed by Dolbeau (Minneapolis, Univ. Lib., Ms. 13 t. I, fols. 89–119) were both made in the fifteenth century. On the possibility that Theoderich was a monk at Hirsau, see Sandoli, 1980, 311.
- 129 O'Loughlin, 2000, 99. A "liber archelfi" is mentioned in the catalogue of Würzburg, which apparently does not survive. Link, 1873, 105–8.



- 130 Wilkinson, 2002, 274. All English translations from Theoderich's account are Wilkinson's.
- 131 *Ibid.*, 278–9.
- 132 *Ibid.*, 286–7.
- 133 *Ibid.*, 274.
- 134 Ousterhout, 2012a.
- 135 Wilkinson, 2002, 127–8; Shalev, 2008a, 5–6.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

- 1 Schein, 2005, 103; Kanaan, 1973.
- 2 Linder, 1990, 110–12; Schein, 1984, 184–5.
- 3 Pringle, 2007, 103–9. When exactly the Golden Gate became identified with Christ's Entry into Jerusalem is unclear. In the early Christian period, the event was primarily associated with the gate to the north, now identified with St. Stephen. The focus on the Golden Gate may have resulted from the growing importance of the story of the True Cross and its return to Jerusalem by Heraclius in the seventh century. Mango, 1992, 15.
- 4 The twelfth-century reconstruction of the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives with an octagonal ground-plan, ambulatory, and hemispherical dome may reflect the new status of the Dome of the Rock within the order of the crusader city. Kühnel, 2006, 470.
- 5 Baert, 2005, 6.
- 6 Cahn, 1994.
- 7 BNF Ms. Lat. 14516, fols. 220v, 240r, and 240v.
- 8 BNF Ms. NAL 1791, fol. 35r; Goy, 2005, 116. There are at least thirteen manuscripts of the book, all with illustrations.
- 9 Folda, 1995, 32–3.
- 10 Note that there is orthographic variation, so that one also can see the latter spelled “Templum Salamonis.”
- 11 Pinson, 1996, 158.
- 12 Sandoli, 1980, 110–13.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 44. The idea of the idol of Muhammad in the Templum Domini predominates in the period of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and is rarely found in pilgrimage reports thereafter. An example of an exception is found in an anonymous fourteenth-century account, Ms. Latin 36 of the municipal library of Évreux, in which the author refers to “the idol of Muhammad” (*ymaginem Muchometi*) in the Templum Domini. For the full Latin account, see Kohler, 1902, with the relevant quotation on 443.
- 14 Camille, 1989, 87. Another anonymous account (a follower of Petrus Tudebodus) also locates the statue in the Templum Domini.
- 15 Peters, 1985, 314; Camille, 1989, 90–1.
- 16 Wilkinson, 1981, 17.
- 17 Schein, 2005, 106.
- 18 Wilkinson *et al.*, 1988, 28; Wilson and Warren, 1871, 149–50. See also Moore, 2010b, 73.
- 19 Schein, 2005, 101.
- 20 Berger, 2012.
- 21 Soucek, 1997–8.
- 22 Busse, 1997–8.
- 23 Wilkinson, 2002, 258.
- 24 Schein, 2005, 181.
- 25 Grabar, 1996.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 56–71 and 184–6.
- 27 Sandoli, 1978, 100–1.
- 28 Pringle, 2007, 400. The idea was repeated after the twelfth century, as in an anonymous account known as *The Ways and Pilgrimages to the Holy Land* (1244–65), which identifies the Templum Domini with the Ark and the place of Jacob's vision of the ladder. Pringle, 2012, 217.
- 29 MacCormack, 1990, 2304.
- 30 Patrich, 2009.
- 31 Hurowitz, 2009.
- 32 After the destruction of the Temple in 586 BC by the Babylonians, the location of the Ark, if it still existed, was debated. Hurowitz, 2009 and Patrich, 2009.
- 33 Fassler, 2010, 212–13.
- 34 Rosen-Ayalon, 1989.
- 35 In his *Historia Hierosolymitana* (History of Jerusalem), written sometime in the first two decades of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Sandoli, 1978, 274–5.
- 36 Aachen and Edgington, 2007, 432–5.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 2–3.
- 38 Sandoli, 1978, 148–9.
- 39 O'Loughlin, 2000, 102. Peter the Deacon refers to Bede's *De Locis Sanctis* as “common knowledge.”
- 40 Wilkinson, 1981, 4.
- 41 Petrarca and Lo Monaco, 1990, 73. My translation from the Latin.
- 42 Geyer, 1898, 107–8. My translation.
- 43 Khusraw and Thackston, 2001.
- 44 Folda, 1995, 65.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 291.
- 46 Pringle, 2007, 402.
- 47 Grabar, 2006, 165; Folda, 1995, 136–7.
- 48 Peters, 1985, 317.
- 49 Sandoli, 1980, 12–20. My translation from the Latin.

- 50 *Ibid.*, 252.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 23–30. The other inscriptions found inside the Dome of the Rock are described by Theoderich in relation to the locations where important biblical events were believed to have occurred, including Christ's presentation in the Temple and Jacob's vision of the ladder. Theoderich concludes his account of the *Templum Domini* by explaining that the building has been destroyed and reconstructed a number of times. He asserts that this current building results from the fifth reconstruction, made by Constantine and Helena
- 52 *Ibid.*, 236–7 and 245–6.
- 53 Rubin, 2009, 10; Cunningham, 2011, 176.
- 54 Busse, 1982.
- 55 Pringle, 2007, 310–19; Schein, 2005, 88, with further discussion of the new emphasis on the Marian associations of the topography of Jerusalem in the Latin Kingdom. This idea would recur in the fictitious account of John of Mandeville, who identified the Aqsa Mosque (which he called the *Templum Salomonis*) with the School of the Virgin Mary. In the account of a pilgrimage made by an anonymous Florentine in the fourteenth century, the author refers to the place where Christ was presented, and “we found where our Lady was at school, and next to it, there is the temple of Solomon, and where our Lady was born.” The Italian account is transcribed from a manuscript in the BNCF (Ms. II III 421) in Golubovich, 1927, 345–6. The tradition would expand in popularity in the fifteenth century. Schein, 1984, 193.
- 56 Soucek, 1997–8; Pringle, 2007, 310–11. The shrine was identified with the Qur'anic account of Mary's retreat into the Temple, in a room that also became associated with the cradle from which Jesus spoke miraculously as an infant. Smith and Haddad, 1989, 164.
- 57 Schein, 1984, 189.
- 58 Morris, 2005, 215–16.
- 59 This is attested in several sources, including a twelfth-century map in Cambrai (Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 466, fol. 1r), which labels the Aqsa Mosque as the *Domus Militum Templi*. Cahn, 1976, 47; Siew, 2008, 12. The map also unusually includes an inscription along the city wall indicating where the crusaders took the city (*Hic capta est civitas a Francis*). Levy-Rubin and Rubin, 1996, 154.
- 60 The portico was extended in the mid fourteenth century. Pringle, 2007, 426.
- 61 Cahn, 1976, 49–50.
- 62 Dynes, 1973, 63–6.
- 63 The idea is found also in the writings of Sicardus of Cremona in the thirteenth century and Durandus of Mende in the fourteenth century. Dynes, 1973.
- 64 Cahn suggests that they were part of the Templars' cloister. Cahn, 1976, 61–2.
- 65 Columns with knotted shafts had particularly been used in Byzantine art for at least two centuries before the crusader conquest of Jerusalem, in contexts suggesting both apotropaic powers and the delineation of sacred space. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner argues that the knot may relate to the interpretation of the description of the Temple of Solomon in Kings, where the columns called Jachin and Boaz are described as having “bronze knots,” according to one translation of the Greek. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 1985, 99; Tuzi and Fagiolo, 2002, 105; Cahn, 1976, 56.
- 66 Jacoby, 1982.
- 67 Jacoby, 1979. The Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople also potentially incorporated a portico of knotted or twisted columns in this period, although the only evidence comes from manuscript illumination. Cahn, 1976, 53; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 1985, 95–6. The church, dedicated to the Holy Apostles whose relics it housed, would have been a fitting context to re-create the architecture of Solomon's portico, identified as the meeting place of the apostles in Jerusalem after the Crucifixion.
- 68 Another example may be found in the cloister of Chiaravalle della Colomba, near Milan, perhaps from the thirteenth century. Knotted columns are also found in miniature form in a thirteenth-century reliquary made for the famous relics at Charroux associated with Charlemagne. Eygun, 1969.
- 69 The columns have been associated with the renovations undertaken by Bishop Hermann of Lobdeburg (1225–54). His predecessor was Theoderich, once identified with the author of the pilgrimage account closely related to John of Würzburg's (although it has also been proposed that the author Theoderich was based in Hirsau). Cahn, 1976, 50–1.
- 70 Wharton, 2006, 66–7.
- 71 Weiss, 1997–8, 213.
- 72 Sandoli, 1980, 236.
- 73 Rosenau, 1979, 70.
- 74 Weiss, 1997–8; Ramírez, 1983, 43–78.
- 75 Martínez de Aguirre and Cornet, 2004, 30.
- 76 Kroesen, 2000, 31–2.
- 77 The church at Torres del Rio is located on the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela and still preserves late twelfth-century capitals with the

- Deposition and the Women at the Tomb. Martínez de Aguirre and Cornet, 2004. Laon's association with Jerusalem was further developed in the thirteenth century with the acquisition of a portrait of Christ, associated with the Image of Edessa, housed in its cathedral. Nicolotti, 2014, 145; Grabar, 1931.
- 78 Morris, 2005, 213 and 232.
- 79 Dathe, 1993; Marques de Lozoya, 1954.
- 80 Conant, 1959, 334–6; Kroesen, 2000, 31. For Eunat, see Becker, 1995. The Templar church in Paris was elaborated in the Renaissance, with the addition of a sculpted representation of the Entombment, placed in a cave at the end of the fifteenth century. Forsyth, 1972, 19.
- 81 The idea that the Templar churches in Europe may have been constructed to house ancient relics acquired in Jerusalem said to be from the original Ark of the Covenant seems to pertain more to historical fiction than fact, but if this were the case the form of the buildings as containers for Solomonic relics would present a clear parallel with the churches dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher which housed relics of Christ's Crucifixion and Entombment.
- accompanies the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Fulcher of Chartres. Vorholt, 2012, 168.
- 6 Vorholt, 2012, 166–7.
- 7 Schein, 2005, 88.
- 8 Folda, 2005, 213. The Melisende Psalter (BL Egerton Ms. 1139) also contains depictions of the interior of the Temple of Jerusalem, in which Christ is presented to the High Priest under a vaulted interior, again recalling the forms of the *Templum Domini*. Weiss, 1997–8, 214–15. Berger, 2012, 80–1.
- 9 Ousterhout, 1981, 316; Wilkinson, 1981, 132–3.
- 10 Berger, 2012, 100.
- 11 Derbes, 1992, 141–5.
- 12 Dohmen, 1994.
- 13 Berger, 2012, 99–100.
- 14 Derbes, 1992, 143–5.
- 15 A new version of Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis* produced in the period of the crusades also abandoned the traditional ground-plans of the Holy Land churches in favor of a single image of the total city of Jerusalem. The manuscript (BSB Ms. Lat. 13002) displays a bird's-eye view of the walled city – with each gate identified by inscription – and a column at the center surmounted by a cross and a medallion of Christ. Kühnel, 1987, 92–3. The manuscript was produced in the Benedictine monastery of St. George in Prüfening, founded outside of Regensburg in 1109. Cohen, 2009, 137. The monastery is just a short distance (3 kilometers to be exact) from the Irish Benedictine monastery at Regensburg discussed above. On their relations, see Riain, 2008, 65–6. The interest in depicting the column at the center of the world, described by Adomnán, may also relate to the similar form of the *astrolabium* of St. Emmeram in Regensburg. Hartog, 1992, 44–6.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

- 1 Ousterhout, 1997–8, 395–6; Röhricht, 1895.
- 2 Kühnel, 1996, 317. The earliest T-O maps are associated with the writings of Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636). Harley and Woodward, 1987, 301–2; Woodward, 1985, 510–11.
- 3 Harley and Woodward, 1987, 334.
- 4 Berger, 2012, 87; Morris, 2005, 26.
- 5 One is at Saint-Omer (Bib. Municipale, Cod. 776, fol. 50v) originating in the abbey of St. Bertin, another in Brussels (BRB Ms. 9823–4, fol. 157r), and another in Stuttgart (Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. bibl. 2° 56, fol. 135r). Kline, 2001, 211; Kühnel, 1987, 139; Röhricht, 1895, 173–4; Arad, 2012a, 270–2. Worm identifies the manuscript in Saint-Omer as the oldest of the group. Worm, 2012, 135–6. A fourth related map is in Paris (BNF Ms. Latin 5129). The manuscript in Saint-Omer is related to an anonymous paraphrase of the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres, known as the *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*. A similar twelfth-century map in a manuscript in Uppsala accompanies passages from the same work (Universitetsbibliotek, Ms. 691, fol. 36). Rubin, 1999, 29; Ousterhout, 2009a, 161–2. The BRB manuscript
- 16 Ousterhout, 2009a, 162.
- 17 Lilley, 2009, 21. The plan for the town is found in a document of 1306; the real construction of the town never equaled the plans outlined in the idealizing map. Maginnis, 2001, 172.
- 18 Maginnis, 2001, 26.
- 19 Frugoni, 1991, 27–8; Braunfels, 1953, 85.
- 20 Nagel, 2011, 207. See also Os and Aronow, 1990, 211.
- 21 Frati, 2001, 18. In 1357, the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala (Hospital of St. Mary of the Stair), directly opposite the cathedral, had also acquired a significant group of Byzantine relics, which included a nail of the Crucifix and the veil and belt of the Virgin.
- 22 For instance, the city of Jerusalem imagined in the backdrop of Bartolo di Fredi's *Adoration of the Magi*



- (c. 1385–88) incorporates the cathedral's black-and-white striping, cupola, and belltower into the image of the Temple. The panel was created for the altar of the Three Kings inside the city's cathedral. Steinhoff, 2005, 22.
- 23 Ousterhout, 1997–8, 394.
- 24 Thompson, 2005.
- 25 Smith, 1978, 3–4. Excavations in the 1930s around the cathedral uncovered the remains of an octagonal structure, believed to have been a baptistery in the tenth and eleventh centuries. *Ibid.*, 15–16. By the fourteenth century, the Pisan Church of Santa Maria del Ponte Novo (St. Mary of the New Bridge) was incorporated into Pisa's sacred topography, housing a relic of the Crown of Thorns received from Constantinople in 1333 and reconstructed beginning around the same time to resemble a small treasury befitting the sacred relic. Because of its sacred relic, the church became known as Santa Maria della Spina, or St. Mary of the Thorn. Frati, 2001, 4.
- 26 By 1205, the Hospitaller hospital for women dedicated to San Giovanni became subject to the prior of San Sepolcro, and some of the nuns were buried in San Sepolcro. Luttrell and Nicholson, 2006, 17.
- 27 Smith, 1978, 220–21; Bodner, 2014.
- 28 Boeck, 1964, 154–5.
- 29 Riley-Smith, 1986, 16; Morris, 2005, 170.
- 30 Smith, 1987, 26. For the potential role of Dagobert in the symbolism of the Baptistery, see also McLean, 1995, 16–21.
- 31 Kühnel astutely notes that Pisa and Bologna are the first cities to expand their references to the architecture of the Holy Land beyond the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Kühnel, 2012a, 248. She adds the possibility that the octagonal Church of Sant'Agata also connected to Diotalvi may have been constructed as an octagonal structure inspired by the *Templum Domini*. *Ibid.*, 250–1; Cristiani, 2002, 584.
- 32 Glass, 1997, 56. There are also suggestions that the east door of the Baptistery was associated with the Golden Gate. Angiola, 1978, 242.
- 33 Kühnel, 1995a. See also the related discussion by Dodds, 2012. The relief of Christ's Presentation to the Temple, on the famous Pisano pulpit within Pisa's cathedral (1265–8), echoes the centralized vault raised on arcades, associated with the Solomonic setting in Jerusalem. Berger, 2012, 124.
- 34 Ahl, 2003, 95.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 98; Smith, 1978, 95. The Camposanto was essentially completed by 1464.
- 36 Bolzoni, 2002.
- 37 Ahl, 2003, 95.
- 38 Schein, 2005, 83.
- 39 Smith, 1978, 21.
- 40 Morris, 2005, 214 and 237.
- 41 Ousterhout, 1981; Cardini, 1987b.
- 42 Ousterhout, 1981, 312.
- 43 The manuscript is in the University of Bologna Library, col. 1473. Lanzoni, 1907.
- 44 Frazier, 2005, 491.
- 45 Lanzoni, 1907, 243. The Sepulcher is mentioned in the search for relics of 1141: *Adest enim in ipsa s. Stephani aeclesia ad instar eius, in quo dominus Ihesus Christus positus fuerat, sepulchrum a beato Petronio fabricatum*.
- 46 Ousterhout, 1997–8, 399.
- 47 Rasponi, 1911, 403; Ousterhout, 1981, 318.
- 48 *Sanctum Stefanum qui dicitur sancta Hierusalem*. Rasponi, 1912, 163; Ousterhout, 1981, 318.
- 49 For the arguments regarding an early dating for the "Jerusalem" in Bologna, see Belvederi, 1914 and Filippini, 1948. A manuscript of Bede's *De Locis Sanctis* was copied in Bologna in the fourteenth century, opening up the related possibility that earlier versions of the first detailed account of the architecture of the Holy Land may have existed in the Benedictine foundation in Bologna at an earlier date. Laistner and King, 1943, 83–5. Another ground-plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher survives, pasted into a thirteenth-century manuscript in nearby Reggio Emilia: Municipal Library, MS. Turri D. 2. Ousterhout, 1981, 313.
- 50 Ousterhout argued that the eight sides of the building were also intended to imitate the eight piers inside the Anastasis Rotunda, and that the twelve mullioned windows in Bologna were transformations of the Holy Sepulcher's gallery supports of two piers flanked by one column. Ousterhout, 1981, 313; Krautheimer, 1971, 129–30.
- 51 Ousterhout, 1981, 319–20; Lanzoni, 1907, 240–50.
- 52 Ousterhout, 1981, 312–14. The central cruciform chapel, which came to house the replica of the True Cross, had originally contained the tomb of a certain Julia Afrodite. In the twelfth century all of the chapels were joined to an older church dedicated to Sts. Vitale and Agricola.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 319; Lanzoni, 1907, 232.
- 54 Lanzoni, 1907, 232.
- 55 Ousterhout, 1981, 315; Thompson, 2005, 43–4; Corbo, 1965.
- 56 Lanzoni, 1907, 142 and 232; Ousterhout, 1981, 315.

- 57 Lanzoni, 1907, 141–2.
- 58 Thurston, 1906, 7–10.
- 59 Ousterhout, 1981, 320; Montorsi, 1980, 38–48.
- 60 Lanzoni, 1907, 141.
- 61 Ousterhout, 1981, 318.
- 62 Some versions of the relic's history – including the ninth-century annals of Fulda and the chronicle of Hermann of Reichenau (1014–54) – also referred to a first discovery in 804. There may have been an earlier church with a crypt for the relic in the same location. Marani, 1974, 73–5.
- 63 Tavernor, 1998, 147–8.
- 64 Marani, 1974, 72.
- 65 Capuzzo, 2009, 144–9. The Church of San Lorenzo has a graffito with the date 1083, which Marani believes may indicate the foundation date. Marani, 1974, 89. For a photograph, see Bertinelli and Truzzi, 1974, 7.
- 66 The altar dedicated to Christ's Sepulcher in San Lorenzo still existed in the sixteenth century. Marani, 1974, 89.
- 67 Tavernor, 1998, 143.
- 68 Marani, 1974, 87–9. Marani suggests that San Sepolcro was constructed *c.* 1072 and San Lorenzo *c.* 1083, but Capuzzo argues that San Lorenzo was constructed first. There seems to be no firm basis for dating any of the four buildings. Capuzzo, 2009, 149; Torelli, Girolla, and Nicora, 1924.
- 69 Torelli, Girolla, and Nicora, 1924, 125–7. A map of Mantua designed by Gabriele Bertazzolo and published in 1628, apparently the same year in which Santo Sepolcro was demolished, attests to the round forms of the churches.
- 70 Marani, 1974, 87. A legend persisted through the eighteenth century that San Lorenzo had been an ancient pagan temple converted by Constantine into a Christian church.
- 71 Tavernor, 1998, 143–5.
- 72 Evans and Wixom, 1997, 251. The Holy Blood was associated by Andrea Dandolo with the larger group of Passion relics sent to Venice by Enrico Dandolo in 1204.
- 73 Ferraro, 2012, 12.
- 74 The marbles from the Pantokrator Monastery have been particularly identified with the southeast corner of the exterior of San Marco. Rodley, 2013, 16.
- 75 Glenn *et al.*, 2012, 70. The exact date that the relic was taken is unknown, and some have suggested it may have already been taken in the twelfth century. In 1375 the fist-sized piece of granite was mounted on a reliquary, giving sculpted form to the idea of the original, intact column, against which Christ is bound. Atop the granite fragment, a miniature crucifix reinforces the significance of the granite, as a receptacle for the blood shed by Christ during the Passion. Caresio and Bonino, 1984, 231–2.
- 76 Dale, 2010, 179–81. There is no agreement about whether the object, probably made in the twelfth century, was originally intended to represent a specific church, or the idea of Jerusalem or the Temple of Solomon. Carrieri *et al.*, 1984, 237–8.
- 77 Howard, 1991, 67. See also Howard, 2000.
- 78 Sanudo and Lock, 2011.
- 79 Rubin, 1999, 35. There are several versions of this map. The manuscript illustrated here was addressed to Robert of Boulogne, count of Auvergne, and the map of Jerusalem is thought to have been drawn by Pietro Vesconte. Friedman and Figg, 2013, 536. Lock considers this to be a third edition of the book produced by Sanuto, of which seven manuscripts survive. Sanudo and Lock, 2011, 14.
- 80 Howard, 1991, 67.
- 81 Harley, 1988, 70.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

- 1 Frati, 2001, 1.
- 2 Cabanot, 1981.
- 3 Schmitt, 2006, 209–10; Frati, 2001, 2.
- 4 Morello and Wolf, 2000. The *Legenda del Volto Santo* (Legend of the Holy Face) was written in the first years of the twelfth century. Schnürer and Ritz, 1934, 183.
- 5 Frati, 2001, 3. Luccans claimed that Nicodemus was commanded by an angel to sculpt the image from Christ after the imprint left on the cloth used in the descent from the Cross, and when it was still unfinished an angel sculpted the face while Nicodemus dreamt. Additional legends contributed to its growing fame throughout Europe, including the miracle of the French juggler, who on his way to Jerusalem stopped in the cathedral of Lucca and encountered the living Christ on the cross; during a conversation, Christ bestowed upon the juggler his sandal.
- 6 Silva, 1992, 305–6. The current location appears to be the original one, although the basilica around the chapel has changed over the years. The work is attributed to Matteo Civitali (1436–1501).
- 7 Molinier, 1882.
- 8 Schmitt, 2006, 218.

- 9 Maddocks, 2006, 93; Barsali, 1984.
- 10 Maddocks, 2006, 95 and 108. In the process of transporting the Volto Santo to Italy, it is also discovered to contain numerous relics, like a piece of the Crown of Thorns, Christ's fingernail cut by the Virgin, and some drops of his blood (this given to the bishop of Luni, where it was installed in the cathedral).
- 11 Molinier, 1882, 247.
- 12 Maddocks, 2006, 107.
- 13 Sources on the continued development of Ethiopian re-creations of the architecture of the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although relatively unstudied, may have similarly engaged with architectural figuration in relation to the idea of the sacred inscriptions represented by both Abgar's letter and the Image of Edessa. See Heldman, 1995, 30–7.
- 14 Mirot, 1927, 55; Maddocks, 2006, 106.
- 15 Lidov, 2012, 82; Weiss, 1998, 11–12. The Holy Face remained in the chapel in Paris until the eighteenth century. Nicolotti, 2011, 303–4.
- 16 Hahn, 2012, 29 (with English translation).
- 17 Baert, 2004, 7. Müller also argues that the west façade of Sainte-Chapelle intentionally resembles the south façade of the Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Müller, 1996.
- 18 Weiss, 1995, 308–9; Weiss, 1998. The account of the Throne of Solomon is in 1 Kings 7:6–7.
- 19 Belting, 1994, 194.
- 20 Following the discovery of the relic of the Holy Blood in Mantua, a particle was reportedly transferred to the Lateran basilica in 1053. The greater antiquity of the other Roman relics was reaffirmed through a new account of those enshrined in the papal basilica and residence, in the *Descriptio Basilicae Lateranensis* (Description of the Lateran Basilica), written shortly after 1073. In addition to ampules with blood and water from Jesus, said to be stored in the high altar, the unknown author describes the Ark of the Covenant in the same location. Blaauw, 1990, 134; Kessler, 2000 and Zacharias, 149; Valentini and Zucchetti, 1946, 336–7. The author identifies the objects – most distinctly the golden candelabra or menorah – with those depicted in relief on the triumphal Arch of Titus, constructed in 81–2 to celebrate the Roman victory in the Jewish wars. Watkin, 2009, 61.
- 21 In his *Historia Imaginis Salvatoris* (History of the Image of the Savior), written c. 1145. Wolf, 1990, 321–5.
- 22 Maniura, 2004.
- 23 ... *ut depingeretur admirabilis ejus forma, dum ipsa adhuc viverent, qui hanc animo gerebant impressam*. Wolf, 1990, 321.
- 24 Noreen, 2010, 119–20 and 125.
- 25 Jacobs, 2012, ix and 78–9.
- 26 Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 39–40.
- 27 A new portico, richly ornamented with narrative mosaics, was constructed on the western façade of the Lateran basilica, as a celebration of the papacy's historical role in preserving the traditions of the Temple of Jerusalem. Claussen, 2008. The western portico of the Lateran and its mosaics were constructed at the same time that a revision of the *Descriptio Basilicae Lateranensis* was written. The author was John the Deacon, who dedicated his work to Pope Alexander III (1159–81) and expanded upon the previous account of the Jewish treasures kept at the high altar. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew from Navarre who visited Rome around 1161 on his way to Jerusalem and points farther east, reports that Jewish Romans believed that the Temple treasures, as well as two Solomonic bronze columns, were kept in the Lateran. Champagne and Boustan, 2011, 477. Other textual accounts emerging from the papal court in the same period indicate that rituals and processions were similarly focused on highlighting the pope's possession of the treasures and his relation to the past Roman emperors who had conquered Jerusalem. Champagne, 2005, 6 and 165; Wolf, 1990, 321–5.
- 28 The literature on the architectural culture of Rome's *renovatio* in the twelfth century is vast, commencing with Krautheimer, 1980.
- 29 Nagel and Wood, 2010, 219–23; Pontani, 2003.
- 30 Birch, 1998, 12–13.
- 31 The *Mirabilia* was written by 1143 and has traditionally been attributed to Benedict the Canon. Kinney, 2007, 235; Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 7. The first texts which might be considered pilgrimage guides date to the seventh century and catalogue cemeteries found outside the walls of Rome. Valentini and Zucchetti, 1942, 49–66. A couple are more comprehensive, including the *Notitia Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae*, and the *De Locis Sanctis Martyrium*. Valentini and Zucchetti, 1942, 101–31. The various sources are also discussed in Birch, 1998, 9–14.
- 32 Kinney, 2007, 236–8. Valentini and Zucchetti argued that the *Mirabilia* was intended to serve as a guide for pilgrims. Valentini and Zucchetti, 1946, 10. A guide made in the late eighth or ninth century included a map (Codex Einsidlensis 236). Walser, 1987, 207. Miedema argued that rather than guides, the manuscripts resemble the genre of *descriptio urbis*. Miedema, 1996. Benson points out that in contrast to the tradition



- of epideictic rhetoric, Rome elicited “elegiac meditation on the ancient remains of the city ... the physical traces of what had been.” Benson, 2009, 147.
- 33 Campanelli, 2011, 36–7.
- 34 Bacci, 2009a, 50–1.
- 35 Musto, 2003, 50–1.
- 36 Moralee, 2013, 48 and 54. Moralee demonstrates that the identification of the Capitoline with the Tarpeian Rock persisted into the Christian period.
- 37 Perry, 2012.
- 38 Moralee, 2013, 63.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 63–6; Valentini and Zucchetti, 1946, 51–3.
- 40 Moralee, 2013, 66.
- 41 In the older basilica, below this reconstructed one, there is evidence of a precedent for the practice of incorporating relics into pictorial representations of related events from the life of Christ, in the ninth-century fresco of the Ascension, believed to once have had a stone from the Mount of Olives embedded into it. Bagatti, 1949, 138.
- 42 Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 82.
- 43 Morris, 2005, 225; Dietl, 1997.
- 44 Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 82–6; Thunø, 2002, 16.
- 45 Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 81 and 114; Thunø, 2014, 223. For yet more ancient mosaics envisioning Jerusalem and Bethlehem, see Thunø, 2015, 76 and Goodson, 2010, 149–52.
- 46 Goodson, 2007, 51; Goodson, 2010.
- 47 Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 124.
- 48 That a column had long been the emblem of the powerful family of the Colonna (Italian: column) undoubtedly contributed to the demonstrable piety of Cardinal Colonna in procuring the relic. Osbourne, 2012, 28–30. Osbourne also speculates that Giovanni Colonna may have met St. Francis of Assisi when he participated in the Fifth Crusade. On the Prassedè column, see also Bruni, 1960.
- 49 Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 142 and 152. Signed but undated.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 148. The Colonna family were also major patrons of Santa Maria Maggiore. Giacomo Colonna was archpriest of Santa Maria Maggiore when the new apse mosaics were created. Cooper and Robson, 2013a, 19 and 27.
- 51 In the vault above, the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin confirmed that like Christ she did not remain in her tomb, but instead rejoined her son in heaven. When these mosaics were created, Mary’s Assumption into heaven was not yet dogma, and the visual presentation of the physical setting in Jerusalem – and the inclusion of Christ’s footprints, which suggested a parallel with Christ’s Ascension – offered a certification of this otherwise undocumented event. To the left of the Assumption, on the apsidal arch, St. Jerome is shown reading from a forged document – a letter ascribed to him (in fact written in the ninth century) – which argues that Mary entered heaven in both body and soul. Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 145–8.
- 52 Barber, 2002, 32–5.
- 53 In 1605, the *Salus Populi Romani* was given its own chapel, constructed as a pendant to the chapel housing the relic of the crib. Ostrow, 1996.
- 54 Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 136–8.
- 55 Wisch, 2004, 176–7.
- 56 Cooper and Robson, 2013a, 32.
- 57 Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 128–30 and 140. “Enter into his house and adore the Lord in his sacred hall” (INTROITE IN ATRIA EIUS ADORATE DOMINUM IN AULA SANCTA EIUS), and “she wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger” (ET PANNIS INVOLUTUM RECLINARIT EUM IN PRAESEPIO).
- 58 Ostrow, 1996, 25–6. When Jacopo da Verona visited Bethlehem in 1335, he noted that the body of Jerome was now in Santa Maria Maggiore. Verona and Villard, 1950, 62.
- 59 Wilkinson, 2002, 70.
- 60 Wolf, 1998, 167; Belting, 1994, 537–41.
- 61 Birch, 1998, 115; Wolf, 1998, 167–8. This was part of a larger inflation of indulgences associated with the pilgrimage to Rome, on which see Birch, 1998, 14.
- 62 Kessler and Zacharias, 2000, 210–11.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 216.
- 64 Numerous indulgences were granted for pilgrims to St. Peter’s by various popes of the thirteenth century. On this and the plenary indulgence, see Birch, 1998, 196–7.
- 65 Morris, 2005, 331.
- 66 The story has no basis in the Gospels, and the inspiration seems to have been the Image of Edessa. One version of the history of the Veronica recorded in a thirteenth-century manuscript (BNF Ms. Lat. 2688, fols. 65r–98v) identified the veil with the Image of Edessa (fol. 96r). Abgar’s widow – a typological predecessor for Veronica – is shown taking the cloth with the portrait to Jerusalem, before transporting it to Rome. Wolf, 1998, 172.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 175.
- 68 Lavin, 2007, 122–3 and 158–9. The Holy Lance was acquired in 1492.

- 69 Connolly and Paris, 2009, 5–19.
- 70 Birch, 1998, 10–11.
- 71 Pringle, 2012, 39–40. The descriptive text of the itinerary is short in the three surviving versions. For a recent English translation, see Pringle, 2012, 197–208. On the reverse is a map of the world, connecting the images back to the trans-continental itinerary map with which the manuscript commenced. Binski, 2006, 85; Lewis and Paris, 1987, 128; Connolly and Paris, 2009, 6–7 and 153.
- 72 Matthew Paris also pasted a drawing that has been interpreted in relation to the Veronica onto the corresponding page. Belting, 1994, 543; Lewis and Paris, 1987, 129. Otto Pächt had originally suggested the association of the image with the Veronica. Pächt, 1961. The image of Christ in the frescoes of the Holy Sepulcher chapel in Winchester may have provided a more immediate model (which also raises the interesting possibility that the fresco may have been based upon the idea of a true portrait of Christ.)
- 73 BL Ms. Roy. 14. C. VII, fols. 2r–5v.
- 74 Connolly and Paris, 2009, 135; Lewis and Paris, 1987, 130 (with English translation).
- 75 Matthew Paris also illustrates this entry with a depiction of Christ's Ascension into Heaven from the Mount of Olives (BL Ms. Royal 14. C. VII, fol. 146), using the convention peculiar to Anglo-Saxon art of showing only the lower portion of Christ's legs with his feet, hovering above the Mount of Olives as the rest of his body disappears into a cloud. Lewis and Paris, 1987, 130–5; Schapiro, 1979, 266–87.
- 76 In the fourteenth century Christ's footprints were re-created in sculpted relief, in the finial rising above the chest standing for Christ's Sepulcher in Hawton. Sheingorn, 1987, 48. The particular English interest in the idea of Christ's footprints can be traced back to Adomnán's account in the *De Locis Sanctis* and the related tenth-century Blickling Homilies (for which see Part I).
- 77 This informed how English pilgrims perceived the footprints on the Mount of Olives; for example, in a fifteenth-century account of the pilgrimage, surviving in two manuscripts (QCO Ms. 357 and BL Ms. Harley 2333), the unknown author writes: "The most excellent glorius cherche where Almyghti Jesu Crist most glorius Lorde ascended ynto hevenne and there lefft the prynt of both His feete of which oon is taken awaie from thens and brought to Westmynstre in Englund." Brefeld, 1985, 139.
- 78 Connolly and Paris, 2009, 6.

- 79 Whatley, 2014.
- 80 Connolly and Paris, 2009, 118.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 131–2.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 114.
- 83 Lewis and Paris, 1987, 355; Pringle, 2007, 32.
- 84 Pringle, 2007, 32.
- 85 Frederick II wrote letters in both 1227 and 1249 indicating that he too believed the world may have reached the end of time. Connolly and Paris, 2009, 15–18; Cohn, 1970. The fortress of Castel del Monte (Castle of the Mountain) built by Frederick II beginning in 1240 has been compared to the Dome of the Rock. Lavin, 2005, 127.
- 86 Klein, 1998, 250–1.

## NOTES TO PART III INTRODUCTION

- 1 Pringle, 2012, 9.
- 2 A rare example of a thirteenth-century chapel apparently inspired by the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was constructed (or reconstructed) in Magdeburg Cathedral. The sixteen-sided chapel, for which the original dedication has not been recorded, was in the nave until moved in 1826. Morris, 2005, 289. The author known as Burchard of Mount Sion, who wrote an important description of the Holy Land (1274–85), appears to have been based in Magdeburg. Pringle, 2012, 47.
- 3 Tishby, 2001, 140–1; Harley, 1988, 70.
- 4 Derbes, 1996, 18.
- 5 This verbal descriptiveness parallels the pictorial descriptiveness associated with arts of the Franciscan order. Mulvaney, 2005, 170–1.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

- 1 Bauer *et al.*, 1971.
- 2 Lansing, 1998.
- 3 Derbes, 1996, 17–18.
- 4 Muir, 1997, 156. The feast of Corpus Christi (Body of Christ), established in 1267, also provided a theatrical means for celebrating the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharistic host.
- 5 Bynum, 2011, 155–6.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 208.
- 7 For example, see Von Suchem and Deycks, 1851, 2. This emphasis upon the earth of the Holy Land

- having been consecrated by Christ's blood may help account for visualizations of this idea in depictions of the Crucifixion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See Fricke, 2013.
- 8 Erhardt, 2011, 301. Armstrong and Brady, 1982, 55–8.
- 9 The church was converted into a mosque in the seventeenth century and subsequently fell into ruin; its location in Beirut can now only be hypothesized. See Pringle and Leach, 1993, 111–17. Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 95. Frescobaldi repeats the story. Lanza and Troncarelli, 1990, 214. Franciscans remained there until 1571, and then returned in 1830.
- 10 Vincent, 2001, 64.
- 11 This is found in the *Liber Peregrinationis* written by a certain notary, Nicolaus de Marthono de civitate Calinensi. The book relates to a journey made in 1394, in which the author notes that Franciscans acted as guides. For extracts from the book (in Latin), see Golubovich, 1927, 305–9.
- 12 A full account is given in Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 95–6. By the second half of the fifteenth century, the presence of the Franciscans in Beirut was much reduced; Anselme Adorno found three Franciscan brothers, among them one from his homeland in Flanders. Adorno *et al.*, 1978, 347.
- 13 *Terra a paganis et Saracenis inhabitata, cuius dominus soldanus Damasci*. For the association of the manuscript with Matthew Paris, see Thomson, 2011.
- 14 Jacopo da Verona notes having seen the crucifix, which – he says – had emitted blood and water when struck by the Jew, in the account of his journey of 1335. Verona and Villard, 1950, 139.
- 15 For example BL Ms. Harley 635; Golubovich, 1927, 238–9; Doyle, 1983.
- 16 Jones, 1973, 45. These views are primarily reflected in BL Ms. Harley 31, fol. 182. Jones notes that BL Ms. Harley 635 has generally been identified as the work of Woodford, although it could have been written by John Sharpe (c. 1360–after 1415). Jones, 1973, 40.
- 17 The work was commissioned by Gregory X at the Second Council of Lyons (1274). Setton, Hazard, and Zacour, 1989, 84; Tolan, 2002, 204–9; Golubovich, 1906, 289–92.
- 18 BNF Ms. Lat. 7242, fol. 122v; Golubovich, 1919, 9. The manuscript contains *De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* (fols. 85–126) in a collection of books on military strategy, copied in Bologna in the middle of the fourteenth century and in the possession of Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan by the end of the century (as indicated by his coat of arms).
- 19 Golubovich, 1919, 10. My translation from the Latin.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 21.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 22 Piccirillo, 2009, 363; Piccirillo, 2004.
- 23 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 39–40. A relic of the table of the Last Supper was also incorporated into the basilica in Assisi. Bagatti, 1949, 139. The relic is recorded in 1338 as *De mensa quando cenavit cum discipulis suis* (From the table when he had supper with his disciples).
- 24 Only the vaulted chamber of the Last Supper and below the sepulchers of David and Solomon remained when Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi was there in the fourteenth century. Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 35–8. Through the time of Arculf's journey at the end of the seventh century, pilgrims had located the Tomb of David in Bethlehem. See Limor, 2007, 223–4.
- 25 Each is known by its opening words: *Gratias agimus* and *Nuper carissimae*. Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 102–3 (with English translation).

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

- 1 In the decades immediately following the death of St. Francis, his followers commissioned altarpieces focused on imagery of the Passion of Christ, in order to promote the cult of Francis as an *alter Christus*. Derbes, 1996, 2.
- 2 Sensi, 2002, 16. As by Bernardino da Siena: Bacci, 2009a, 41. The Franciscans also acquired relics for La Verna relating to Christ's Crucifixion, including a piece of the stone from Mount Calvary, as recorded in the fourteenth century. Bagatti, 1949, 132.
- 3 Tolan, 2009a.
- 4 ... *et quasi nova Bethleem facta est*. As stated by Tommaso da Celano (c. 1200–c. 1265). Rosenthal, 1954, 58. The inspiration may have been manger plays which had previously been developed for the liturgical celebrations involving the relic of the crib in Santa Maria Maggiore. Schiller and Seligman, 1971, 76.
- 5 *Volo enim illius pueri memoriam agere, qui in Bethleem natus est, et infantilium necessitatum eius incommode, quomodo in praesepio reclinatus et quomodo, adstante bove atque asino, supra foenum positus existitit, utcumque corporeis oculis pervidere*. Rosenthal, 1954, 58 (my English translation of the Latin). Flora, 2009, 60.
- 6 Scheler, 1954, 85.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 87.
- 8 St. Francis' celebration of all of the physical world as a manifestation of divine presence has been related



- to the modern phenomenology of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, which imagines all of sensation as an internalizing of the external and an externalizing of the internal, in a constant flux between the individual body and its environment – or, the “flesh of the world.” Merleau-Ponty, 1962, 354; Kearney, 2010.
- 9 Brooke, 2006, 69; Tolan, 2009a, 136. Elia was reportedly also responsible for acquiring a Byzantine reliquary of the True Cross and bestowing it upon the Franciscan church in his native Cortona. Frati, 2001, 21.
- 10 Michaels, 2005, 71–7; Schenkluhn, 2011.
- 11 Thode, 1885.
- 12 Cooper, 2005, 1–4 and 35–9. A thirteenth-century depiction of three crippled supplicants before the Tomb of St. Francis, found in an antiphonary from the *Sacro Convento* (Sacred Convent), suggests that the tomb was open and the body accessible to pilgrims at that point. *Ibid.*, 13–17.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 22 and 35–7.
- 14 Pringle, 2007, 36–7.
- 15 Schenkluhn, 2011, 132.
- 16 Cooper and Robson, 2013b, 166.
- 17 Robson, 2005, 43 and 51.
- 18 Pringle, 2007, 33.
- 19 Ratté, 2006, 106–8.
- 20 Cooper and Robson, 2013a, 138.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 1–3.
- 22 Giorgio Vasari and Onofrio Panvinio named a Pandolfo as the patron of the sculptural group; Pandolfo da Pontecarvo was associated with Santa Maria Maggiore during the papacy of Nicholas IV, but the overall impetus for the project is generally ascribed to the pope. Romano, 2006, 300–1.
- 23 Tomei, 1990, 45–7.
- 24 Cooper and Robson, 2013a, 20; Mann, 1928, 47–9.
- 25 Cooper and Robson, 2013a, 6.
- 26 [D]e *petra Sepulchri Virginis Mariae. Breve e Compendiosa Descrizione dalla sacra basilica ...*, 1792, 5; Sensi, 2002, 2. The other relics were said to be from Golgotha and the Mount of Olives. Vitale and Cardi, 1645, 28.
- 27 Sensi, 2002, 3–11. Among Franciscans, the church was identified as the mother church, generating other Franciscan foundations throughout Italy and the world.
- 28 The inscription is believed to date to the restoration of the church made during the life of St. Francis. In the fourteenth century, a few English churches, such as the cathedral in Norwich, were granted the right to offer the Porziuncula indulgence to their visitors. Swanson, 2007, 55.

- 29 Sensi, 2002, 11–35. The crucifix in the fresco may also relate to the appearance of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Both Santa Maria degli Angeli and the Upper Church of St. Francis originally had painted crucifixes, painted by Giunta Pisano around 1236, displayed on wooden beams as in the painting. Cooper and Robson, 2013a, 63–74.
- 30 Johnson, 2005, 71–81.
- 31 According to plans by Galeazzo Alessi made *c.* 1568. Frati, 2001, 23; Sensi, 2002, 163.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

- 1 Earlier Franciscans had written accounts of the Holy Land. The first that survives is by Roger Bacon, written in 1267 without having made the pilgrimage. Golubovich, 1906, 266–8.
- 2 BCR Ms. 3876; Piccirillo, 2009, 363–94; Fedanzola *et al.*, 2003. On Fedanzola, see also Golubovich, 1919, 367–9.
- 3 The book commences with a statement to this effect: “Intending to describe the Holy Land, I have selected from different treatises and have made confident visual observations. I, Friar John of Perugia, [Provincial] Minister of the Holy Land, although unworthy, have crossed said land in pilgrimage.” Fedanzola *et al.*, 2003, 2–3 (Latin with English and Italian translation). The book ends with reference to another Franciscan, Bernard of Arezzo: “So finishes the work of the description of the Holy Land, put forth by the above-mentioned Friar John Fedanzola of Perugia, which the Reverend Father Friar Gerald, Minister General, had examined by Friar Bernard of Arezzo, doctor of sacred theology. And the aforementioned Minister General gave license for sharing the aforementioned work to everyone wanting to copy it.” *Ibid.*, 114–15. Geraldo Oddonis was minister general 1329–42. Bernard of Arezzo was a follower of Duns Scotus (*c.* 1266–1308), and Fra Fedanzola’s connection to these theologian-philosophers may help account for his particular conception of the spatial order of the Holy Land. As for Fra Fedanzola having been minister of the Holy Land, a reference is found in Ridolfi, 1586: “Fr. Ioannes Fedanzola, Perusinus, Minister Terrae Sanctae, edidit opusculum descriptionis Terrae Sanctae” (fol. 327); Golubovich, 1919, 368.
- 4 Fedanzola *et al.*, 2003, 90–1.
- 5 The Venetian Marino Sanuto’s *Liber secretorum fidelium cruces* (The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the

- Cross), written in the first two decades of the thirteenth century by the merchant and *condottiero*, was primarily aimed at arguing for and demonstrating how to effect a Crusade to retake the Holy Land. Pietro Vesconte's map, of which we have seen the detail of Jerusalem, divided the Holy Land into twenty-eight horizontal *spazi* (spaces), each divided into eighty-three *quadri* (squares). A portion of the book incorporates a guide for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, based primarily upon the work of Burchard of Mount Sion and Filippo Busserio da Savona. Sanudo, 1972; Sanudo and Lock, 2011 (English translation). There are nine surviving manuscripts of Sanudo's book with a plan of Jerusalem. Arad, 2013, 83–5. For the account of Burchard of Mount Sion, see the recent English translation in Pringle, 2012, 241–320, and for Philip of Savona's, see Pringle, 2012, 321–60.
- 6 Fedanzola *et al.*, 2003, xviii–xix and 2–3.
  - 7 *Ibid.*, ix.
  - 8 *Ibid.*, 56–7.
  - 9 BAV Ms. Urb. Lat. 1362.
  - 10 The upper portion of the bell tower as represented here and in other fourteenth- and fifteenth-century drawings would collapse due to an earthquake of 1545. Pringle, 2007, 35.
  - 11 *Itinerarium fratrum Symonis Semeonis et Hugonis illuminatoris Ordinis fratrum Minorum professorum ad Terram Sanctam A. D. 1322* (Itinerary of Brother Symone Semeone and Hugo the Illuminator of the Order of the Friars Minor to the Holy Land in the Year AD 1322), CCC Ms. 407; Golubovich, 1919, 237–8 and 246–82 (with entire text transcribed). The manuscript is dated around the end of the fourteenth-century.
  - 12 For the account of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, see Golubovich, 1919, 281.
  - 13 *Itinerarium ad mentis Deum*. Karnes, 2011, 84–5.
  - 14 Pringle, 2012, 46–51.
  - 15 *Ibid.*, 294–5. A fourteenth-century manuscript of Burchard's book contains an imaginary map of Jerusalem.
  - 16 For example, he refers to the *vestigia* of the room on Mount Sion where the Last Supper occurred. Verona and Villard, 1950, 36.
  - 17 The Dominican Jacopo da Verona apparently intended to incorporate a similar ground-plan into his own book, written shortly after Fra Fedanzola's. In his *Liber Peregrinationis* (Book of Pilgrimage), based upon his journey of 1335, a drawing is indicated in the text: *Describam eam modo quo sciam. Et postea explanabo et ultra per ordinem designatur* (I described it as I know. And afterwards I will explain even as it is drawn). The primary manuscript in Minneapolis (University of Minnesota Library, Mss., 1424/Co) has a blank space where the ground-plan would be expected, and a rough sketch of the places on Mount Sinai. The manuscript is dated 1424 and was copied by "Johannem de Purmerende." Verona and Villard, 1950, xxvii. For a reproduction of the drawing of Sinai, see Betschart, 1996, 113.
  - 18 For the various manuscripts of the *Libro d'oltramare*, see Golubovich, 1927, 22.
  - 19 The *Libro d'oltramare* has widely been held to be the first account in Italian, but there may have been a more obscure, anonymous precedent dating to the thirteenth century. Dardano, 1966.
  - 20 The first modern edition of the *Libro d'oltramare* was Poggibonsi, 1881. For the related manuscripts, see Lanza and Troncarelli, 1990, 26.
  - 21 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 1.
  - 22 Moore, 2013, 400–2. *Frate Nicola di Corbico da Pocibonici del contado di Fiorenca dela Provincia di Toscana* (Brother Nicholas of Corbico from Poggibonsi of the *contado* of Florence of the Province of Tuscany). BNCF Ms. II IV 101, fol. 1r. A certain "Corbicizino Nicolai de Podio Bonitii" is mentioned in a document of the Ospedale di S. Maria della Scala in Siena. There was also an illustrious Corbizi family in Florence. It remains unknown if these Corbizi may have been related to the Franciscan friar. Gensini, 2013, 1.
  - 23 BNCF Ms. II IV 101, Ms. Panc. 78, and Ms. Panc. 79.
  - 24 NYPL Ms. Spencer 62 and BL Ms. Egerton 1900.
  - 25 The popular pilgrimage account made by Burchard of Mount Sion exemplifies the previous approach, still typical at the end of the thirteenth century. Burchard drew on a number of previous descriptions, and his book in turn formed the basis of Marino Sanuto's treatise and that of Jacopo da Verona. Grabois, 1982, 287–8.
  - 26 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 14. My translation.
  - 27 *Ibid.*, 14. My translation.
  - 28 Poggibonsi, 1500.
  - 29 NYPL Ms. Spencer 62 and BL Ms. Egerton 1900.
  - 30 Petrucci and Petrucci, 1972, 1. My translation.
  - 31 "Now I will begin the said voyage or rather pilgrimage of the most powerful city of Venice, telling of its appearances, and so we will tell of each place as one goes and returns, drawing (*figurando*) every place as best one might. And we will tell thus in the name of Jesus Christ." NYPL Ms. Spencer 62, fol. 1r. My translation.

- 32 The most important precedent was the *Liber Peregrinationis* written by the Augustinian friar, Jacopo da Verona, based upon his pilgrimage of 1335. Verona and Villard, 1950, xi.
- 33 Hyde, 1990, 22. Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, xxii–xxxii. In addition to the *Libro d'oltramare*, a now missing fourteenth-century manuscript had compiled the indulgences relating to the Holy Land pilgrimage. The manuscript was kept in the library of the Convent of Assisi, as noted in the catalogue of 1381: *Liber sacrae indulgentiae s. Mariae et peregrinationis civitatis Ierusalem et totius terrae sancte. Nec non et tabula privilegiorum Ordinis*. Golubovich, 1927, 355.
- 34 Pringle, 2012, 15.
- 35 Swanson, 2007, 11–12; Le Goff, 1984.
- 36 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 105.
- 37 Demaray, 1969, 5.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 15. Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945a, 103. Demaray also cites Niccolò's description of what occurred when his group first saw Mount Sinai: they fell to their knees and chanted the hymn *Salve Regina* – the same sung by the souls in Dante's *Purgatory*.
- 39 Morris, 2005, 314.
- 40 Kathryn Rudy employed the term “mental pilgrimage” in reference to a fifteenth-century manuscript, which she argued was produced in the Franciscan monastery at Mainz. Rudy, 2000a. For a more expansive discussion, see Rudy, 2011.
- 41 Biblioteca de' Canonici Regolari di S. Salvatore, Ms. 396.
- 42 Melga *et al.*, 1862. My translation. The same text is published in Lanza and Troncarelli, 1990, 315. The anonymous text was also published in another book of 1862, in a compilation with other fourteenth-century pilgrimage accounts. Gargioli, 1862.
- 43 Melga *et al.*, 1862, 11.
- 44 These techniques were primarily based upon the Latin treatise of the first century BC called *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, attributed to Cicero. Carruthers, 1998, 7–8.
- 45 The manuscript (BAV Ms. Lat. 5255) has the list of measures on fol. 138. The measurements pertaining to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher were published as an appendix in Verona and Villard, 1950, 151.
- 46 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 14.
- 47 Bagatti, 1949, 133. An anonymous pilgrim of the fourteenth century notes a green stone (*unus lapis viridis*) and its dimensions, but unusually expresses skepticism regarding its authenticity, citing a similar stone in Constantinople. The account is found in Ms. Latin 36 of the municipal library of Évreux. Kohler, 1902, 439.
- 48 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 15–18.
- 49 The chapel was an eleventh-century addition. Pringle, 2007, 40.
- 50 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 19–23. The columns are mentioned by an anonymous English Franciscan, who made the pilgrimage with four companions (also English) in 1344–5. Their journey is recounted in a manuscript of the fourteenth century (CCC Ms. 370), and the Latin text can be found in Golubovich, 1923, 427–60. The anonymous author refers to four marble columns that sweat and provoke tears for the death of Christ. Golubovich, 1923, 453.
- 51 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 24.
- 52 Using the route from St. Stephen's Gate to the Holy Sepulcher to organize the account of the sites associated with the events leading to the Crucifixion is typical in pilgrimage accounts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Fedanzola *et al.*, 2003, 82–85. Fra Niccolò is the first to note distances between each site and architectural features defining the street.
- 53 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 54. He includes reference to a bell tower, which he compares to that of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher; early nineteenth-century drawings confirm the existence of the bell tower – used as a minaret – before it was destroyed in the nineteenth century. The tower that stood over the western bay of the south aisle was demolished in 1841–2, but is illustrated in the drawings of Horn, Enelmann, and Catherwood. Pringle and Leach, 1993, 150. The Church of St. Anne – dedicated to the mother of Mary – was associated with the place of Mary's birth and upbringing. A church had existed on the site since the seventh century, but it was destroyed in the eleventh century. By the mid twelfth century, the church had been rebuilt. See Pringle and Leach, 1993, 142–50.
- 54 Also known as the Piscina Probatica. Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 55. Both the Church of St. Anne and the Piscina Probatica are illustrated on fol. 21v of BNCF Ms. II IV 101.
- 55 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 55.
- 56 Magness, 2012, 158. Pilgrims refer to the arch, which had been the east entry to the Aelia Capitolina, beginning in the late thirteenth century. Sion, 1956, 262.
- 57 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 57. Schiller and Seligman, 1972, 74.
- 58 Pringle and Leach, 1993, 93. Fedanzola does not associate this arch with *Ecce Homo*, but instead connects it to Christ stopping and saying, “Daughters of Jerusalem,



- do not weep over me, but for yourselves” (Luke 24). Fedanzola *et al.*, 2003, 84–5. Jacopo da Verona refers to the arch as *una volta antiqua in medio vie. que dicitur Lycostratos vel Gabatha: ibi clamabant Judei: Crucifige. crucifige eum* (an ancient vault in the middle of the street, which they call Lycostratos or Gabatha, where the Jews shouted: Crucify! Crucify him!). Verona and Villard, 1950, 46.
- 59 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 57.
- 60 In Franciscan depictions of the Way to Calvary we find a similar attentiveness to the historical topography of Jerusalem during the life of Christ. In the Lower Church of Assisi, a fresco created by Pietro Lorenzetti and his workshop (c. 1320) shows Christ leaving the city behind, exiting from a gate as he proceeds to the site of the Crucifixion. A similar scene is shown in the frescoes of the Franciscan Church of Santa Croce in Florence, in Spinello Aretino’s *Way to Calvary* (c. 1400). Erhardt, 2011, 303. In both instances, the painters have shown attentiveness to the orientation of the city, especially in the latter example; the Temple of Solomon rises on the right-hand side of the city gate – a clear reversal of the view of the city in depictions of the Entry into Jerusalem.
- 61 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 13.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 124. My translation from the Italian of BNCF Ms. II IV 101, fol. 41r.
- 63 Golubovich, 1927, 15. Golubovich had argued that this statement suggests that “Niccolò had supplied his manuscript with pen drawings.”
- 64 Ackerman, 2002, 42–43.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 66 On the characteristics of BNF Ms. Ital. 115, see Ragusa, 1997. The manuscript contains 183 illustrations, but was intended to have around 400. The first illustration is a portrait of a Franciscan monk, identified by an inscription as “the monk that compiled this book,” and a woman, identified as Santa Cecilia. Ragusa, 1997, 145. For an extended discussion of BNF Ms. Ital. 115, see Flora, 2009.
- 67 See Ragusa, 2003 and Flora and Pecorini, 2006. The best manuscript copy of the redacted version is said to be Ms. 1419, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, which is the basis of Sarri’s edition, from which I cite. Sarri, 1933.
- 68 Ragusa and Green, 1961, especially xxiii. Over 200 manuscripts of the *Meditations* still exist, although fewer than twenty have pictorial illustrations. See also McNamer, 2010.
- 69 Ratté, 2006, 100.
- 70 Pringle and Leach, 1993, 139.
- 71 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 60.
- 72 Pringle and Leach, 1993, 140–1; Hamilton, 1939, 52–66.
- 73 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 61.
- 74 A relic of the stone was recorded at Assisi in 1338. A piece of the stone of the grotto was also at La Verna by the fourteenth century. Relics of the wood of the crib were kept at La Verna and Santa Chiara. Bagatti, 1949, 143.
- 75 Burchard of Mount Sion, who provides the most detailed account of the Church of the Nativity from the thirteenth century, does not refer to this column. Pringle, 2012, 302–3.
- 76 The shorter unillustrated version (BLO Ms. Canonici Italian 174), known as “the *Canonici* version” and dated c. 1305–15 – now thought to be the first version of the *Meditations* – omits any reference to the column in the Cave of the Nativity, as well as other allusions to distances between pilgrimage sites, found in later versions. McNamer, 2014. On the dating of the redacted version, see McNamer, 2009, 946–7. Not many distances are provided in the *Meditations*, and they are more general than in the *Libro d’oltramare*. Fra Niccolò, for example, specifies distances between Sebaste, Naim, Mount Tabor, Nazareth, and Galilee, while the *Meditations* provides a total distance between Nazareth and Jerusalem.
- 77 Sarri, 1933, 30–1. My translation. See also McNamer, 2009, 931.
- 78 Sarri, 1933, 312. The column is mentioned again in the vivid account of the Flagellation, when it is noted that the column “still shows the signs of the blood, according to what one finds in the book of the stories.” *Ibid.*, 316–17.
- 79 McNamer, 2009, 946; McNamer, 2014.
- 80 In BNF Ms. Ital. 115, the column is referred to, but not the Franciscan source. Ragusa and Greene, 1961, 26.
- 81 The concept may in fact originate in the period of the Crusades and represent the appropriation of existing Islamic traditions regarding the birth of Christ. When the Crusaders took over the cave in the southeast corner of the Temple Mount, they may have learned that in addition to the cradle of Jesus, there was a column with the imprint of Mary’s fingers, made when Mary was in labor. The column is described in the *Safarnama* (Book of Travels) of Nasir-i Khusraw (1004–88), an account of his journey of 1046–52. Khusraw and Thackston, 2001, 33. “One of the columns has the imprint of two fingers and looks as though someone

- grasped it. They say that when Mary was in labor, she held onto this very column.”
- 82 Pringle, 1998, 115. Franciscans carried out excavations of the Church of the Annunciation in the 1950s, uncovering the Byzantine foundations. Bagatti, 1967.
- 83 The story of Mary first encountering Gabriel on her way to take water from a spring is told in the Proto-Gospel of James. A Crusader church was identified with this location. Pringle, 1998, 140–1.
- 84 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 74–5; Pringle, 1998, 140.
- 85 Sarri, 1933, 18–23.
- 86 William of Boldensele’s account is preserved in Ms. 667, Bibliothèque de Besançon, translated from Latin into French by a certain Brother Jehan in 1351. Boldensele and Deluz, 1972, 295. The reference to the column in the Cave in Nazareth is vague and does not indicate its symbolic significance: “At the place of the Annunciation there was a beautiful church, but it is now destroyed, but still there is a little covered place that the Saracens guard very diligently, and they show there are column of marble, at which was made that holy Annunciation.” Boldensele and Deluz, 1972, 348. My translation.
- 87 Verona and Villard, 1950, 115.
- 88 Folda, 1986, 69–70; Bagatti, 1967.
- 89 Wilkinson *et al.*, 1988, 163–4. Abbot Daniel, the twelfth-century source alluded to here, also referred to a “third column” in the cave marking the place where Gabriel had stood. Folda, 1986, 10; Maguire, 2009, 119–21.
- 90 Folda, 1986, 61. The columns are in the Museum of the Franciscan Convent at Nazareth.
- 91 Quaresmio and Sandoli, 1989, 389.
- 92 Quaresmio, 1639, II: 830. In addition to the depictions of Mary grasping the column during the Annunciation, there are some late Byzantine Annunciations (predominantly from the fourteenth century) that incorporate a free-standing column. Papastavrou, 1989–90; Hunt, 1998.
- 93 BNM Ms. Lat. I, 100, fol. 64v; Maguire, 2009, 120–1; Katzenstein, 1987, 201–4.
- 94 Pallucchini, 1964, 134–7. Mary again embraces the column in another contemporary Venetian painting, a triptych attributed to Lorenzo Veneziano. *Ibid.*, 173.
- 95 Fuga, 2006, 102–3.
- 96 Borsook and Tintori, 1969, 29–30.
- 97 Ladis, 2001, 104–5.
- 98 Mone, 1854, 237.
- 99 Ladis, 2001, 106; Varanini *et al.*, 1981, 202.
- 100 Ladis, 2001, 108. My translation from the Italian, for which see Cappelletti, 1986, 41 and 65. The *lauda* is found in a manuscript without catalogue in the Biblioteca Comunale of Arezzo, which may have belonged to confraternities in Borgo Sansepolcro. Who originally commissioned the *laudario* has not been determined. Ladis notes that similar verses can be found in another *laudario*, dated 1426, from Faenza. One *lauda* in that manuscript again specifically invokes the image of Mary embracing a column on account of fear and doubt, in a shorter rendition of the earlier *lauda* quoted here. Varanini *et al.*, 1985, 144–5.
- 101 Ladis, 2001, 110.
- 102 Anselme Adorno is an example of a fifteenth-century pilgrim who records the presence of the column in Nazareth, which Mary “seized in her emotion when she had the sudden vision of the angel.” Adorno *et al.*, 1978, 313.
- 103 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 113.
- 104 *El-Moallaqa* in Arabic. Bacci, 2009a, 51. The origins regarding the legend of the miraculous nature of the column are obscure. The Franciscan Fra Symonis in the account of his journey of 1322 refers to “a white marble column” in the Church of St. Mary of the Stair: *in qua est una columna marmorea alba, de qua fertur sanctam Mariam locutam fuisse cuidam jacobite, dilecto, super deliberationem christianorum, qui tunc nimia Saracenicā ferocitate affligebantur, que usque hodie a christianis digna veratione honoratur*. Golubovich, 1919, 273. Lionardo Frescobaldi also noted the column, even referring to the church as “St. Mary of the Stair and of the Column” (Santa Maria della Scala e della Colonna). Lanza and Troncarelli, 1990, 185. On the general history of the church, probably first built in the sixth or seventh century, see Kamil, 2002, 23. See also Maglaque, 2014.
- 105 *[D]e columna ubi fuit legatus*. Bagatti, 1949, 133–4.
- 106 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 91. William of Boldensele had emphasized the moistness of the wall behind the icon, which continuously exuded a miraculous oil (without noting the fleshy qualities of the icon), and said that he did not see any kind of image, except some red color. Boldensele and Deluz, 1972, 352–3.
- 107 Bacci, 2004, 5.
- 108 Pringle, 1998, 219; Tolan, 2009b, 101–5; Bacci, 2009a, 2; Sandoli, 1980, 46. The holy oil from Saidnaya became a popular relic, preserved especially in French and English churches, including at Our Lady of Altavaux, Canterbury Cathedral, Cluny Abbey, and

- Saint-Médard in Soissons. Bacci, 2004, 2. The inventory of relics at Altavaux refers to oil emanating from the sacred image of the mother of God (*oleo quod ex uberibus imagines sancte Dei genetricis emanate*), followed immediately by reference to a relic of oil from the tomb of St. Catherine. Leroux *et al.*, 1883, 84.
- 109 Bacci, 2004, 6. The contemporary pilgrim, Ludolph von Suchem, describes the location of the icon similarly. Von Suchem and Deycks, 1851, 100.
- 110 Jacopo da Verona refers to the icon as *ymago beate Virginis depicta in una tabula. de cujus ymagine die noctuque fluit oleum et liquor suavissimus* (image of the sainted Virgin depicted in a panel, from which image night and day flows an oil and most pleasant liquid). Verona and Monneret, 1950, 137. Frescobaldi, writing about thirty years later, does the same, and adds that the oil is a kind of sweat emitted from the flesh. Lanza and Troncarelli, 1990, 211; Kedar, 2001, 62. The oldest account originating in the region is found in an Arabic manuscript of the Sinai monastery, dating from 1183. Baraz, 1995.
- 111 Bacci, 2004, 10; Baraz, 1995.
- 112 Hunt, 1991, 118–19; Dodd, 2003, 33–9. An illustration of the icon and shrine from an early fifteenth-century French manuscript (BNF Ms. Fr. 2810, fol. 171v) figures the icon as one of Mary nursing Christ. Bacci, 2004, 6. Images of the *Galaktotrophousa* type were popular in the area, and their placement behind the high altar, embedded into the apse wall, suggests a possible attempt to re-create the sacred presence of Mary within the church at Saidnaya. For instance, a thirteenth-century fresco of the nursing Virgin is found near the altar of the rock-cut chapel of Saydet-Naya near Kfar Chlaiman in northern Lebanon. Bacci, 2004, 8–9; Dodd, 2003, 43 and 306–14. See also Carr, 1995.
- 113 Bacci, 2009b, 434.
- 114 Röhricht, 1895, pl. VI.
- 115 Kamil, 2002, 22; Jullien, 1904. The earliest detailed description of the balsam plant and its medicinal qualities appeared in Dioscorides' *De materia medica*, where the plant is said only to be found in Palestine and Egypt. Milwright, 2003, 195.
- 116 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 109; Tolan, 2009b, 102–3. The earliest account of an association between the location and the Holy Family's flight to Egypt is found in Coptic texts. In the late seventh-century account of Zacharie of Sakha, Christ breaks Joseph's staff, places it in the ground, and touches the ground, causing a spring of water to form which then caused the staff to blossom. Milwright, 2003, 205. Numerous Latin Christian pilgrims who traveled to Egypt beginning in the period of the crusades mention the balsam garden, and provide varying accounts for the miraculous origin of its healing potency. John of Mandeville's fictitious pilgrimage, for instance, ascribed the well to a miraculous response of the earth to Christ's foot imprinting itself into the earth. Friedman and Figg, 2013, 44.
- 117 Milwright, 2003, 206. The balsam is mentioned often, including by the Florentine Giorgio Gucci during his pilgrimage of 1384, who notes that the Saracens sometimes deceitfully diluted the balsam with saliva. Frescobaldi *et al.*, 1948, 107.
- 118 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 109. William of Boldensele had also paid special attention to the fountain, which he described as being inside a courtyard. Boldensele and Deluz, 1972, 312. Illustrations of the enclosed balsam garden are found in some herbal manuscripts beginning in the thirteenth century. The Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Kamil (r. 1218–38) is known to have employed a botanist, and balsam is found among the illustrations of Arabic herbals. Al-Malik al-Kamil had important diplomatic relations with Frederick II. Collins, 2000, 256. The Christian interest in Matariyya may in fact have originated in diplomatic exchanges, for the first detailed account was provided by Burchard of Strasbourg, the envoy sent by Emperor Frederick I (r. 1155–90) to Saladin in 1175. Kedar, 2001, 59. Collins, 2000, 253–7 and 268–9. Illustrations produced in southern Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries show the entire balsam garden as a walled enclosure, and indicate the precise location as being near Babylon, i.e., Cairo. A manuscript made in Salerno dated c. 1340 (BNF Ms. Lat. 6823, fol. 25v) depicts the garden as a fortified enclosure, framed by two towers and guarded by a watchman. An earlier manuscript (BL Egerton Ms. 747, fol. 12) made in Salerno c. 1280–1310 illustrates the balsam within a walled enclosure with seven small fountains, described as being located near Babylon in the accompanying text.
- 119 Amico, 1610; Behrens–Abouseif, 1989.
- 120 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 115; Tolan, 2009b, 103.
- 121 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 127.
- 122 A monastery on Mount Sinai had first been built under Justinian in the sixth century to shelter monks who gathered at the site of the Burning Bush (or Tree) of Moses. The church remains largely unaltered, with mosaics including the *Transfiguration of*



*Christ on Mount Tabor, Moses before the Bush, and Moses Receiving the Law* still visible above the altar. Forsyth and Weitzmann, 1965, 5–11.

- 123 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 125–6.  
 124 *Ibid.*, 126. The oil from Saidnaya and Mount Sinai were sometimes mentioned in the same context, suggesting that pilgrims perceived the emissions from sacred female bodies to be comparable. Kedar, 2001, 64.  
 125 Pringle, 1998, 49–53.  
 126 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 131. The current chapel of Moses is a reconstruction of 1934 over the site of the original sixth-century church. Pringle, 1998, 59–61.  
 127 Frescobaldi for instance also refers to the mosque. Lanza and Troncarelli, 1990, 192. The mosque stands over a cave, identified as where Moses fasted. Pringle, 1998, 61.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

- 1 Bonaventure, 1966.  
 2 Cousins and Bonaventure, 1978.  
 3 Karnes, 2011, 128.  
 4 Bonaventure *et al.*, 1979, 332. See also O’Connell, 1985.  
 5 Baert, 2004, 12.  
 6 An earlier visualization of part of the history of the Holy Cross was discovered in 1995, in the wall-paintings of the campanile of San Nicola in Lanciano (in Abruzzi). The paintings depict the Seth episode and the construction of the Temple of Solomon, and are dated around 1330. Baert, 2003.  
 7 Baert, 2009, 190. On earlier representations of the Cross as the Tree of Life and a broader discussion of the appropriation of the theme by the Franciscans, see Hatfield, 1990, 136–43.  
 8 The friars of Santa Croce had come into possession of the relic around 1300, when it was enshrined in a crystal reliquary. Erhardt, 2011, 305; Thompson, 2004, 61.  
 9 Commissioned by the Alberti family. Baert, 2004, 351. Franciscans had received their relic of the Cross with a fragment of the Crown of Thorns from Louis IX of France.  
 10 Pringle, 2007, 389–97. The Franciscan Antonio de’ Reboldi describes the locations of the Probatic Pool and the Torrent of Cedron but does not refer to the True Cross. Golubovich, 1919, 32–3.  
 11 Baert, 2005, 1–2. The portico was discovered in 1873 in the course of restorations of St. Anna.  
 12 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 55. The source for Fra Niccolò’s history of the Cross would have most likely been the *Legenda Aurea* (Golden Legend) written *c.* 1260 by the Dominican friar Jacopo da Voragine. Voragine, 1993. The oldest known source to associate the well with the wood of the Cross is a twelfth-century *Das Leben Jesus* by the hermitess Frau Ava. Baert, 2005, 7.  
 13 Baert, 2004, 355.  
 14 *Ibid.*, 291–2 and 343.  
 15 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 50. My translation. Jacopo da Verona had made mention of the associations of the water with the history of the Cross. Verona and Villard, 1950, 45.  
 16 Baert, 2004, 355.  
 17 *Ibid.*, 367–70. The Byzantine emperor Heraclius’ dream and recovery of the cross are shown in the final fresco, envisioning his triumphal return of the Cross to Jerusalem.  
 18 Niccolò da Poggibonsi idiosyncratically locates these events in the piazza in front of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. He appears to conflate the southern portal of the Holy Sepulcher with the gate of Jerusalem. Giovanni da Fedanzola, in contrast, had described the Golden Gate as that which miraculously closed when Heraclius attempted to enter. Fedanzola *et al.*, 2003, 78–9.  
 19 Baert, 2004 368.  
 20 Thompson, 2004, 69–74 argues that the stained glass and frescoes added to the apse area of Santa Croce in the fourteenth century drew attention to the role of the friars as custodians of the Cross. The procession continued through the beginning of the eighteenth century. Giamboni, 1700, 87.  
 21 Pringle, 1998, 33–44. See also Müller and Pahlitzsch, 2004. When Jacopo da Verona visited in 1335, he noted the associations with the Cross, and that the monastery belonged to the Georgians. Verona and Villard, 1950, 64.  
 22 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 65. William of Boldensele had mentioned the Monastery of the Holy Cross – accurately connecting the foundation to the Georgians – and its association with the origins of the wood of the Cross, but did not provide any account of the monastery’s architectural features or pictorial decoration. Boldensele and Deluz, 1972, 337. Niccolò describes paintings of the history of the Cross, which perhaps dated to the eleventh century, but were no longer extant. Pringle, 1998, 37. Fragments of later frescoes from the monastery are in American museums, dated to the seventeenth century. Kühnel, 1995b.

- 23 Baert, 2004, 423.
- 24 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 364. The wood of the Cross in Agnolo Gaddi's frescoes is also made to look as if it is composed of four separate types of wood. Baert, 2004, 364.
- 25 Hebron was sacred to all three faiths; according to Genesis 23 Abraham bargained for the cave where he and his sons and their wives would all be buried. Murphy-O'Connor, 2008, 312.
- 26 This rebuilding occurred during the reign of Baldwin II (1118–31), when the Cave of Machpelah was discovered beneath the Herodian paving by the Augustinian canons that had taken over the complex. Murphy-O'Connor, 2008, 314.
- 27 The general Abrahamic associations in Hebron had attracted not only Christian and Muslim pilgrims but also Jewish, who were given access to the cave until the mid thirteenth century. In 1266 the Mamluk sultan Baybars (r. 1260–77) had excluded Christians and Jews from the Haram in Hebron, but it was not until the mid fourteenth century – the time of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's journey – that this was seriously enforced. The 1266 edict remained in effect until the 1967 Israeli occupation of the city. Murphy-O'Connor, 2008, 312.
- 28 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 67–8.
- 29 Antonio de' Reboldi (although not incorporating references to the history of the Cross) had also mentioned a beautiful fountain in Hebron, said to have been made by Abraham. Golubovich, 1919, 341.
- 30 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 76.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 81. The church had reportedly been turned into a mosque by the end of the fourteenth century. Pringle and Leach, 1993, 122–5.
- 32 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 72–3. The Byzantine church on Mount Tabor was replaced by the Crusaders in the twelfth century, of which only remnants are visible today. Pringle, 1998, 63–9.
- 33 Pringle and Leach, 1993, 254.
- 34 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 88.
- 35 Pringle and Leach, 1993, 252.
- 36 The site was also mentioned by Muslim writers, including Ibn Batutah. Meri, 2002, 51.
- 37 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 93.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 120. Among the adventures recounted by Fra Niccolò is the episode when his interpreter was temporarily abducted in Egypt on the way to Sinai. The dramatic events were pictorialized in a unique fifteenth-century drawing, in BNCF Ms. Panc. 79. See Moore, 2013.
- 40 For the other pilgrims which are known to have used the same guide, see Frescobaldi *et al.*, 1948; Lanza and Troncarelli, 1990, 27.
- 41 Fra Giovanni Fedanzola notes the Arabic names of places whenever possible, indicating at the beginning of his book that he drew upon the expert knowledge of Jews, Christians, and Saracens. Fedanzola *et al.*, 2003, 2–3. For instance, when first mentioning Jerusalem, he notes that in Arabic it is called “cuds,” meaning “holiness.” *Ibid.*, 32–3.
- 42 Frescobaldi *et al.*, 1944, 84; Lanza and Troncarelli, 1990, 27.
- 43 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 104.
- 44 Lanza and Troncarelli, 1990, 185. For the similar account of the French pilgrim Ogier d'Anglure, who made a journey from Jerusalem to Cairo in 1395–96, see Bonnardot and Longnon, 1878, 59–60.
- 45 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 46–7. An anonymous Franciscan writing in the thirteenth century wrote that the left footprint of Christ was to be seen on the mount of Olives. Golubovich, 1906, 406. William of Boldensele, on the other hand, wrote that it was the right foot of Christ shown in the stone. Boldensele and Deluz, 1972, 341. Frescobaldi refers to one footprint, but does not say whether it is from the right or left foot. Lanza and Troncarelli, 1990, 202.
- 46 Kedar, 2001, 59–65.
- 47 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 62. In the Church of the Nativity above the cave, the south transept had been used as a space for Muslim prayer since the seventh century. Pringle and Leach, 1993, 137–8.
- 48 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 43–4 and 51.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 53.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 54.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 136.
- 52 Tolan, 2002, xv; Tolan, 1993, xiii. The book also included descriptions of Muhammad's life and of Muslim law, in addition to the pilgrimage rites at Mecca. Petrus Alfonsi was a convert from Judaism; when he emigrated from Al-Andalus, he brought Arabic texts north to Aragon, England, and France. A full description of the tomb of Muhammad was rare in pilgrimage accounts. The German pilgrim William of Boldensele provided a more typically cursory description of the floating tomb in the account of his pilgrimage of 1336, which inspired John of Mandeville's version. Boldensele and Deluz, 1972, 307; Higgins, 1997, 96–7. Jacopo da Verona in the account of his journey of 1335

- refers to the tomb of Muhammad being in Lamech but does not describe it otherwise. Verona and Villard, 1950, 71. The Florentine pilgrim Lionardo Frescobaldi describes the floating tomb of Muhammad and the related lodestone in the account of his journey of 1384. Frescobaldi *et al.*, 1948, 86.
- 53 Akbari, 2009, 231–4.
- 54 Boldensele and Deluz, 1972, 307; Lanza and Troncarelli, 1990, 212. In his account of the pilgrimage made in 1432, Bertrandon de la Brocquière claimed that he was told by a slave that the tomb of Muhammad in Mecca was “a round chapel with a large hole at the top,” distinctly like Christ’s tomb in Jerusalem. Brocquière and Kline, 1988, 33.
- 55 Daniel, 1960, 184–8; Tolan, 2002, 105. Many texts produced throughout Europe depicted Islam in terms of paganism or Roman idolatry. Islam was considered a heresy and Muhammad the “arch-heretic,” due to the close correspondence of Islam and Christianity. Strickland, 2003, 165.
- 56 Varthema *et al.*, 1863. Ludovico did, nonetheless, still suggest something of the fantastical character of the enclosure, by noting the presence of unicorns in the vicinity of the Kaaba.
- 57 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 103.
- 58 Niccolò describes Damascus as surrounded by mountains and divided by a river, with separate quarters for each craft and a central market where craftsmen brought their wares. This and other elements of the description of Damascus bear a striking resemblance to the major features of the city of Florence. Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 90. In fact the illustration of Damascus resembles contemporary Tuscan depictions of cities, particularly the portrait of Florence in the Bigallo, dated 1342. On the presence of Italian merchants in Damascus, see Howard, 2003. For Cairo, see Beattie, 2005.
- 59 In NYPL Ms. Spencer 62, BL Ms. Egerton 1900, and the *Viazo*, each drawing of Cairo likewise takes up the entire page (while in BNCF Ms. Panc. 78 and BNCF Ms. Panc. 79, the illustrations relating to the sanctuaries of Syria and Egypt are entirely omitted although the text is copied).
- 60 Poggibonsi *et al.*, 1945b, 102–3.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 110. In the early eleventh century, for example, Nasir-i Khusraw noted that some buildings in Cairo were several stories high and had ox-drawn water-wheels to irrigate roof gardens. Behrens-Abouseif, 1989, 6. More recently, a waterwheel had been constructed at the citadel, in the first part of the fourteenth century, which connected to an older aqueduct. Rabbat, 1995, 106.
- 62 An important example of this trend is also provided by the panoramic views of Jerusalem, Damascus, and Cairo incorporated into a version of Ptolemy’s *Geographia* (Geography), written in 1472 by Hugo Comminelli and illustrated by Petrus Massarius (BNF Ms. Lat. 4802). Pilgrimage sites are integrated into urban formations, as in Damascus (fol. 135r), with the location where Cain killed Abel noted, and Cairo, which includes the balsam garden (fol. 136r). Roberts, 2013, 72–7.
- 63 Shorr, 1946, 30. On Ludolf of Saxony’s relation to Franciscan teachings, see Karnes, 2011, 151.
- 64 Brefeld, 1985, 135.
- 65 Rudy, 2000c, 229; Van Herwaarden, 2003, 36–85.
- 66 Ehrenschwendtner, 2013, 14.
- 67 Mâle and Bober, 1986, 84.
- 68 Rudy, 2000c, 227 (with English translation).
- 69 I am borrowing the phrase “multi-media mentality” from Hamburger (2006, 14).

#### NOTES TO PART IV INTRODUCTION

- 1 Lemmens, 1925, and Limor, 2006, 252. See also Burgoyne, 1987, 45–9.
- 2 Moodey, 2012.
- 3 Trowbridge, 2009.
- 4 Naujohat, 2011.
- 5 Cossar, 1985.
- 6 William of Boldensele (1334) appears to be the first to record the ceremony, in which pilgrims were knighted at the Sepulcher. The order of the Holy Sepulcher never came under a governing authority or particular rule. Morris, 2005, 337; Pringle, 2007, 34.
- 7 Herz and Tucher, 2002.
- 8 Breydenbach, 1486.
- 9 Davies, 1911; Noonan, 2007, 42–3.
- 10 Felix Fabri, for example, impresses upon his readers the dangers of the pilgrimage, especially relating to the naval activities of the Ottomans. Van Herwaarden, 2003, 68. For the English edition, see Fabri and Stewart, 1892. For the Latin edition, see Fabri and Hessler, 1843.
- 11 Ehrenschwendtner, 2013; Mecham, 2005.
- 12 Lasansky, 2010.
- 13 Necipoğlu, 2008; Milstein, 2014.
- 14 Moore, 2010b.
- 15 Corbo, 1981a, 1981b, and 1981c.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER 13

- 1 Vaughan, 2002, 216.
- 2 John the Fearless was captured during the battle of Nicopolis. When he returned home, he apparently brought with him a number of Muslim boys who were baptized and given French names, and also gave the young Philip a Turkish costume acquired during his crusade. Paviot, 2003, 103.
- 3 Moodey, 2012, 208 Philip counted among his territories Lotharingia, inherited from Godfrey of Bouillon Hody, 1859, 453; Paviot, 1996, 404.
- 4 Morrison *et al.*, 2010, 237–8. The manuscripts include: Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 484 F, made for Jean V of Crèquy; Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. Fr. 85, made for Wolfert VI of Borssele; BNF Ms. Fr. 68, made for Louis of Gruuthuse, and BL Royal Ms. 15 E i, made for King Edward IV of England. Donovan, 2013, 2–3. Earlier French versions of William of Tyre's account from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are catalogued by Folda, 2005.
- 5 Philip the Good's version of the *Eracles* (BRB, Ms. 9045). Donovan, 2013, 206; Moodey, 2012.
- 6 Vaughan, 2002, 57; Tanner, 2010, 82–3.
- 7 They met annually in various cities, including Lille, Bruges, and Dijon, and from 1432 the seat was fixed in the ducal palace at Dijon. The patrons of the *Livre d'Eracles* manuscripts were members of the order; Jean was inducted into the order in 1430 when it was first founded, Louis in 1461, Edward in 1468, and Wolfert in 1478. Donovan, 2013, 14.
- 8 The original version contained a map which has not survived. Moodey, 2012, 106. In 1422, he also sent the Carthusian monk Ferrandos de Sarrabia to make the pilgrimage on behalf of his father. Moodey, 2012, 103. King Henry V's dedication to the Holy Land was also expressed in the construction of Syon Abbey (founded 1415), located on the Thames at his manor, inspired by the Franciscan foundation on Mount Sion in Jerusalem. Allmand, 1992, 179.
- 9 Vaughan, 2002, 269; Lannoy and Serrure, 1840.
- 10 Philip's library also included two copies of the fourteenth-century treatise illustrated with maps on the recuperation of the Holy Land by Marin Sanuto. Both manuscripts are now in the BRB (Ms. 9347–8 and Ms. 9404–5). Dogaer and Debae, 1967, 137.
- 11 Vaughan, 2002, 270. The other nobles included Andrieu de Toulangeon and Geoffroy de Thoisy.
- 12 Bertrandon only penned his account years later. Brocquière, 1988.
- 13 Clark, 2009, 4. Fra Francesco Suriano attests that after the destruction of 1452 and further damage in 1457 Philip the Good gave 14,000 ducats to reconstruct the chapel in 1460.
- 14 The payment record survives, indicating that the donations were made *pour faire et meectre en l'église du mont de Syon auprès ledit Jherusalem, une verriere aux armes de mondit seigneur et aussi un calixce pour la chapelle de mondit seigneur en ladite eglise* (Archives du Nord, B. 1961, fol. 143). Paviot, 1996, 408.
- 15 Suriano and Golubovich, 1900, 110; Lemmens, 1925, 121. In 1435 and 1440, Philip received ambassadors from Egypt. There is also evidence that Venetians sent materials to repair the chapel after its destruction in 1452. Jacoby, 1986, 46. Other sources attest to the destruction of the chapel, including a Middle Dutch manuscript made at the convent of Maaseik, *c.* 1460–70 (KB Ms. 73 F 23). The basis of the description of the pilgrimage, according to the anonymous author, is the eyewitness accounts of a recent pilgrim and a Franciscan monk living in the cloister of Mount Sion (fol. 195r). Rudy, 2000c, 215.
- 16 Woods, 2013, 147; Lengherand, 1861. In his testament of 1441, Philip established that his successors would give an annual sum of 500 ducats of gold to the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem. Clark, 2009, 4. There were other reports of Philip funding repairs of Christian buildings in the Holy Land, among them the churches in Nazareth and Bethlehem. Paviot, 1996, 409; Moodey, 2012, 103–5.
- 17 Vaughan, 2002, 270. Records of payments from the ducal treasury indicate that Philip financially supported the travels of a Franciscan friar based in Jerusalem, a certain Jean Marquet of Valombrosa. This is also confirmed by a papal bull of 1443 which indicates that Jean Marquet was traveling on business relating to the reconquest of the Holy Land, apparently taking on the role of a pious fundraiser for a crusade. Paviot, 1996, 405–6.
- 18 Brown, 2011, 297.
- 19 Among them are the illuminations produced by multiple painters for a manuscript known as the Milan–Turin Hours. Winkler, 1916. The chronology for the creation of the illuminations and the patron or patrons remains contested, with possible dates ranging from *c.* 1420 to *c.* 1450, while the location of their creation – Bruges – is more certain. For the most recent discussion of the possible timeframe for the creation

- of the manuscript, see Krinsky, 2014. The Temple appears in the *Way to Calvary* (fol. 31) and the *Arrest of Christ* (fol. 24), both of which are now lost due to a fire in 1904 that destroyed a portion of the manuscript. Trowbridge observes that the Temple in the *Arrest of Christ* or a variant reappears often in images by artists of Bruges, esp. in manuscript illumination, such as the *Arrest of Christ* from the Hours of Anne of Bretagne, c. 1460 (BNF Ms. Lat. 10548, fol. 34r), and in Utrecht-school works, esp. works by Master of Evert van Zoudenbalch, such as two illuminations from the Van Amerongen–Van Vronensteyn Hours, also c. 1460 (BRB Albert I, Ms. II 7619, fol. 55v and fol. 67v). Trowbridge, 2007.
- 20 Berger, 2012, 176–7; Durrieu, 1924, 508. Nagel and Wood prefer the attribution of Jan van Eyck (2010, 61–2).
- 21 Nagel and Wood, 2010, 63.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 179.
- 23 Luber, 1998b, 24. Sterling had argued that the depiction of the Temple was based upon a pilgrimage made by Jan van Eyck to the Holy Land. Sterling, 1976, 52–3. Krinsky (1970, 15) had tried to argue that the painting in fact dated to the 1450s, but this argument has been dismissed as implausible. Asperen de Boer and Giltaij, 1987 and Pinson, 1996, 158. A more imaginative version of the same Temple, defining the profile of the heavenly city of Jerusalem, appears in the altarpiece made by both Hubert and Jan van Eyck for the Ghent altarpiece (c. 1426–32). Pinson, 1996, 164–5.
- 24 An indulgence for visiting Bruges' blood relic was first granted in 1249 and 1254 by Pope Innocent IV. Trowbridge, 2009.
- 25 Gelfand, 2008, 10.
- 26 *Wetsvernieuwingen Brugge 1397–1421*, Stadsarchief Brugge, series 114, no. 17, fol. 64r. Trowbridge, 2009, 5.
- 27 *Stadsrekeningen Brugge 1400–01*, fol. 105r, Stadsarchief Brugge, series 216. Trowbridge (2009) notes that the records for 1400 are lost. The procession had been made since at least 1256. Lilley, 2009, 165–6. After the mid 1440s, all of the plays are called the *Hovekin* (Garden), referring to the setting of Christ's Agony. The sequence of plays would therefore have presumably begun with the arrest of Christ. Trowbridge, 2009, 7–9; Viaene, 1936.
- 28 *Stadsrekeningen Brugge 1462–3*, fol. 53r, Stadsarchief Brugge, series 216, as cited in Trowbridge, 2009; Martens, 1990–91, 9–10.
- 29 The painting's attribution has varied from Hubert van Eyck, Petrus Christus, to Jan van Eyck or a follower of Durrieu (1920) attributed the painting to both Hubert and Jan van Eyck, while Panofsky (1935) associated the painting with one of the artists who worked on the Milan–Turin Hours, whom he later specifically identifies as Jan van Eyck. Panofsky, 1953, I: 237–40.
- 30 Labuda, 1993, 10.
- 31 The location where Mary collapsed was consistently noted by pilgrims in the fifteenth century, at the beginning of the path from St. Stephen's Gate to Mount Calvary. References are first found in the fourteenth century, as in an anonymous account that places the Church of St. Mary of the Spasm near the houses of Herod, Annas, and Caiaphas. Kohler, 1902, 446; Pringle, 2007, 319–22.
- 32 The emphasis on narrative in analyses of the painting has tended to overlook the relationship to contemporary ideas about pilgrimage. See for instance Belting and Eichberger, 1983.
- 33 Ainsworth and Christiansen, 1998, 107–9.
- 34 Trowbridge argues that the Metropolitan *Crucifixion* also reflects the Passion plays in Bruges; from 1445 to the early sixteenth century, responsibility for the Holy Blood dramas was entirely that of the painters' guild. Painters had apparently first become involved in 1397, when they were paid to do the *Hovekin*. Trowbridge, 2009.
- 35 Foucault, 1986, 158.
- 36 *Stadsrekeningen Aalst, 1431–2*, Brussels, Archives generals du royaume, 31432, fol. 69r, item 6. Trowbridge, 2009, 8. See also Trowbridge, 2007.
- 37 Sticca, 1970, 52. For earlier plays, the high altar often stood in for the Temple of Jerusalem.
- 38 Berger, 2012, 130.
- 39 Such plays were pervasively popular, but the best textual sources survive in relation to Lucerne and Frankfurt. Greco-Kaufmann, 2009, I: 126, and Ehrstine, 2012, 308. At Frankfurt (performed since c. 1350), the Temple was at the head of the arrangement standing for Jerusalem, with other places set for the narration of Christ's Birth, Crucifixion, and Resurrection. Carlson, 1989, 17; Lilley, 2009, 182–3. A sketch for the stage set of a Passion play in Bozen (Bolzano) of 1514, created by the painter Vigil Raber (d. 1552), who directed the seven-day performance, survives. The sketch is for the opening play on Palm Sunday, in which a square stage incorporates Synagoga, the Mount of Olives, and at the center, the Temple of Jerusalem. Ogden, 2002, 92. Among earlier precedents for Passion plays is the St. Gall Passion Play from the early fourteenth century, preserved in a manuscript in the monastery of St. Gall

- (edited in 1978 by Rudolf Schützeichel); the Alsfeld Passion Play, 1501, preserved in the Landesbibliothek at Kassel; and the Frankfurt Passion Play of 1493. The Alsfeld manuscript includes a rudimentary stage-plan, reproduced in Nagler, 1976, 33; Vince, 1984, 141. For a complete translation of text of the Alsfeld play, see West, 1997.
- 40 Tafur and Letts, 2007. The edition of Tafur's account is based upon the only known manuscript in the library of the Colegio mayor de S. Bartolomé de Cuenca in Salamanca, now in the Biblioteca Patrimonial (sala 2<sup>a</sup>. J. pl. 4).
- 41 Tafur and Letts, 2007, 61–2. For the Spanish edition, see Tafur and Jiménez, 1982. See also Mitchell, 1965, 102.
- 42 Tafur, a native of Cordoba, apparently believed he was descended from the Byzantine emperors, a matter which he attempted to discuss with John VIII Paleologus. Tafur and Letts, 2007, 9.
- 43 He also met Sultan Murad II (r. 1421–44, 46–51) in Edirne, immediately before he traveled to Brussels, where he was received by Philip the Good.
- 44 Speake, 2003, 1159–60. The first printed edition was published in 1874, in an edition by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, and the first translation into English was published in 1926. Letts, 1926.
- 45 Tafur and Letts, 2007, 195. Tafur also claimed to have sailed to the island of the Golden Fleece, which must have been of particular interest to Philip the Good and his knights. *Ibid.*, 63.
- 46 A 1339 description of Florence refers to twelve gates (as in Revelation), while in fact there were fifteen. Braunfels, 1953, 49.
- 47 Smith and O'Connor, 2001.
- 48 Strohn, 1985.
- 49 Trachtenberg, 2001. Psalms sung during the consecration also invoked the idea of the Temple of Solomon as the place on earth where heaven is revealed. Smith and O'Connor, 2006, 39–45.
- 50 Trachtenberg, 1993; Weddle, 2008. It has also been argued that the architecture of the Church of Santissima Annunziata in Florence was impacted by the focus on Jerusalem in the context of reuniting the Eastern and Western churches. Lang argued that the rotunda and basilica of the church, located just northeast of the cathedral, was intended to recreate the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The project was never completed as planned, and there are no surviving indications of a dedication to the Holy Sepulcher. It is certain, however, that the patriarch of Jerusalem, Biagio da Molino, one of the signatories of the union of the churches, laid the first foundation stone in 1444. Lang, 1954, 295. The Medici patronized the initial project to build the rotunda at Santissima Annunziata, and there are also records of the particular dedication of Cosimo de' Medici (1369–1464) to Jerusalem. Giorgio Vasari reported that Cosimo sent plans by Michelozzo, the architect of the project for Santissima Annunziata, to Jerusalem, with the intent of restoring the Franciscan Church of Mount Sion in Jerusalem. Lang, 1954, 293.
- 51 The focus on Jerusalem continued to inform the development of Florence Cathedral, including the replacement of a pictorial altarpiece with a crucifix in 1442 and a relic of the True Cross in 1456, brought from Constantinople. Lavin, 1999, 29. These were enclosed by an unusual octagonal choir of wood, originally designed by Brunelleschi and replaced by an expanded marble version, sculpted by Baccio Bandinelli in 1547–72. Smith *et al.*, 1997.
- 52 Kekewich, 2008, 12; Stieber, 1974, 194.
- 53 Piccirillo, 2009, 363.
- 54 Vaughan, 2002, 143; Harbison, 1991, 167.
- 55 Betschart, 1996, 130; Krinsky, 1970, 16.
- 56 Weiss, 1997–8; Born, 1944, 208.
- 57 Von Suchem and Deycks, 1851, 74. My translation from the Latin.
- 58 Ridgeway, 1908. A mediating source may have been Templar images pairing the Dome of the Rock and Anastasis Rotunda, several of which depict the oculus of the latter building in a way that could be misinterpreted as a crescent. A crescent also appears on the Temple of Solomon in two other paintings associated with René of Anjou's court of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon: the *Lamentation* and *Coronation of the Virgin*. Both were created by the French painter Enguerrand Quarton (c. 1410–c. 1466), who likely had contact with Jan van Eyck and other painters of the Burgundian Netherlands. The patron of the latter had made a pilgrimage to Rome and the Holy Land before commissioning the work around 1450. Pinson, 1996, 161–2; Jones *et al.*, 2013, 479.
- 59 Gill, 1959, 321.
- 60 Tyerman, 2006, 861.
- 61 Vaughan, 2002, 308.
- 62 BRB Ms. 11.038. The illumination showing the presentation was perhaps also drawn by Jean Germain. Buisseret, 2003, pl. 7. Berriot, 1981, 33. The evidence for a lost map is provided by a reference in the *Actes capitulaires* of the 1450 meeting of the order of the Golden Fleece in which Germain is said to have



- presented a “grande mappemonde escripte en françois et figuree.” Gruben, 1997, 263. Gruben, like Moodey, believes this must refer to a map. Moodey, 2012, 19.
- 63 In 1450, Jean Germain also dedicated a treatise on Christianity and Islam, *Le Debat du Crestienet du Sarrazin* (The Debate of the Christian and the Saracen), to Philip the Good. It has been suggested that Jean may have been in possession of a Latin translation of the Qur’an and the *Faits de Mahomet*, which Bertrandon de la Broquière claimed to have brought back from his pilgrimage in 1432. Wrisley argues that it remains to be convincingly demonstrated that these books were in fact brought back and presented to Philip the Good or given to Jean Germain. Wrisley, 2007–8, 105–6. For the English edition of Bertrandon’s account, see Brocquière and Kline, 1988.
- 64 Berriot, 1981, 34. *Le Debat du Crestienet du Sarrazin* is in BNF Ms. Fr. 948, with a dedication to Philip the Good dated April 1, 1450. The theme of the treatise, like the *Exhortation*, is the decline of Christianity in the East and the rise of Islam, making note, for example, of the conversion of Christians to Islam. *Ibid.*, 35.
- 65 Wrisley, 2007–8, 92.
- 66 Moodey, 2012, 122.
- 67 The Franciscan Giovanni Capistrano had sent a personal appeal to Philip for his aid against the Ottomans in March 1453, with no response. Vaughan, 2002, 296.
- 68 Tyerman, 1988, 860.
- 69 Vaughan, 2002, 144–5. Thirty-five artists were employed, along with a plumber, six joiners, sculptor, and locksmith.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 358.
- 71 BNF Ms. Fr. 9087; Wrisley, 2007–8, 93.
- 72 In Miélot’s compilation, the work was attributed to a certain German Dominican named Brochard or Brocardus (*Directorium ad Philippum Regem* and translated into French as *Advis directif pour faire le passage doultre-mer*) (fols. 1–84r). King Philip VI of France (r. 1328–50) was the grandfather of the Philip the Bold (1342–1404), the first of the Valois dukes of Burgundy. Wrisley, 2007–8, 87–8.
- 73 The first folio depicts Miélot presenting his manuscript to Philip the Good (fol. 1r), followed by an illumination of Brocardus offering his text to Philip VI (fol. 2r). The parallel between the two Philips is insistent. Morris, 2005, 298. An illustration of the preparation for Philip VI’s crusade (fol. 9r) also accompanies the first section of the manuscript. Wrisley, 2007–8, 97.
- 74 BNF Ms. Fr. 9087, fols. 86–151v; Wrisley, 2007–8, 94.
- 75 Wrisley instead thinks the town may be Acre. *Ibid.*, 102.
- 76 BNF Ms. Fr. 9087, fol. 152r (with an illustration of Bertrandon dressed in Saracen clothes, presenting his book to Philip the Good). Some have suggested that the book presented to Philip the Good in the miniature was not an account of the voyage, but a Qur’an. Wrisley believes this instead to be the account penned by Bertrandon, which seems likely given the parallel with the earlier illumination of Brocardus presenting his account to Philip VI. Wrisley, 2007–8, 105. For the differing interpretation, see Devereaux, 2012.
- 77 BNF Ms. Fr. 9087, fol. 207v. Constantinople is unusually viewed from the west with the encampment of the sieging armies in the foreground; considering the juxtaposition with Philip the Good’s coat of arms, the view may suggest a desired Burgundian siege of the city. Wrisley, 2007–8, 107.
- 78 For a related interpretation of a depiction of Hagia Sophia in Andrea Mantegna’s *Agony in the Garden* (1458–60), see Faietti, 2014.
- 79 Clark, 2009, 15; Kren and McKendrick, 2003, 121.
- 80 A similar view of Jerusalem was incorporated into another manuscript illustrated by Jean le Tavernier in the possession of Philip the Good by c. 1460 (and perhaps originally commissioned for him by a courtier). The illustration is part of the three-volume *Croniques et conquests de Charlemagne* (Chronicles and Conquests of Charlemagne), produced in 1458 (BRB Ms. 9066). The architecture of Jerusalem is depicted as the backdrop for the Christian troops battling the armies of the Sultan of Babylon in the first volume (fol. 146v). The lower portion of the façade of the Holy Sepulcher is recognizable, as well as the bulbous dome of the Temple of Solomon and a tower with a crescent. The fictional stories of Charlemagne’s exploits as a crusader continued to provide the paradigm for Christian rulers like Philip the Good, who imagined their ambitions vis-à-vis Jerusalem in a continuous royal lineage stretching back to the first Holy Roman Emperor. Krinsky, 1970, 15. Moodey, 2012, 209–12.
- 81 Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, Ms. 219.
- 82 There are 129 folios of parchment, without an owner’s mark. The script is associated with David Aubert, who worked exclusively for Philip the Good from 1458 to 1467. Clark suggests a date of the early or mid 1460s. Clark, 2009, 15.

- 83 Every rubric indicates a course through the Holy Sepulcher, moving from holy place to holy place, referring to “when you are in said chapel” (*quant on est en la ditte chapelle*) as of that of St. Helen, for example, on fol. 102. Clark, 2009, 6.
- 84 While still in the Chapel of Mary Magdalene, the reader is to say a prayer reflecting on the Flagellation of Christ, and the related illumination provides a view of the event (fol. 89r). The pilgrim progresses to the place where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene (fol. 90v), to the prison where Christ was kept (fol. 94r), to the chapels where Christ’s clothes were divided (fol. 98), and then descends to the Chapel of St. Helena (fol. 99r). The reader then climbs to Mount Calvary, described as a raised chapel, in which is presented a vision of the Crucifixion (fol. 104r), and then descends to the Unction Stone, to be presented with a vision of the Lamentation (fol. 107v). It is here, in the Anastasis Rotunda, that the pilgrim looks into the Tomb of Christ (fol. 110r). Clark, 2009, 13–14.
- 85 Vaughan, 2002, 369.
- 86 Gelfand, 2011, 98. Around the same time Philip also sponsored the Tour Saint-Nicolas in Rhodes, primarily intended to defend the citadel of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; the building was damaged in the Ottoman siege of 1480 but still stands. Moodey, 2012, 11. A letter of 1465 contains the Grand Master of the order’s acknowledgement of Philip’s gift. Paviot, 2003, 335.
- 87 Vaughan, 2002, 135.
- 88 Bisaha, 2004, 43.
- 89 Philip the Good was buried along with his grandfather, father, and their spouses in the Carthusian monastery of Chartreuse de Champmol outside of Dijon. Originally constructed under Philip the Bold (1342–1405), the burial complex for the ducal dynasty had been transformed into a pilgrimage site in its own right. Visitors were granted 100 days of indulgences for praying at the Great Cross in the cloister on certain days, according to papal bulls granted throughout the fifteenth century. Gelfand notes the unusual nature of these indulgences, given that there are no actual relics at Champmol. A life-size sculpted tableau of the crucified Christ, the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, and John the Baptist, all the work of Claus Sluter (1350–1406), was once above the Well of Moses. Its waters were tinted with red as if stained by the blood of Christ. Gelfand, 2005, 563–71.
- 90 Tasso, 1581.
- 91 Trowbridge, 2009.
- 92 A lost Jan van Eyck painting has been proposed as an inspiration. Later examples emphasizing the centralized Temple of Solomon include the *Crucifixion* by Gerard David, one in the Museo Thyssen dated c. 1475 and one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art dated c. 1495. Ainsworth, 1998, 277–89.
- 93 A related painting made around 1530 and now in Budapest is also thought to reflect a lost painting by Jan van Eyck. Wehle and Salinger, 1947, 23–5.
- 94 Trowbridge, 2009, 4–5; Ainsworth and Christiansen, 1998, 107. The perceived identity of Bruges as Jerusalem would continue to inform how Burgundian artists imagined Jerusalem in more general ways, especially through the repeated pictorial allusions to the city’s distinctive belfry in views of Jerusalem. Harbison, 1995, 21–34.
- 95 Hull, 2005, 31. Trowbridge suggests that some kind of massive panorama of Jerusalem was created, perhaps similar to Hans Memling’s painting of c. 1470. The original location of the Turin *Passion* is uncertain; it maybe was originally displayed in a private chapel within the Portinari household in Bruges. In 1480 Tommaso returned to Florence; from 1482 it was placed in the Portinari family chapel in the Church of St. Egidio in Florence, next to the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. Hull, 2005, 32.
- 96 Kluckert, 1974; Coleman, 2013. For an expansive discussion of the painting, see Kirkland-Ives, 2013.
- 97 The Munich painting was instead created for public view; it was donated by Pieter Bultync and his wife Katelyne van Ryebeke to the Church of Our Lady in Bruges. De Vos, 1994, 178–9.
- 98 Hull, 2005, 35–6 and 43; Snyder, 1967, 165–6.
- 99 Coleman also observes that the four scenes given prominent positions in the foreground correspond to the four major festivals of the church: the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Resurrection, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit. Coleman, 2013.
- 100 Andrews, 1995. A related panel now in Lisbon (c. 1495–7), by a painter from the southern Netherlands, similarly presents multiple episodes of the Passion of Christ occurring simultaneously within Jerusalem. The painting was said to be a gift of Emperor Maximilian to his cousin, Queen Eleanor of Portugal, who is represented at the bottom. The panel is thought to have been the means of personal devotion, through which Eleanor could imagine a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Rudy, 2000a, 151–3; Berger, 2012, 185–7.

- 101 Giernaert and Vandewalle, 1983. Pieter seems to have made the pilgrimage twice, and claimed to have taken measures himself of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Heers, 1983, 85. Pieter and Jacob sought permission for the construction of the chapel from the pope, and the resulting papal bull alludes to the forefathers of the Adornos having erected a *Capellam ad honorem et memoriam salutifere passionis domini nostri Jhesu Christi et illius sepulchri sancti sub vocabulo incliti nominus Jherusalem* (a chapel in the honor and memory of the salvific passion of our lord Jesus Christ and of his holy sepulcher renowned by the name of Jerusalem). Geirnaert, 1989, 15–26.
- 102 Gailliard, 1843, 12.
- 103 Adorno *et al.*, 1978.
- 104 Vanderjagt, 2003, 56. It has been suggested that a miniature in the Milan–Turin Hours, *Three Hermits near a Forest* (Louvre 2v), may show the church outside the walls of Bruges. Lubert, 1998a, 17.
- 105 Lubert, 1998b, 30.
- 106 *Ibid.*, 32 and 36. The face of St. Francis has been compared to other surviving images of Pieter Adorno, as in the stained-glass window in the Jeruzalemkerk.
- 107 *Ibid.*, 24. Before leaving on pilgrimage in 1471, Anselme Adorno wrote a will, which includes a description of two paintings by Jan van Eyck that matches the surviving works in Philadelphia and Turin. The will was first connected to these two paintings by W. H. J. Weale in 1886. See Weale, 1908.
- 108 Lubert, 1998b, 28–9. Other members of the confraternity, which has been characterized as “a rather worldly club of wealthy people,” included the painter Petrus Christus and Giovanni Arnolfini. Strohm, 1985, 71.
- 109 Gelfand, 2010b, 263–4 and Gelfand, 2010c.
- 110 Polychromy may result from nineteenth-century restoration. Gelfand, 2011, 103.
- 111 Gelfand, 2010b, 264.
- 112 Gelfand, 2011, 104–6.
- 113 Regarding the apparent resemblance of the exterior of the tower of the Jeruzalemkerk to a minaret, it is interesting to note Anselme Adorno’s attentiveness to sanctuaries in the Holy Land that accommodated Christians and Muslims simultaneously. Wrisley, 2010, 120.
- 114 Born, 1944, 210.
- 115 For the knighting of Anselme, and the related question of an order of the Unicorn in the time of James III, see Stevenson, 2006, 183.
- 116 MacDonald, 2000, 45–55.
- 117 Adorno *et al.*, 1978, 8. In subsequent decades another chapel was added to the Jeruzalemkerk, perhaps related to the foundation in 1517 of a Jerusalem Brotherhood in Bruges. The current tomb with Christ in his sarcophagus was added in the chapel off the ambulatory c. 1523. Morris, 2005, 353. The members of the Brotherhood of Jerusalem Pilgrims may have been buried in the chapel behind the Golgotha altar (where the relic of the True Cross is currently housed). Gelfand, 2011, 106.
- 118 De Boer, 1979, 50; Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 132.
- 119 De Boer, 1979, 52–3.
- 120 *Ick hebbe in veel Steden gheweest, maer ick en vant noyt het H. Graf betet afgheconterfeyt, dan te Leyden*. Quoted in Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 133 (with English translation). Conrady, 1882, 209. Claes van Dusen had been on the pilgrimage a reported eleven times between 1484 and 1495. He had ties to both Leiden and his native city of Haarlem and functioned as a sort of tour-guide for wealthy pilgrims from those two cities; he was also later listed as a member of Haarlem’s Jerusalem confraternity. Van Herwaarden, 2003, 153. When describing the Leiden chapel, it is possible that van Dusen is referring to a pictorial image of the Tomb of Christ, as proposed by Van Herwaarden. This possibility is suggested by the survival of a painted caption with the names of pilgrims from Leiden’s pilgrimage confraternity (Leiden, Museum de Lakenhal, Inv. No. 825). De Boer, 1979, 40–2. The painted caption dates after 1505, which is the last date mentioned in the text. Given that this post-dates Claes van Dusen’s description, it seems more likely that there was originally a three-dimensional re-creation of the Tomb of Christ, as in Bruges. If, however, the representation of the Tomb in Leiden was in fact a painted panel, then this would be the earliest surviving example of such a practice and would suggest that the paintings made in the 1520s and 1530s (which will be discussed below) belong to a much longer tradition than has been supposed. For the painted caption, see Tongerloo, 2005.
- 121 Kroesen, 2000, 119–21; Vanthuyne, 1992, 153; De Boer, 1979, 46–9; Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 133.
- 122 Van Herwaarden, 2003, 296–300. The members of these confraternities took on a public role in participating in Palm Sunday processions. *Ibid.*, 301.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER 14

- 1 Ousterhout, 1997–8, 401. On the general predominance of noblemen undertaking the pilgrimage in the fifteenth century, see Ashtor, 1985. Morris also notes that the pilgrimage in this period was “dominated by the aristocracy.” Morris, 2005, 308.
- 2 Tavernor, 1998, 114.
- 3 [I]l giusto disegno e misura del Santo Sepolcro di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo. Petrini, 1982, 340.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 341.
- 5 Tavernor, 1998, 112. A miniature wooden version of the Rucellai Sepulcher was also made, thought to have been a reliquary. See Millon *et al.*, 1994, no. 44.
- 6 Tavernor, 1998, 111; Petrini, 1982, 339. Alterations were made to the chapel in 1808. Naujohat, 2011.
- 7 Tavernor, 1998, 114. The frescoes are perhaps by Alesso Baldovinetti (1425–99).
- 8 It has also been suggested that the idea for the chapel originated in the period of the Council of Florence (1439–41) and that the chapel was originally to be put in Santa Maria Novella. Dezzi-Bardeschi, 1970. Giorgio Vasari first attributed the Sepulcher and chapel to Leon Battista Alberti.
- 9 Tavernor, 1998, 110 and 115. Additional inscriptions are found in the chapel around the frieze, drawing upon biblical sources that draw attention to the significance of the building as a memorial to Christ’s Resurrection. *Ibid.*, 115.
- 10 Figline and Montesano, 2010, 97.
- 11 Nagel and Wood, 2010, 168.
- 12 The Rucellai Sepulcher from this perspective is another example of how the dual focus on Rome and Jerusalem impacted the development and perception of Florence’s architecture. On this theme more generally, see Trachtenberg, 1993.
- 13 Raveggi, 1982, 299 and 314–15.
- 14 Lidov, 2014, 247 and 300; Cardini, 1978, 342–6.
- 15 Wey was probably born in Devon. Wey and Davey, 2010, 10. Wey was formerly a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Eton College, as he describes himself at the beginning of his book. Wey *et al.*, 1857, i.
- 16 Röhricht attributed a map in Ms. Douce 389 to William Wey. Röhricht, 1904. Although the association with Wey has been accepted, it is generally thought he did not create the map and that the manuscript was instead made in the fourteenth century. Arad, 2012b, 309–14. The consensus regarding the connection of the Bodleian map to Wey’s account was established in Mitchell, 1965, 19–20. A printed version of William Wey’s account was first published in 1518 in London as the *Information for pilgrims unto the Holy Land*. Wey and Davey, 2010, 173.
- 17 Only the foundations of the chapel at Edington remain. Wey and Davey, 2010, 14. Given the expense, Davey speculates whether a “paymaster” might have been behind the chapel as well, implying that the project may be related to challenges to both the doctrine of Purgatory and the growing importance of indulgences. *Ibid.*, 14.
- 18 Wey *et al.*, 1857, xxix; Platt, 1978, 138.
- 19 Edington Priory was dissolved in 1539. Wey and Davey, 2010, 18.
- 20 Mitchell, 1965, 19.
- 21 The map includes a table with distances between the places of the Holy Land, corresponding to that found in the manuscript of Wey’s account. Wey *et al.*, 1857, 132–40. A similar map (though not directly related) made in the fifteenth century in northern Italy (BMV Ms. Lat. X 116) is discussed in relation to Wey’s by Arad (2013, 80).
- 22 Wey provides the dimensions of the Anastasis Rotunda and Tomb, which may have been used as the basis of the chapel in Edington. Wey *et al.*, 1857, 43. William Wey’s English verse account (which may not be an entirely original composition) follows the typical sequence within Church of Jerusalem, starting with the Sepulcher, going north to where Mary saw the Risen Christ and proceeding in a clockwise direction from there. *Ibid.*, 10.
- 23 *Ibid.*, xxviii. At the beginning of the manuscript, an inscription is found on a flyleaf in a contemporary hand: “Thes be goodys of Master William Wey ys yefte to the chapel made to the lyknes of the sepulkyr of owre Lorde at Jerusalem.”
- 24 *Ibid.*, xxix. The list suggests that a second map, showing the world, was lost.
- 25 The items were apparently hung inside and outside the Sepulcher: “For the hangyng of the sepulkyr wythowte and whythyn.” *Ibid.*, xxxix.
- 26 *Ibid.*, xxx. Similar souvenirs are recorded in the documents relating to the death of the Venetian merchant Stefano di Bossina in Damascus, who may have even traded in such items. Howard, 2013, 93; Bianchi and Howard, 2003, 277.
- 27 Arad, 2014, 307–8; Nebenzahl, 1986, 53. For both Wey’s and Capodilista’s maps, see Nebenzahl, 1986, pls. 17 and 18.
- 28 Above the church is inscribed, *TEMPLUM SANCTISSIMI SEPVLCRI* (Temple of the Most

- Holy Sepulcher), and above the stairs leading to Calvary, *CALVARIE LOCUS* (Place of Calvary). The drawing was first published in a Sotheby's catalogue: Sotheby Parke Bernet and Co., 1978, 21.
- 29 Wey *et al.*, 1857, 33.
- 30 Rochechouart and Couderc, 1893, 175.
- 31 Wey *et al.*, 1857, 60–1. Wey's English rhymed poem continues from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to St. Stephen's Gate, starting with the place where Christ met Mary proceeding to the Gate of St. Stephen, down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, then up to the Mount of Olives. *Ibid.*, 11–17.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 34. Wey also provides mnemonic tools for the sequence of holy places, suggesting the overall didactic intent of his book and related chapel. For instance, in the account of Bethlehem, he reduces the sequence of holy places to the following abbreviated list: 1. *Jero* 2. *Sepul* 3. *thesau* 4. *nati* 5. *pre* 6. *quoque* 7. *stella*. *Ibid.*, 47.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 32–3.
- 34 [*Y*]mago Gabriel, ex parte posteriori impressa in columpna lapidea sicut in sigillo, in capella ubi salutavit Virginem Mariam; et quando radii solares in vespere tangunt vestigium capitis Angeli, tunc est hora, in qua Christus conceptus est ex beatissima Virgine Maria. *Ibid.*, 120. In the account of his second visit of 1484, he also mentions a processional that he carried when he followed the Franciscans around the sites of the Holy Sepulcher, indicating prayers, hymns, etc., presumably like the printed *Peregrinationes*, to be discussed below. Clark, 2009, 7.
- 35 Another example is the pilgrim Girnand von Schwalbach, who journeyed to Jerusalem in 1440; in his account of the holy places, he refers specifically to how the Franciscan friars aid the pilgrims and where pilgrims met with the friars. Brefeld, 1994, 73–4; Huschenbett, 1998.
- 36 Thurston, 1906, 46; Morris, 2005, 218. An example of a fourteenth-century manuscript whose text employs the Latin term *stationes* (stations) is BL Codex Arundel, 507. Saletti, 2012, 269. The manuscript compiles multiple texts, made by more than one hand, including the short text entitled, *Stationes et peregrinationes Terrae Sanctae* (Stations and pilgrimages of the Holy Land), fols. 21v–22r. See Saletti, 2012. For a related anonymous English guide, see Shuffelton, 2008.
- 37 It is often mistakenly said that Wey was first to refer to “stations,” see for example Van Herwaarden, 2003, 72. Morris also notes that Wey's use of the term “should not be counted as an indication of a change in perception.” Morris, 2005, 318.
- 38 Brefeld, 1985, 138.
- 39 There was also a related tradition of listing sites associated with indulgences in Rome in English as “stations.” The most important example is the “Vernon Manuscript” (BLO Ms. Eng. Poet. a. 1), dated c. 1390–1400, found in an anthology. Birch, 1998, 179; Scase, 2013.
- 40 Sczesny, 1998. The same decades saw the creation of an anonymous pilgrimage account, surviving in three German manuscript versions, which incorporate simple drawings of the Tomb of Christ inside the Anastasis Rotunda. The manuscripts are dated 1454 (BSB Ms. 1276, fol. 23v), 1458 (ÖNB Ms. 3012, fol. 74r), and 1467 (BSB Ms. 845, fol. 51v). The latter manuscript also includes a drawing of the grotto in Nazareth (fol. 53v); the drawing of the Holy Sepulcher is illustrated in Betschart, 1996, 122.
- 41 The Muffel family had a long history of pilgrimage, including the well-known journey of Nikolaus Muffel to Rome c. 1452. Muffel and Wiedmann, 1999. The manuscript has traditionally been associated with Gabriel, who was the third son of Nikolaus. However, it is only certain that the manuscript was in the possession of the Muffel family. Previously the manuscript had been dated c. 1467, based upon a reference to the pilgrimage of Gabriel Muffel (discussed below); Ludwig Lochschmidt, based upon analysis of the paper's watermark and the book's dialect, has instead suggested a date of c. 1450 and a location of Nuremberg. He also hypothesizes that the manuscript was based upon a lost earlier version perhaps produced at the Franciscan convent in Passau. This is all discussed in Ludwig Lochschmidt's thesis in progress (“Schriftliche Übertragung und bildliche Projektion. Das Heilige Land im Ms. London BL Egerton 1900 (ca. 1467).” University of Kassel). I am grateful to him for sharing his opinions on the dating of the manuscript with me.
- 42 BL Ms. Egerton 1900, fol. 156r.
- 43 Cossar, 1985. In the absence of any identified illustrated Italian manuscripts, Cossar had argued that the illustrations for the account were first made for the German translation, and that these were the basis of the woodcuts in the anonymous printed version published in Bologna in 1500. This has been repeated in Nardone and Malherbe-Galy, 2007. The latter also provided a French translation of the German manuscript. Cossar's hypothesis is invalidated by the discovery of the Italian

- illustrated manuscripts, of which at least one (and perhaps three) certainly predates the German translation. Moore, 2013.
- 44 BL Ms. Egerton 1900, fols. 12v, 13v, and 74v.
- 45 By the end of the thirteenth century there were at least seventy-three friaries in Germany alone. Robson, 2006, 29.
- 46 BAP Ms. 212. Rudy, 2000a, 496–7 and 513; Golubovich, 1927, 367.
- 47 BAP Ms. 212, fols. 4–5.
- 48 Rudy, 2000a, 498 and 515.
- 49 BAP Ms. 212, fols. 2r–2v.
- 50 Rudy, 2000a, 503.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 502.
- 52 BAP Ms. 212, fol. 3r.
- 53 BAP Ms. 212, fol. 3r. Rudy, 2000a, 504. After the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the journey proceeds to Mount Sion, beginning with a depiction of its church (fol. 4r), followed by figural illustrations of related events, including Pentecost (fol. 4v). In addition to Pentecost, the scenes associated with the Church of Mount Sion are Christ Washing His Disciples' Feet, Doubting Thomas, and the Dormition of the Virgin.
- 54 BAP Ms. 212, fols. 6r–7r. Rudy, 2000a, 506–8.
- 55 BAP Ms. 212, fols. 8r–9r.
- 56 The author is otherwise known for having composed a biography of Giovanni di Capistrano, a Franciscan crusade preacher, who spoke of Ottoman atrocities in the Holy Land, particularly in the 1470s. Housley, 2012, 154.
- 57 A manuscript version is also still preserved in the Franciscan archives in Jerusalem. Rudy, 2000a, 494–5; Golubovich, 1898, xxvii. Golubovich, 1927, 350–5, also discusses a related manuscript in Verona (Bibliotheca Capitolare di Verona, fol. 144r).
- 58 Golubovich, 1927, 351–3. The sequence of holy sites, and the account of prayers to be said at each location, corresponds closely to the Arsenal manuscript. Rudy, 2000a, 495.
- 59 Also, a number of pilgrims throughout the fifteenth century refer to Franciscans making texts available to be copied. Brefeld cites a number of examples, including Stephan Gumpenberg, in Jerusalem in 1449. Brefeld, 1994, 42.
- 60 There are Spanish versions of these kind of simple lists of holy places with indulgences. Sánchez, 2010, 379. Similar manuscripts have been found throughout Europe. Davies, 1989, 421–2; Pernoud, 1940; Dansette, 1979, 123–4; Golubovich, 1927, 368; Palladino, 2005; Omont, 1924.
- 61 There appears to be only one surviving copy of the second edition, in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (PML 56345/ChL 1023M). Bühler hypothesizes that the edition represented by the Morgan copy was the archetype for the two other editions. Bühler, 1969, 88–92; Brefeld, 1994, 181–92. There are several surviving copies of the third edition, published by Giovanni Battista Sessa, including one at the British Library. Brefeld, 1994, 117. The fourth printing is a modified edition, published as *Peregrinationes ciuitatis sancte iherusalem et totius terre sancte cum peregrinationibus totius Urbis rome* in 1493 in Angers by J. de la Tour, with addition of sites in Rome and indulgences to be gained there.
- 62 In addition to the Arsenal manuscript, another anonymous copy of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's book, NYPL Ms. Spencer 62 – most likely written sometime in the last three decades of the fifteenth century – includes a new introduction referring to Pope Sylvester as the originator of the Holy Land indulgences. NYPL Ms. Spencer 62, fol. 1r. There were earlier manuscripts with such simple lists of the holy places and corresponding indulgences indicated by crosses, which omit mention of Pope Sylvester, such as a fifteenth-century manuscript. Golubovich, 1927, 357.
- 63 For related manuscripts, see Pernoud, 1940. The German translation of the *Libro d'oltramare* (BL Ms. Egerton 1900) includes a short list of the holy places at the end of the manuscript written in the same hand, which commences with a reference to Pope Sylvester and the use of crosses to indicate indulgences (fols. 147v–151r).
- 64 Further examples are provided by a series of manuscripts produced at or acquired by the Augustinian convent in Maaseik (founded 1429). The oldest manuscript, c. 1460–70, in Middle Dutch, refers to a recent pilgrim and a Franciscan monk living at Mount Sion as sources; red crosses are used to indicate places of indulgences. Rudy, 2000c, 236.
- 65 QCO Ms. 357.
- 66 Brefeld, 1985, 135; Rudy, 2012, 219.
- 67 Brefeld made an edition of this text, in conjunction with BL Ms. Harley 2333. Brefeld notes that the two manuscripts are similar, but one cannot be a copy of another, so they probably derived from an earlier source. Brefeld, 1985, 134.
- 68 The framing images are the Annunciation (fol. 2v) and a view of Jerusalem (fol. 6v). The English portion of the manuscript is found on fols. 7r–41v.



- 69 QCO Ms. 357, fol. 43v. The second text is in Latin (fols. 42r–83r), based on a source transcribed and published by Pernoud, 1940 (said to have been written on Mount Sion in January 1471). Rudy, 2012, 221 and 229.
- 70 Rudy, 2012, 38–42.
- 71 The fictional pilgrimage of John of Mandeville was also published in the 1480s, but provided little relevant information for the experience of the architecture of the Holy Land. Noonan, 2007, 22–4.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 24. Although the view of Jerusalem has no known precedent in the manuscript versions of Burchard's book, the woodcut may have been based on a lost map. There is one manuscript version of the fourteenth century that has a map, but it does not correspond to the woodcut. Worm, 2014, 320–1.
- 73 Kühnel, 1996, 321. See also Baumgärtner, 2013, 11–12.
- 74 Nebenzahl, 1986, 20. The map was printed from two woodblocks and joined together.
- 75 Brasca, 1481; Brasca *et al.*, 1966. Brasca's ground-plan is published in Betschart, 1996, 123.
- 76 Wood, 2008, 149–51.
- 77 The Frauenkirche was consecrated in 1358 and built on the site of the recently razed Jewish quarter. Merback, 2013, 187–9 and 199–201. Nuremberg provided an ideal setting for the Holy Lance, given that its craftsmen were famed for their production of weaponry and armor. In fact Nuremberg as a whole grew wealthy as the weapons industry boomed in the fifteenth century with the threat of Ottoman invasion. Angerer, 1986, 14–20 and 180.
- 78 Merback, 2013, 199 and 204.
- 79 Angerer, 1986, 180.
- 80 Dalman, 1922, 76. There may have been an earlier church re-creating the Holy Sepulcher in Nuremberg. A papal document of 1235 refers to a church dedicated to St. Lawrence and the Holy Sepulcher. This church was destroyed after 1260 to make way for a new building, the Lorenzkirche. Maué, 1986, 31.
- 81 Dalman, 1922, 75–9.
- 82 The family tradition of pilgrimage had reportedly originated with Heinrich Ketzel, who made the pilgrimage in 1389; Georg Ketzel followed in 1453, Ulrich Ketzel in 1462, Wolf Ketzel in 1493, Georg and Sebald Ketzel in 1498, and Michael Ketzel in 1503.
- 83 Aign, 1961, 18–21. The Ketzels sought to purchase their way into the inner council, but never succeeded. Holterman, 2013, 53 and 75. When Georg had the Holy Sepulcher constructed, he was not allowed to have his family's coat of arms displayed, because his family was not a member of the patriciate. Holterman, 2013, 77.
- 84 In 1493 Wolf Ketzel married into the patrician Tetzl family. Aign, 1961, 62–3.
- 85 A letter dated 1479, in which another Nuremberg patrician, Hans Tucher, compares the Way of the Cross in Jerusalem to features of Nuremberg, seems to be the first dated indication of the development of the devotional route, discussed below. Wegmann notes that there are as yet no known documents on Nuremberg's Way of the Cross, but she also seems to be unaware of the letter of Hans Tucher. Wegmann, 1997, 94.
- 86 Shalev, 2011a, 11.
- 87 It has not been determined whether Martin Ketzel made another pilgrimage besides the one in 1476. Aign, 1961, 28–32; Zittlau, 1992. After the 1476 pilgrimage, Martin Ketzel wrote an account of his pilgrimage, composed in Augsburg between 1476 and 1486: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 117. The account was published in Bothe and Vogler, 1832, I: 28–103.
- 88 Röhricht and Meisner, 1880, 177. Wegmann, 1997. It is sometimes said that the first Way of the Cross was created in Córdoba by the Spanish Dominican Alvarez of Córdoba (d. 1420). The evidence for this appears to primarily derive from his biographies written in the seventeenth century. Still others have referred to this as the first *sacro monte* (sacred mountain), tying the Spanish complex to Franciscan re-creations of the architecture of the Holy Land, originating in the 1480s. Beaver, 2013, 61. This kind of anachronistic reference has helped confuse the issue of the origins of the Way of the Cross. Alvarez reportedly made the pilgrimage in 1405 and upon returning to Córdoba founded the monastery known as Scala Coeli (Ladder of Heaven). The church was later said to have eight chapels painted with scenes of the Passion, whose dispositions were based upon the distances measured by the Spanish Dominican during his pilgrimage. The sources are biographies of the seventeenth century such as Juan de Marieta, *Vida del bienaventurado fray Alvaro de Córdoba* (Madrid, 1601) and Ribas Carrasquilla, *Vida y Milagros de el B. Fray Álvaro de Córdoba* (1687), 144–5. Beaver, 2013, 62. See also Thurston, 1906, 12.
- 89 The most important of the “old” families of Nuremberg included the Muffels and Tuchers, while the Rieters were among the “new” families. Only members of these patrician families could be elected to Nuremberg's powerful councils. Angerer, 1986, 18.

- 90 Due to their wealth, they were able to spend an extended time in Jerusalem – thirty-four days in Jerusalem, rather than the typical nine. Meyer, 2012, 35; Sumberg, 1941, 60–1.
- 91 Ganz-Blättler, 1990, 71–2.
- 92 Sumption, 2003, 260–1. The account is found in Rieter, 1884. Rieter’s ancestor Hans had gone on pilgrimage in 1384, and after him Eustachius (1498), Hannibal (1563), and Joachim (1608). Meyer, 2012, 34. The manuscript versions of Sebald Rieter’s account include BSB Ms. 378 and BL Ms. Egerton 1901 (which is one of the versions that contains the addenda related to BL Ms. Egerton 1900). This is discussed in Ludwig Lochschmidt’s thesis in progress (see n. 41, above), which discusses the relation of the pilgrimage manuscripts made in Nuremberg for its patrician families. I am again grateful to him for sharing this information with me.
- 93 Röhricht, 1895, 180; Levy-Rubin and Rubin, 1996, 364–5. Worm, 2010, 200. The association with Sebald Rieter is indicated by a seventeenth-century inscription on the back of the map.
- 94 Urban, 2012, 407–8; Levy-Rubin and Rubin, 1996, 364.
- 95 Krüger, 2000, 203.
- 96 Röhricht, 1895, pl. VII.
- 97 Hans Tucher refers to the use of crescents on Islamic buildings in his description of the Dome of the Rock: *Auff dem vmbgang diss temples haben sie geseetzt ein vinsternuss des mons, als sie gewon sein vnd auff jr kirchthuren gewonlichen halbe mon seczen*. Herz and Tucher, 2002, 417.
- 98 Siew, 2008, 27.
- 99 Murphy-O’Connor, 2008, 99–100.
- 100 Wey *et al.*, 1857, 36 and 63 (where the passage is repeated with some variation).
- 101 A related example is provided by an anonymous author of an English pilgrimage account from the same period: “And when wee be uppon this gloryus hooli hille of Mont Olyvete alle the holi citee of Hierusalem with Temple Salamon apperith openli and fulle feire unto oure ees.” Brefeld, 1985, 139. There are exceptional examples of Christian pilgrims who report using a disguise to enter the Dome of the Rock. Arnold von Harff does so in 1499, as does the Venetian merchant Barbon Morosini in 1514 (BMV Ms. It. VI. Cod. 6, fols. 1–20). Harff and Letts, 1946, 208.
- 102 See for example Adorno *et al.*, 1978, 257–9.
- 103 Van Herwaarden, 2003, 69; Fabri and Hassler, 1843, I: 483.
- 104 Haussherr, 1987/8, 64–5.
- 105 Kühnel, 1996, 326; Holterman, 2013, 62. Note that Bamberg was also one of the first cities to have a Way of the Cross comparable to Nuremberg’s (discussed below). The other painting, which less closely corresponds to Rieter’s drawing, is an anonymous work created for Jean Godin, made in Valenciennes or Cambrai and now in Maarsbergen (Collection of Godinde Beaufort), which depicts the patron with his family in front of a panoramic view of Jerusalem as seen from the Mount of Olives. The inscription on the frame identifies the painting as a “portrait of Jerusalem” having been made in 1465 for Jehan Godin, Knight of the Holy Sepulcher. There were two Jean Godins, who were father and son; the father had vowed to make the pilgrimage in 1456 but died before it had been completed, while his son apparently made the pilgrimage in subsequent years. The painting most likely dates to the 1480s, and may relate to (another?) pilgrimage made by the son Jean in 1487. The pilgrimage of 1487 is attested in an unillustrated manuscript, describing the voyage of Jehan de Tourney, a prosperous merchant of Valenciennes, who reportedly made the pilgrimage with Jean Godin. Holterman, 2013, 66.
- 106 Noonan, 2007, 30.
- 107 Herz and Tucher, 2002.
- 108 Tucher says: *vm Gottes ere vnd meiner sele selikeyt* (for the glory of God and the saving of my soul). Herz and Tucher, 2002, 339. Tucher refers to Pope Sylvester as having founded the Holy Land indulgences. *Ibid.*, 31.
- 109 While the original diary of Hans Tucher seems to be lost, there are twenty-seven surviving manuscripts, see Herz and Tucher, 2002, 195. Five are considered to be in his hand or copies written under his supervision. There are two manuscripts which mix the accounts of Hans Tucher and Sebald Rieter the Younger. Herz and Tucher, 2002, 189–290. See also Meyer, 2012, 33.
- 110 Herz, 1997.
- 111 BN Rés O<sup>2</sup>f. 13 ad 1; Beebe, 2014, 86.
- 112 Herz, 1997, 75.
- 113 BN Rés O<sup>2</sup>f. 13 ad 1, fol. 5v: *Item so ist 1050 schridt von Pilatus hauss piss an den pergk Kalfarie, die der Here Jhesus das heilige kreucz gethragen hot etc. So weit ist hie zu Nurembergk von dem neuen thor piss an der goczaker pei Sint Johans*. Herz, 1997, 77.
- 114 Maué, 1986, 30–1. The construction of the church first commenced around 1230/40, on the site of an earlier chapel dedicated to St. Sebaldus (from c. 1050).

- 115 His brother, Endres, previously had the role of Baumeister (head of buildings and works), but Hans took over in 1476 when Endres entered a Carthusian monastery. Meyer, 2012, 55; Herz and Tucher, 2002, 617–18.
- 116 Herz, 1997, 64–8.
- 117 Herz and Tucher, 2002, 390–405.
- 118 *Ibid.*, 198–9, 393, and 402.
- 119 Herz, 1997, 80–1.
- 120 In contrast, when the Nuremberg patrician Stefan Baumgartner made the pilgrimage at the end of the fifteenth century, he described the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem as, “a small church, formed like that which stands in the Nuremberg hospital–church” (*ein klein kirchliem, gefumet als das zuo Nurnberg auf dem spital kirchoff stet*). Baumgartner and Kraus, 1986, 38. A manuscript inscribed with the date 1498 includes a pen drawing illustrating the Jerusalem Aedicule (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 369, fol. 36r), among other drawings based upon Erhard Reuwich’s woodcuts. Betschart, 1996, 125–6 (with illustration).
- 121 Tucher describes *ein weite runde kirchen gleich die gross und weit, als zu Eystet*. Herz and Tucher, 2002, 392–3.
- 122 Wood, 2008, 337. “The principle of substitution began to crumble under the weight of excess precision.” Nagel and Wood, 2010, 169.
- 123 Brasca *et al.*, 1966, 201. See also Clarke, 2012. Sometimes the comparisons were made with buildings originally inspired by the Holy Sepulcher. The English pilgrims Guylforde and Torkington compared the Holy Sepulcher to the Temple of London, noting that the one in Jerusalem is much bigger. Morris, 2005, 326.
- 124 Reininger, 2007, 62. This space in St. Gall may have been particularly associated with the architecture of Christ’s Crucifixion and Entombment, due to the Passion plays staged there since the fourteenth century. Schützeichel, 1978.
- 125 Brasca *et al.*, 1966, 91–2.
- 126 Pierre Barbatre, who was at the Holy Sepulcher in 1480, compared its size to Saint–Germain–des–Prés in Paris, while also noting that the Jerusalem church is larger than Saint–Hildevert in Gournay–en–Bray. Barbatre also asserts that the Holy Sepulcher is “very different in fashion and situation from the churches of the West.” Pinzuti and Tucoc–Chala, 1973, 94–5.
- 127 Figline and Montesano, 2010, 97.
- 128 Corti, 1958, 247–66.
- 129 Fabri and Stewart, 1892, I: 427.
- 130 Meyer, 2012, 34.
- 131 A Franciscan, Paul Walther, was also in the pilgrimage group; he has been proposed as the source for the alphabets and the Latin–Arabic lexicon. Barbero, 2008, 73. Walter composed his own *Itinerarium ad Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam* (Itinerary to the Holy Land and St. Catherine’s). Breydenbach *et al.*, 1999, xv–vi.
- 132 Fabri and Hassler, 1843, I: 329.
- 133 Wood, 2008, 168.
- 134 Noonan, 2007, 31 and 36. Breydenbach and Bicken gave a stone relief of the Virgin and Child to Mainz’s Church of Our Lady in thanks for their safe return. A panel painting of Jerusalem, commissioned by Breydenbach, hung in the Chapter House of Mainz Cathedral.
- 135 Ross, 2007, 123.
- 136 Two drawings in the Munich Staatliche Graphische Sammlung (1962:184 Z and 1962:183 Z) had been identified as preparatory drawings by Reuwich, but Ross argues that they are sixteenth–century drawings made after Reuwich’s woodcut. Ross, 2014, 147–9.
- 137 Rubin, 2008, 132.
- 138 Siew, 2008, 16.
- 139 Ross, 2014, 55 and 182.
- 140 On the various editions, see Davies, 1911. The 1486 edition of Breydenbach’s book immediately inspired imitations, including in manuscripts, such as the one on the pilgrimage of Konrad van Grünemberg (d. 1494), made *c.* 1490: Forschungsbibliothek, Gotha. Denke, 2011, 1.
- 141 The earliest known reference to the chapel is from 1511: “the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, of marble, a cave with the sepulcher inside” (*la chiesa del sancto Sepolcro, de marmo, una montagna con il sepulcro dentro*). Ceriana, 2007, 42. There are suggestions that some part of the church may have already been associated with the Holy Sepulcher. The testament of the hospice’s founder, a rich Venetian noblewoman, refers to the idea of constructing a “tomb in the likeness of the Lord’s sepulcher” (*sepulcrum ad similitudinem sepulcri domini*). Ceriana, 2007, 42–4.
- 142 Howard, 2013, 105. The four angels each have the signature of Tullio Lombardo; the attribution is accepted even if the signatures may not have been his. Ceriana, 2007, 23–68. Ceriana proposes that the altar may have stood for the Unction Stone, although descriptions of the sixteenth century only generally refer to the angels holding up an altar inside the sepulcher. Ceriana, 2007, 41–2.



- 143 Ross, 2007, 123.
- 144 Ross, 2014, 57–67.
- 145 *Ibid.*, 68.
- 146 *Et est alia Latina ecclesia in honorem Divae virginis et martyris Catharinae erecta, in cuius coemeterio sepulchrum extat instar sepulchri dominici*. Salignac, 1587, 4–5. Quoted in Bacci, 2012, 192; Bacci, 2014, 71.
- 147 In 1484 the knights received from Bayezid the right arm of St. John the Baptist, previously in Constantinople. Bacci, 2012, 193.
- 148 Felix Fabri for instance notes the image of the Virgin said to be made by St. Luke in Candia. Fabri and Hassler, 1843, III: 289; Bacci, 2012, 187.
- 149 Bacci, 2012. Zara claimed to have the relics of Simeon, in competition with Venice; and Ragusa claimed to have the cloth woven by the Virgin herself in which Christ was wrapped at the moment of his presentation to the Temple. Bacci, 2012, 194.
- 150 Venice had important relics of St. George, including in San Giorgio Maggiore from 1462. His head and left arm were farther afield, the former being in the cathedral in Candia, and the latter in the palatial chapel of the Knights of Rhodes. Bacci, 2012, 188–9.
- 151 Arcangeli, 2007, 131. Marshall had argued that Carpaccio's source for his depictions of architecture of Jerusalem was exclusively Reuwich's woodcut, invalidating older arguments regarding a potential voyage to the Holy Land. Marshall, 1984. In the *Sermon of St. Stephen*, Carpaccio also incorporated depictions of the southern façade of the Holy Sepulcher and the Dome of the Rock, taken from Reuwich's woodcuts. Marshall, 1984, 610; Berger, 2012, 151.
- 152 Arcangeli, 2007, 132. Figures in Carpaccio's frescoes were also directly inspired by Reuwich's woodcut, including, for instance, the bystander in a hat with an asymmetrical brim, seen on the far right of the *Triumph of St. George*; the source was Reuwich's illustration of an Ethiopian Christian layman. Ross, 2007, 131.
- 153 Berger, 2012, 152–4; Gentili, 1996.
- 154 The dates given for the Holy Sepulcher at Görlitz generally range from c. 1489 to c. 1500, while Wegmann suggests that the chapels were first planned in 1465 but only constructed in 1504. Wegmann, 1997, 102; Wenzel, 1994, 11.
- 155 Wood, 2008, 52.
- 156 Georg Emerich, the son of the mayor of Görlitz, reportedly received permission in 1473 to make a penitential pilgrimage. Morris, 2005, 255; Kühnel, 2010, 48.
- 157 Kühnel, 2012a, 252–6.
- 158 Wood, 2008, 201; Schmidt, 1999, 139.
- 159 A woodcut of 1719 shows a panoramic view of Görlitz's Holy Sepulcher along with St. Peter's and the Mount of Olives. Barbero and Roma, 2008, fig. 11. An engraving of 1760 also shows the park with corresponding events from the Passion illustrated. Rudy, 2006, 405.
- 160 Delano-Smith, 2004, 107; Fabri and Stewart, 1892; Fabri and Hassler, 1843, I: 327–28.
- 161 The guide was entitled *Die Sionpilger* (The Zion Pilgrim). Fabri and Carls, 1999; Shalev, 2011a, 6. The Franciscan Francesco Suriano similarly addressed his own treatise on the Holy Land to his sister, a Franciscan in a convent in Foligno. Suriano, 1949.
- 162 Fabri and Hassler, 1843, II: 389; Rachman-Schrire, 2012, 358. A precedent for noting the presence of footprints of Christ in the Holy Sepulcher is provided by Fra Giovanni de' Bertoldi da Serravalle, who was in the Holy Land in 1398 (born c. 1350). In his commentary on Dante (canto 34), he refers to footprints of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at the middle of the world and on the Mount of Olives. The Franciscan also mentions that he, like other pilgrims, put his foot into the footprint in the Holy Sepulcher. Golubovich, 1927, 317–18.
- 163 Fabri and Hassler, 1843, I: 382.
- 164 In the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, he describes both Muslim and Eastern Christians dissolving bits of the rock of Calvary, drunk as a curative for bodily aches – a practice he criticizes. Fabri and Hassler, 1843, II: 297–8; Rachman-Schrire, 2012, 359.
- 165 Fabri and Stewart, 1892; Fabri and Hassler, 1843, II: 293–4.
- 166 The book has been associated with the Observant Franciscan Niccolò da Osimo, although the attribution remains uncertain. Campagnola, 1972.
- 167 Freedberg, 1989, 192–3; Baxandall, 1985, 124.
- 168 Bacci, 2011, 107–8; Catalano, 1950, 81–2. See also Roest, 2004.
- 169 Leerhoff, 1994, 778–9.
- 170 Mecham associates the sarcophagus of the sculpture with this renovation. Mecham, 2005.
- 171 Mecham (*ibid.*) says that the chapel was dedicated in 1433, but out of use by 1533 due to the Reformation. Others have suggested it was not completed until 1442. Hamburger, 1997, 177.

- 172 Ehrstine, 2012, 318 and Dauven-van Knippenberg, 1998.
- 173 Rudy, 2000a, 228–9.
- 174 Leerhoff, 1994, 770.
- 175 Klosterarchiv Ms. 86, fol. 1. Mecham, 2005.
- 176 Gelfand, 2008, 14; Cahn, 1992.
- 177 Mecham, 2003, 4–6.
- 178 Hamburger, 1998, 194.
- 179 Among them was a hand-colored papier-mâché relief of a portrait of Christ, likely taken from an Italian medal which had itself been inspired by another portrait said to have been transported by a pilgrim. Wood, 2008, 154 and 160. On the reverse of one of the medals, a fifteen-line inscription explains that the portrait was based on an image engraved on an emerald sent by the Turkish sultan Beyazid to Pope Innocent VIII in 1492.
- 180 Dalman, 1922, 90. See also Rudy, 2000a, 99–102.
- 181 Hood, 1984, 307.
- 182 Ehrenschwendtner, 2013, 3–6.
- 183 Rudy, 2000a, 513
- 184 Stegmaier-Breinlinger, 1971, 194–201. See also Hamburger, 1998.
- 185 Stegmaier-Breinlinger, 1971, 179–82; Rudy, 2000a, 237.
- 186 Glatz, 1881, 39; Ehrenschwendtner, 2013, 12.
- 187 Ehrenschwendtner, 2013, 14–15 and 22–4.
- 188 Glatz, 1881, 44–7 and 72; Rudy, 2011, 236.
- 189 Ehrenschwendtner, 2013, 24.
- 190 Glatz, 1881, 90.
- 191 Ehrenschwendtner, 2013, 20–5; Glatz, 1881, 90. The colorful frescoes which today surround the tablets were added during the renovation.
- 192 Wood, 2008, 240. The *Liber Chronicarum* was commissioned by the Nuremberg patricians Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, and the woodcuts were the product of the workshop of Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff. Angerer, 1986, 233.
- 193 Worm, 2010, 177–8.
- 194 Rubin, 2008, 133–4.
- 195 Biddick, 2003, 51; Leitch, 2010, 33.
- 196 Leitch, 2010, 33; Collins, 2012, 107. The idea of Nuremberg replacing Jerusalem and Rome is found in *De situ et moribus Norimbergae*, published in Nuremberg in 1502, inspired by Schedel's chronicle. The concept of Nuremberg superseding Jerusalem may also relate to anti-Semitic sentiments, and a particular interest in expelling the Jewish populations from the city and Germany in general. The expulsion from Nuremberg began on October 31, 1498. Merback, 2013, 207.
- 197 Dalman, 1922, 102–3. Dalman refers to the *Liber Chronicarum*'s view of Nuremberg having the Way of the Cross, and I believe this must be the detail to which he was referring. It has also been proposed that Albrecht Dürer's *Ansicht des Johannisfriedhofs* (1494) (St. Petersburg, Hermitage) reflects the existence of the Kreuzweg. The view shows a crucifix outside the walls of the cemetery where the Kreuzweg would have ended. Wegmann, 1997, 96.
- 198 Aign, 1961, 33–36 and 63–4.
- 199 Wegmann, 1997, 94.
- 200 Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 157–8; Schreiber, 1969, 206–7.
- 201 Adam Kraft had only begun working on major commissions in Nuremberg in 1490. Kahsnitz, 1986, 70.
- 202 Morris, 2005, 360. See also Heller *et al.*, 1993, 203 and Wegmann, 1997.
- 203 Murphy-O'Connor, 2012, 112–13; Bacci, 2012, 192; Viallet, 2001, 462. The devotion to the “Seven Falls” of Christ is reflected in manuscripts of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 144–5 and 158–9.
- 204 Kühnel, 2012a, 251; Maué, 1986, 42.
- 205 Schiller, like others (including Morris, 2005 and Meyer, 2012), gives the commencement date for Adam Kraft's sculptures as 1490. Schiller and Seligman, 1972, 82. The Germanisches Nationalmuseum instead dates Kraft's reliefs to beginning of the sixteenth century (1505/8), as do Cahn, 1992 and Eckmann, 1968. Thurston is among those who attribute Adam Kraft's reliefs to the patronage of Martin Ketzel, claiming that they were probably completed before 1490. Thurston, 1906, 63. Note that Kraft also created reliefs of the Crucifixion, Entombment, and Resurrection for the exterior of the choir of St. Sebaldus, from 1490 to 1492. Kahsnitz, 1986, 71.
- 206 In the foreground, there are eight kneeling figures of Ketzel pilgrims: Heinrich Ketzel (pilgrimage in 1389, died 1438); Georg Ketzel (pilgrimage in 1453, died 1488); Ulrich Ketzel (pilgrimage 1462, died before 1484); Martin Ketzel (pilgrimage in 1468 (?) and 1476, died after 1507); Wolf Ketzel (pilgrimage in 1493, died 1544); Georg Ketzel (pilgrimage in 1498, died in 1533); Sebald Ketzel (pilgrimage in 1498, died 1530); Michael Ketzel (pilgrimage in 1503, died 1505). Aign, 1961.
- 207 Hoffmann, 1927, 138; Holterman, 2013, 55.
- 208 Holterman, 2013, 46. The rendering of the architecture of the city was perhaps similar to a panel now

- in Gotha (Schlossmuseum Schloss Friedenstein, inv. No. SG 77), which may have in fact inspired this one, originally created for Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony (r. 1483–1525). The Elector made the pilgrimage in 1493 with Wolf Ketzell, and the account book of Frederick's steward refers to two painters traveling with the Elector. The panel was either made for the Elector and later acquired by the Ketzell family, or originally commissioned by the Ketzell family in order to highlight their connection to the Elector. *Ibid.*, 53. Röhrich and Meisner, 1880, 508.
- 209 Said to be commissioned by a knight from Bamberg, Heinrich Marchalf von Rauheneck. Kahsnitz, 1986, 72; Thurston, 1906, 65; Wegmann, 1997, 100–1.
- 210 Rapp, 2002, 32–1; Barbero, 2008, 70.
- 211 The pilgrim was reportedly the administrator of the stations until his death in 1517.
- 212 A Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher and a Way of the Cross was reportedly constructed in Priegnitz after the return of a local pilgrim, Heer Mathäus Dambeck, from a pilgrimage in 1505. Rudy, 2006, 405; Röhrich and Meisner, 1880, 202. In Hof, a Holy Sepulcher chapel was reportedly built in 1509, and a seventeenth-century description additionally refers to various stations commemorating the Falls of Christ. Paulus, 1909, 144; Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 146–7. Panel paintings made in Vienna of Christ falling with the cross and another of the Lamentation have prompted speculation of a Way of the Cross in Vienna. Betschart, 1996, 125.
- 213 Kneller, 1908, 77.
- 214 Nagel and Wood, 2010, 59 and 198–200.
- 215 Herz, 1997, 75; Wegmann, 1997, 101.
- 216 Kramer, 1957, 15; Cramer, 1949, 141.
- 217 Bäumer, 2008. One of the stone reliefs that survives depicts the leading of Christ from the Praetorium, with an inscription: *Hie beginnet de Crucedracht Christi buten den Borchdore to Jherusalem* (Here begins the Carrying of the Cross of Christ out of the city gate of Jerusalem). Kneller, 1908, 74.
- 218 The Second Fall in Louvain was at the Brussels Gate, the Third Fall near the Calvary chapel, and the final station was dedicated to the Crucifixion, with a sculpture of Christ entombed, made by Bartholomew van Kessel between 1510 and 1535. Van Even, 1860, 446. Brussels also had its own stations, installed in the courtyard of the Church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van de Zavel in 1504–16. Sempels, 1949, 613–14; Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 142–3.
- 219 *Den cruysganck tot den berch van Calvarien, met vele schooner oeffeninghen, ghebeden, ende figuren* (The Way of the Cross on Mount Calvary, with many beautiful exercises, prayers, and figures). Van Even, 1860, 239; Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 135–6.
- 220 Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 147. Kirkland-Ives cites other examples of cities that seem to have had stations which are not preserved, that may have been destroyed by iconoclasts in the sixteenth century, including in Xanten, Lunteren, Vught, and Breda.
- 221 Bacci, 2014, 71; Kneller, 1908, 202–4; Arad, 2015, 155–6.
- 222 Aalten seems to be a rare known example of a Netherlandish Way of the Cross using sculpted plaques apparently inspired by Kraft's made for Nuremberg. The plaques were erected in the 1530s and are now in the Catharijneconvent in Utrecht. Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 136.
- 223 Wegmann, 1997, 101.
- 224 *Die geystlich strass bin ich genant / Im leyden Christi wol bekant. / Wiltu die geng gantz gnaw ausrechen. / So hastu psalemm di magstu spreken; / Hastu lust zum heyligen lande, / Was da sey, findst auch zuhande*. A copy of this little-studied book is at the British Library. Thurston includes illustrations of the woodcuts from it; they appear to be inspired by Ketzell's reliefs. Thurston, 1906, 79–80.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 15

- 1 Lasansky, 2010, 250. When Sixtus IV launched a crusade in 1481–2, Caimi was appointed a preacher. Panzanelli, 1999, 106.
- 2 Morisi, 2013.
- 3 My translation from the Latin quoted in Gentile, 2008, 31; Piana, 1971.
- 4 Pizzetta, 1996, 15–16.
- 5 Dolev, 1996, 187; Gentile, 2008, 21; Panzanelli, 1999, 297–9.
- 6 Dolev, 1996, 179.
- 7 Gelfand, 2011, 111.
- 8 Bossi, 2008–59–61; Debiaggi, 1978.
- 9 According to Panzanelli, Fassola (1671) refers to the footprint in connection to an indulgence granted in 1488. Panzanelli, 1999, 154. See also Algeri, 1979. The footprints were later moved together with the relic of the Column of the Flagellation to the Chiesa Nuova. Pizzetta, 1996, 16. The sequence is described in the guidebook of 1514. Panzanelli, 1999, 300.
- 10 Panzanelli, 1999, 121.



- 11 Panzanelli, 1999, 294; Gentile, 2008, 25.
- 12 Angelo Trovati compared the likely dimensions of the known chapels from Caimi's time to the corresponding structures in the Holy Land, and argued that Caimi sought to reproduce the dimensions of the sacred buildings. Trovati, 1963a, 1963b, and 1963c.
- 13 Gentile, 2008, 27.
- 14 *Capitulo. xxiii. Sequita poi e vai doue el signore / Da poi che fu anoi resuscitato / Aparse ala matre con perfeto amore / Con su[lime]me gaudio ad essa presentato / Questa capella dali lati fuore / Se guardi do finistre riformato / Ne luna ce da la sancta colonna / Ne l'altra de la croce qua si noma.* Panzanelli, 1999, 298.
- 15 Debiaggi proposed that a Chapel of the Unction Stone was likely constructed in the time of Caimi, especially because in some of his sermons he emphasizes that the pilgrimage inside the Church of the Holy Sepulcher commences at the Unction Stone. Debiaggi, 1978.
- 16 The range of dates given for the Lamentation group are from 1486 to the first years of the sixteenth century. Casciaro, 2000, 112. Gentile argues that Caimi must have had some conception of adding figural imagery to the chapels; he proposes that the Lamentation group now in Varallo's Pinacoteca may have been conceived by Caimi, especially because of references to the image of Christ on the Unction Stone in his sermons. Gentile, 2008. On the relation of the early *sacro monte* to Caimi's sermons more generally, see Nova, 1995, 116.
- 17 Paoletti, 1992, 92.
- 18 The group in Busseto was made for Santa Maria degli Angeli (1476–7). The group in Milan was made for Santa Maria presso San Satiro (by 1483), while the group in Venice was made between 1485 and 1489 for the monastery church of San Antonio di Castello. The Venetian group – now fragmentary and dispersed – was probably the prototype for the version made in Naples (completed by 1492), still *in situ*. The older work of Niccolò dell'Arca, particularly the Lamentation group made for Santa Maria della Vita in Bologna, could have been yet another source of inspiration for the Franciscans at Varallo. Longworth, 2009, 102–3; Verdon, 1978. Mazzoni's Venetian group was described in the context of the Holy Land pilgrimage of a North Bohemian Catholic nobleman, Jan Hasištejnský of Lobkowitz (1450–1517), who had ties with the Franciscan Observant order. Chlíbec, 2002, 19–20. On Mazzoni's Lamentation group in Venice, see also Lugli, 1990, 327.
- 19 Hood, 1984, 293.
- 20 Pizzetta, 1996, 15.
- 21 I am unaware of a pilgrimage account that refers to this specific feature.
- 22 Debiaggi, 1974, 175. Confusion has surrounded the issue of the earliest chapel of the Annunciation at Varallo. In the absence of the chapel, one proposal was that the current Nativity chapel was originally the Nazareth grotto in Caimi's time. Debiaggi rejects this, and proposes instead that a ruined building hidden from sight and no longer in use was the original grotto-like chapel. Debiaggi, 1974, 177. The current chapel is a re-creation of the Holy House of Loreto, with a sculpted Annunciation scene installed in 1572.
- 23 Gentile, 2008, 26. Related frescoes of the Assumption, dated around 1495, have been attributed to the workshop of Stefano Scotto or else the young Gaudenzio Ferrari. They are now in Varallo's Pinacoteca and are thought to have been placed in the Chapel of the Tomb of the Virgin. Gentile, 2008, 35. A wooden statue of the sleeping virgin is also now in the basilica, attributed to a young Gaudenzio Ferrari and dated 1493–8. Testori and Perrone, 1985, 252; Longo and Fava, 2010, 95. The guidebook of 1514 states: *Qua Gabriel da lalto ciel descendi / Maria anunciar col dolze canto / In vna capeleta concauata / Simille luoco fu annunciata.* Panzanelli, 1999, 290.
- 24 As according to the guidebook of 1514: *Capitulo. xlii. / Poi te ne parte he vai doue portarta / El corpo di Maria a sepolire / Inela val di Jehosaphat giamata / Simile a questa qua per adimpire / Duoe discipul llebero posata.* Panzanelli, 1999, 305.
- 25 Cooper and Robson, 2013a, 171. The first temporary transfer of the Porziuncula to the Observant branch occurred in 1417–19 and definitively in 1432–5. Bigaroni, 1987. In the same period (1434), the Observants were forced to concede some of their authority within the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land to the Conventuals. Huber, 1944, 373.
- 26 Gelfand, 2011, 113; Grau, 2003, 78–9.
- 27 Nova, 1995, 320.
- 28 Dolev, 1996, 178.
- 29 *Questi sono li misteri che sono sopra el Monte di Varalle* (These are the mysteries which are on the Mount of Varallo). Pizzetta, 1996, 7–8. The entire text of the first guidebook is transcribed in Panzanelli, 1999 and can also be found in Perrone, 1987. The only known copy is in the Colombina Library in Seville (Cat. Colombina V: 116–17, Sander 7486, Santoro 135). Note the order is chronological by the narrative of the life of Christ.
- 30 Hood, 1984, 300; Panzanelli, 1999, 289.

- 31 Panzanelli, 1999, 288.
- 32 Pizzetta, 1996, 9.
- 33 Lasansky, 2010, 266–7.
- 34 Hood, 1984, 302. In addition to this letter, Morone composed a verse description which unfortunately has been lost. The letter is an important document regarding the early period of the *sacro monte* at Varallo. It is quoted and translated in Panzanelli, 1999, 283–4; Promis and Müller, 1863.
- 35 Bernardino Caimi would have presumably met local Franciscan friars during his visit to Siena and Florence in 1485. Neri, 1971, 136–7.
- 36 Lasansky, 2010, 249.
- 37 The definitive accord with the Commune of Montaione was reached March 24, 1500. Gensini, 2008, 154.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 156. On the three manuscripts, see Part III and Moore, 2013.
- 39 Gensini, 2008, 155; Siew, 2015, 116 and 125.
- 40 Gensini, 1989.
- 41 Siew, 2015, 130; Cardini, 1987a, 20–1.
- 42 Pacciani, 2014, 80.
- 43 Bacci, 2011, 117.
- 44 The House of Veronica is included in the sequence of places from St. Stephen's Gate to Calvary in the various editions. See for example *Peregrinationes totius Terrae Sanctae*, 1491, fol. iv.
- 45 Lasansky, 2010, 267.
- 46 Shearman, 1992, 269; Gensini, 1989.
- 47 Lasansky, 2010, 116; Siew, 2015, 127.
- 48 Bacci, 2014, 68.
- 49 Bacci, 2011, 103; Bacci, 2014, 69.
- 50 Hamilton, 1987.
- 51 Pomi, 2008, 58.
- 52 Santarelli, 1999, 252. A fourteenth-century statue was in the chapel until it was destroyed in a fire in 1921; the current statue is a copy. The original chapel at Loreto seems to have incorporated relics, perhaps taken by a pilgrim or pilgrims from Nazareth. In lower masonry courses, there are stones marked with graffiti in Greek and Hebrew. Nagel and Wood, 2010, 196; Monelli, 1997.
- 53 Frommel, 2012, 155–6. The first known description of the miraculous history of the Loreto chapel was written by Pietro di Giorgio Tolomei, called Teramano, who was rector of the Sanctuary of Loreto from 1454 until his death in 1473. The treatise, *Translatio miraculosa ecclesiae Beate Virginis Mariae de Loreto* (The miraculous translation of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Loreto), was composed around 1472. Simone, 2006, 112.
- Scholars have sought to identify pictorial imagery with the Loreto legend. The images that seem to most directly relate are engravings by the Master of the Vienna Passion dating to the 1460s, in which the Virgin holds the child standing within a hexagonal baldachin whose pillars are embraced by angels. Nagel and Wood, 2010, 197. See also Simone, 2006, 111–12 and Panofsky, 1953, 30.
- 54 Nagel and Wood, 2010, 197.
- 55 “For if a replica were really just as good as an original, there is no need to send in the original by airlift.” *Ibid.*, 195.
- 56 The design has been attributed to Giuliano da Sangallo, among others. Weil-Garris, 1977, 5.
- 57 Pomi, 2008, 59.
- 58 Piccirillo, 2009, 364.
- 59 Pomi, 2008, 58. Ricci wrote his history in Latin and dedicated it to Camerlengo Latino Orsini. The treatise is known from only one manuscript conserved in the Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, Ms. 2120. Simone, 2006, 113.
- 60 “Item duodecim miliarie ab Ancona et tria miliaria a Reconato est villa que vocatur Loreta, ubi jam est capella sancte Marie ex lapidibus, que quondam erat in Terra Sancta edificata per sanctam Helenam: sed, quia beatissima Maria non erat ibi honorata, ipsa capella erat elevata per angelos, beatissima Maria sedente super eam, et portata a Terra Sancta usque ad Alretum, agricolis et pastoribus videntibus, angelos portantes eam et reponentes eam in loco, quo jam est ubi beatissima Virgo Mari habetur magno honore.” Wey *et al.*, 1857, 54.
- 61 Brefeld, 1985, 150. There are two manuscript versions of this anonymous English account: OQC Ms. 257 and BL Ms. Harley 2333.
- 62 Folda, 1986, 23–4. The chapel at Walsingham was destroyed after being sold in the sixteenth century. Little is known about its appearance beyond the presence of statues of Gabriel and Mary and related pilgrims' badges. The first known reference to the legendary foundation in 1061, due to a vision of Mary, is found in a ballad published by Richard Pynson in 1496. Nagel and Wood, 2010, 205.
- 63 VBM Ms. 453.
- 64 Cladders, 2002, 258. After the Ottoman occupation of Otranto and further Ottoman threats, fortification of the basilica of Loreto, including four lateral towers, bestowed an aura of impenetrability to the sanctuary. See also Hamilton, 1987, 11.
- 65 Construction may have commenced under his predecessor, but the drum bears the arms of Sixtus.

- Frommel and Adams, 2000, 59. In 1476, Sixtus IV named his nephew Girolamo Basso della Rovere bishop of Recanati, which included Loreto in its domain. Simone, 2006, 117. The Carmelite order was given custody of the Holy House in 1489; the vicar general of the order, Battista Spagnoli, had written a chronicle of the Holy House in the preceding years and dedicated it to this same bishop of Recanati. The Carmelites claimed to have guarded the Holy House in Nazareth and fled the Holy Land at the same time as the House. Barcham, 1979, 434–5. Julius II revived the policy of Sixtus IV in 1507. Weil-Garris, 1977, 6.
- 66 Hamilton, 1987, 5–6.
- 67 Battisti, 1957, 102–4; Stinger, 1985, 224; Campbell, 1981.
- 68 Calvesi, 1980, 58.
- 69 Bernardini, 2000, 98; Setton, 1978, 316–18.
- 70 Wood, 2008, 334; Naredi-Rainer, 1994. Sources suggest that the shrine of Peter's tomb had four spiral vine columns, probably of the second or third century, associated with Constantine's donations. Pope Gregory III (731–41) obtained six more twisted columns from the Byzantine exarch. They with the original ones were placed in a straight line before the sanctuary, in place until Bramante dispersed the outer row in 1506–7. The two columns reportedly donated by Constantine are now reused on the pier of St. Veronica. Additional twisted columns given in the eighth century are reused on the pier of St. Longinus, and maybe the altar of St. Francis in the Cappella del SS. Sacramento. Kinney accounts for twelve twisted columns that ended up at St. Peter's. Kinney, 2005, 23–30. Nikolaus Muffel claimed there were fourteen, while Giovanni Rucellai, also in the middle of the fifteenth century, said sixteen. Tanner, 2010, 97. See also Bogdanović, 2002.
- 71 The Colonna Santa stayed in its place with a protective grille until 1544, when it was moved in front of the northeast pier. It was moved again in Bernini's time and now stands on the outside of the basilica, in the Museo Storico-Artistico. Kinney, 2005, 36.
- 72 The Porta Santa was depicted by Hans Burgkmair in a panel (1501) made for the Dominican convent of St. Catherine in Augsburg. Wood, 2008, 334–5.
- 73 Muffel refers to a sealed "golden door" beyond the altar. Muffel, 1876, 19–20.
- 74 Stinger, 1985, 44; Burchard, 1903, 179. See also Jung-Inglessis, 1975.
- 75 Stinger, 1985, 45.
- 76 Firenze, 1931, 80.
- 77 Cunningham, 2011, 176.
- 78 Nagel, 2011, 250 (with English translation). For the Italian, see Rovere and Cortese, 1985, 84. The sermon is found in a manuscript that was perhaps Francesco della Rovere's: Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. C. 46, fols. 265r–272r. The manuscript is in Padua because the sermon was given in that city on December 8, 1448 by Fantino Dandolo. For further discussion, see Calvesi, 1989.
- 79 For example, a manuscript in Verona (Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. 485) states: *Item Templum Domini in quo Virgo Maria fuit presentata et desponsata, et Christus prexentatus, et inter doctors predicantem (sic) inventus* +. Golubovich, 1927, 352.
- 80 *In hoc etiam templo virga Ioseph floruit. In hoc templo beata virgo Maria fuit praesentata et post desponsationem oblate.* Von Suchem and Deycks, 1851, 75.
- 81 *Postea ad meridiem ex opposito est templum Domini, in quo Christus multa miracula gessit et in quo beatissima Virgo Maria fuit presentata et desponsata Ioseph.* Wey et al., 1857, 34 and 42.
- 82 Adorno et al., 1978, 259.
- 83 Moore, 2010b, 54. For Perugino's altarpiece, see Scarpellini, 1984, 254. Siense painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provided important precedents for these altarpieces. The first known examples are the now lost frescoes made for the façade of the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala, damaged and finally scraped down in 1721. The *Marriage of the Virgin* was one among five scenes from the life of the Virgin. The frescoes were the basis of Sano di Pietro's altarpiece depicting the same five scenes, commissioned to resemble the frescoes. The scene is imagined inside the polygonal Temple of Jerusalem. Norman, 1999, 41. Jean Fouquet's *Betrothal of the Virgin*, from the Hours of Etienne Chevalier (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Chantilly), c. 1453–60, is another important precedent alluding to the architecture of the Temple of Solomon. In this case, the artist incorporates the spiraling columns of the Jewish Temple, likely reflecting his exposure to the related columns in St. Peter's during his time in Rome in the 1440s. Pinson, 1996, 155.
- 84 On the Renaissance awareness of central-plan temples dedicated to Vesta in ancient Rome, see Sinding-Larsen, 1965, especially 225.
- 85 Verdon and Rossi, 2005, 42.
- 86 By end of the fourth century, the *Mons Ianiculensis*, or *Ianiculum* (Hill of Janus), was associated with Peter's martyrdom, and also called *mons aureus*, Gold Mountain, by medieval pilgrims. Moralee, 2013, 51.
- 87 Freiberg, 2007, 203–4.



- 88 Freiberg, 2014, 137.
- 89 *Ibid.*, 211. This was not the first time that the victory in Granada had been linked to Rome's sacred topography. In the winter of 1492, workers reportedly discovered the relic of the Titulus Crucis in a niche above the triumphal arch of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, where it had been since the twelfth century. Pedro González de Mendoza, titular cardinal of the church, publicized the rediscovery, emphasizing that it occurred on February 1, the day that news of the reconquest of Granada by the Spanish monarchy reached Rome. He was chancellor of Ferdinand and Isabella and never even visited Rome. Nikolaus Muffel had noted the presence of the relic in 1452, suggesting its location was well known. Nagel and Wood, 2010, 219.
- 90 Morris, 2005, 300.
- 91 Freiberg, 2014, 2.
- 92 Freiberg, 2007, 210. Freiberg argues that details of the Tempietto once assumed to be inspired by Roman antiquity and Vitruvius instead related to the Christian interpretation of the Temple of Solomon, including for instance the balustrade, which he connects to Pacioli's description of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple of Jerusalem, illustrated in a woodcut of the 1509 *De Divina Proportione*. *Ibid.*, 131–2.
- 93 *Ibid.*, 209; Tanner, 2010, 92.
- 94 The first known reference to the Tempietto, dating to 1517, interestingly refers to the diminutive building as a “large ciborium of marble” (*magnum marmoreumque ciborium*). Nagel and Wood, 2010, 172. When Jacopo Sansovino was commissioned to make a ciborium for Santa Croce in Gerusalemme by the Spanish Cardinal Francisco de Los Angeles Quinones, he apparently looked to the Tempietto for inspiration; the tabernacle was made in 1536. Freiberg, 2014, 168–9.
- 95 Bramante commenced with the idea of renovating the existing basilica, as had first been developed under Nicholas V. Thoenes, 2005, 76. In the context of the planned renovation during the papacy of Nicholas V, the Temple of Solomon was invoked often. Westfall, 1974, 124–5; Smith and O'Connor, 2006. The Temple of Solomon continued to be invoked in the papacy of Sixtus IV, as for instance by Lilio Tifernate, in a commentary on Philo's *De Vita Moysis* (On the Life of Moses). Lilio noted that the Tabernacle constructed by Moses had served as the prototype for the design of St. Peter's, in the same way that the Tabernacle had been the prototype for Solomon's Temple. Stinger, 1985, 224.
- 96 Necipoğlu, 2005, 82–103. Bramante's design for New St. Peter's probably also drew upon the Basilica of Maxentius, due to its long-standing associations with the Temple of Solomon and the triumphal appropriation of the treasures of the Jewish Temple by Emperor Titus. Campbell, 1981, 4–5; Tanner, 2010, 40–1.
- 97 The bull emphasizes their relationship by noting that it was Sixtus IV who had raised Giuliano della Rovere to the position of cardinal.
- 98 Thoenes, 2005, 74.
- 99 Stinger, 1985, 109–11.
- 100 Verdon, 2000, 88; Grimaldi, 1984. In 1513 the design was entrusted to Sansovino, under Leo X; further contributions were made by Sansovino and Antonio da Sangallo. Weil-Garris, 1997, 22–3; Wyss, 2006, 212–26.
- 101 In 1507 the Holy House was officially put under the direct jurisdiction of the pope. Servigliano, 1970, 5.
- 102 Barcham, 1979, 440. The Litany of Loreto hails Mary as the *Arca Foederis* (Ark of the Covenant). The Litany was first printed in 1576, introduced in Rome by Sixtus V, who was from the Marche.
- 103 Brandt, 1977; Nagel and Wood, 2010, 214.
- 104 Stinger, 1985, 270.
- 105 Weil-Garris, 1977, 8; Benedetti, 1968, 21.
- 106 Stinger, 1985, 43; Jobst, 1992.
- 107 Krautheimer, 1954; Thunø, 2002, 32–40. References to Mary as the “gate of heaven” occur in other central-plan Marian churches, for example in Santa Maria della Pietà at Bibbona, begun 1482: *Terribilis est locus iste* (frieze of the main portal) and *Haec est domus dei et porta coeli* (south portal). The inscriptions refer to Jacob's reactions after his vision of a ladder leading to heaven. Genesis 29:17–18. Davies, 1992, 91–2.
- 108 Related frescoes made by Pinturicchio in 1501 in Spello depict the central-plan Temple of Jerusalem as the setting for Christ's life, including Jesus among the doctors. In 1514, miracles outside of the same town prompted the construction of the Servite Church of Santa Maria delVico, constructed from 1517. Benazzi, 2000, 31; Davies, 2004, 60.
- 109 Maniura, 2013, 221. Lotz had noted that the majority of the central-plan churches of the Italian Renaissance dedicated to Mary housed her miraculous images. Lotz, 1977.
- 110 Davies, 2004, 60; Davies, 2013, 189. See also Alici, 1997 and Zampetti, 1957.
- 111 Uncini, 2000, 71–3.
- 112 Sensi, 2000, 126–7.

- 113 Sinding-Larsen, 1965, 226–7. The church was largely destroyed in an earthquake in 1979.
- 114 Davies, 2004, 58. On the Via Lauretana, see Uncini, 2000.
- 115 Davies, 1992, 105.
- 116 Matteini, 2013.
- 117 On further evidence of dedication to the cult of Loreto in the region around Varallo, see Pomi, 2008, 64; Langé, 1997, 370. Another early chapel is the Church of Santa Maria del Ponte Chiuso at Roveredo (Switzerland), constructed in 1524. Langé and Pacciarotti, 1994, 380.
- 118 Jones *et al.*, 2013, 537.
- 119 Some of the frescoes on the interior of the chapel of Madonna di Loreto in Roccapietra have also been attributed to Luini. Jones *et al.*, 2013, 537.
- 120 Kühnel, 2012b, 111.
- 121 Ferrari moved his workshop to Vercelli in 1527–28. Göttler, 2013, 404.
- 122 Lasansky, 2010, 254 and 262.
- 123 The decoration of the Calvary chapel attributed to Ferrari is dated between 1517 and 1520; the figure of Christ is older and of wood, while the Ferrari statuary is painted terracotta with real hair and glass eyes. Göttler, 2013, 407. De Filippis compares the two doors on the north wall with the arrangement in Jerusalem, citing Niccolò da Poggibonsi's description. De Filippis, 2008, 41–6. See also Filippis, 2006.
- 124 *Capitolo. xix. / Poi ti habasi per vn vscetino / Doue conuene a questo humiliarsi / Un luoco quiui giaze picolino / Donde el sepulcro sancto po tocarse / Col corpo di Jesu alto e diuino / Morte qua giaze come po mirarse / Sopra il sepulcro di rileuo e pincto / Qua per mirar ognun apianto vinto.* Panzanelli, 1999, 296–7.
- 125 Hood, 1984, 301; Lasansky, 2010, 263–5. *Capitolo. xvi. . . Ueder la matre in terra colocata / Acompagnata luna laltra Maria / Piangendo la morte del caro figliolo / Quiui cascata per estremo dolo.* Panzanelli, 1999, 295.
- 126 Gentile, 2008, 38; Panzanelli, 1999, 290.
- 127 Dolev, 1996, 180.
- 128 Hood, 1984, 304; Gentile, 2008, 25.
- 129 Nova, 1995, 119.
- 130 The location of the Last Supper chapel (referred to as the *gran cenaculo*) within the original sequence of chapels is best suggested by the guide of 1514. Panzanelli, 1999, 291–2.
- 131 Dolev, 1996, 188.
- 132 Debiaggi, 1974.
- 133 Hood, 1984, 199.
- 134 Chevalier, 1883, 4; Arad, 2015, 155.
- 135 Clermont, 1638, 464–5. The one in Fribourg had reportedly been founded in 1504 by Pierre d'Englisberg, the Commander of the Hospitallers in Rhodes. The Hospitaller re-creation of the Holy Sepulcher at Rhodes was discussed above.
- 136 Chevalier, 1883, 5–7.
- 137 *Le voyage et oraisons*, 1572, 212. Chocheyras, 1975, 59–60. For a discussion of the sources, see Arad, 2015.
- 138 Chevalier, 1883, 17.
- 139 The Chapel of Gethsemane was erected in the house of a local man, Richard Colombier, in 1517. Chevalier, 1883, 18–24. An act of February 7, 1516 refers to a station of Christ carrying the Cross, but the location is unknown.
- 140 Chevalier, 1883, 12–13; Forsyth, 1970.
- 141 Steinmair, 1993, 223–36.
- 142 Maximilian became archduke of Tyrol in 1490. The Tyrol region was also significant due to silver mines, some of which Maximilian had recently granted to the Fugger family of Augsburg. Häberlein, 2012; Bérenger, 2014, 127.
- 143 Pintarelli, 2008, 167–8.
- 144 Ludolphy, 1984, 355–60.
- 145 See discussion of the Ketzler family and their tradition of pilgrimage in Chapter 14.
- 146 The chapel also exhibited a view of the Holy Land, presumably made by one of the two artists who reportedly accompanied him on the journey. The panel is referred to as a *Reisetafel*, thought to have been a triptych. Holterman, 2013, 48.
- 147 The church seems to have been spared from the iconoclasm that erupted in Wittenberg in 1520. The reliquaries were melted down in the 1540s. In 1760 what was left of the Wittenberg church burned down. Bellmann *et al.*, 1979, 242.
- 148 Krause, 1994. The motto had first been stamped on a medal of 1522 depicting Frederick the Wise. Marx, 2008, 124.
- 149 Koerner, 2004.
- 150 Bruck, 1903, 33–4; Holterman, 2013, 72.
- 151 Ludolphy, 1984, 128 and Holterman, 2013, 72–3.
- 152 Bellmann *et al.*, 1979, 128 and 242.
- 153 The chapel was described as being “the tomb of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the very dimensions and form that one is said to find in Jerusalem” (*die begrebnuss unsers lieben Heern Ihesu Christ in mass und form, wie es in Iherusalem sein solle*). Nagel and Wood, 2010, 168; Wood, 2008, 52–3.

- 154 Under pressure from the Fuggers, the church was made unavailable to Lutherans just three years later, and they moved to St. Moritz's; contemporary chronicles refer to a Holy Sepulcher in the church being sealed off. Gray, 2012, 39–40; Smith, 1994, 39.
- 155 According to Dalman, the ritual was suspended from 1535 until 1569, reportedly due to lightning directly striking the effigy of Christ inside. Dalman, 1922, 86–7. The chapel in Görlitz would inspire the illustration of Christ's Tomb in a Lutheran narrative of the pilgrimage, printed in Görlitz by Ambrosius Fritsch beginning in 1580. Seydlitz, 1580. The Tomb is shown in an open landscape, rather than within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. For a discussion of this and related Protestant pilgrimage accounts, see Clark, 2013.
- 156 Kroesen, 2000, 51–2; Forsyth, 1970, 12; Sturm, 2005, 6. On the complex politics of the bishopric of Konstanz in the sixteenth century, see Forster, 2001.
- 157 Wood, 2008.
- 158 Morris, 2005, 364–5.
- 159 *De Visendo Loca Sacra*. Erasmus and Thompson, 1965, xxi–xxiv and 625.
- 160 *Ibid.*, 4–5; Beaver, 2012, 275–6.
- 161 Affagart, 1902, 201; Morris, 2005, 364.
- 162 Kunz, 1995, 141–2; Delano-Smith and Ingram, 1991, xxii and 3.
- 163 *Das Alt Testament dütsch*. Kunz, 1995, 142.
- 164 Harley, 1988, 66. As Harley has argued, “cartographic silence” – the denial of representation – may sometimes constitute “the determinate part of the cartographic message.” *Ibid.*, 58.
- 165 The most important examples were published in Geneva, Leyden, and Haarlem. Delano-Smith and Ingram, 1991, 81–98.
- 166 For example, a re-creation of the Holy Sepulcher at a convent in Leiden, called Mariënpoel, was destroyed in 1575 and nothing is known of its layout. Rudy, 2000a, 224.
- 3 On the question of whether Heer Bethlehem first wrote his book in the fifteenth century or the early sixteenth century, see Ganz-Blättler, 1990, 384, Thurston, 1906, 177–8, and Pribsch, 1901, 214–15.
- 4 Bethlehem, 1510. The full title of Heer Bethlehem's book is: *Dit is den aflaet van der heiliger stadt van Caluarien, welcken aflaet een yegelick mensche verdyenen mach die den ellendighen ende swaren ganck des cuysdraghens vanden naecten bloedigen Jhesum nae volghen en sijn bitter liden mit innigher herten ende met medeliden ouerdencken* (This is the indulgence of the holy site of Calvary, an indulgence which each person may earn who follows the miserable and difficult path of the carrying of the cross of the naked and bloody Jesus and who considers his bitter suffering with his inner heart and compassion). Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 75.
- 5 Thurston, 1906, 178.
- 6 Van Herwaarden, 2003, 72.
- 7 Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 76 (with English translation).
- 8 Morris, 2005, 364.
- 9 Poggibonsi, 1518.
- 10 Poggibonsi, 1500.
- 11 Moore, 2013.
- 12 The first edition I have found that refers to Fra Noè of the Franciscan order as the author was published in 1600 in Treviso. Poggibonsi, 1600. See also Moore, 2013, 361.
- 13 Moore, 2013, 375–8.
- 14 The view of Cairo was based upon some earlier unknown source, rather than the drawings in the illustrated manuscript versions. For questions regarding the relation of this source to a later more elaborate illustration of Cairo (*La vera descrizione de la Gran Città del Caiero*, c. 1549) see Warner, Pagano, and Postel, 2006, 26–32.
- 15 Throughout the fifteenth century, pilgrims more and more incorporate references to the relics and architecture of Venice as part of their journeys to the Holy Land. See for example William Wey's description of Venice. Wey *et al.*, 1857, 53, 84, and 89–90.
- 16 Howard, 2013, 93–99. The relics in Venice included the bodies of the innocents massacred by Herod, kept at Santa Maria e Donato in Murano.
- 17 Jerusalem confraternities were primarily a Netherlandish phenomenon; there were however precedents founded in France in the fourteenth century, including one formed in the 1320s in connection to a possible crusade, and another associated with the Franciscan order, both in Paris. Dansette, 2001, 311–14.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 16

- 1 When Ignatius of Loyola tried to make the pilgrimage in 1523 by way of Venice to Cyprus and Jaffa, he and his companions were deterred by the recent loss of Rhodes to the Ottomans. Morris, 2005, 363–4.
- 2 Limor, 2007, 227.



- 18 Van Herwaarden, 2003, 300–1; Conrady, 1882, 209; Moll, 1869, 46.
- 19 The panel is in the Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal (Leiden). Schneider, 1982, 93; Orlers, 1614, 107; Tongerloo, 2005.
- 20 Holterman, 2013, 35.
- 21 Heuer, 2010, 148; De Jongh and de Meyere, 1979–80, 18–21; Schneider, 1982, 103.
- 22 Woodall, 1989, 150–1. Carrying palms also relates to the importance of the Palm Sunday procession, which was especially elaborate in Utrecht; it was the Brothers' right to carry real "Jericho palms" from the Holy Land, rather than branches from local trees, because they had gone on the pilgrimage. *Ibid.*, 154.
- 23 Schneider, 1982, 151. A fourth painting, from c. 1535, was painted in Utrecht showing eight brothers and a sister; another related painting shows five men who had returned to Utrecht. Woodall, 1989, 150. In a biography of Jan van Scorel published in 1604, the painter is said to have created "a counterfeit of the holy grave" (*Oock conterfeytte hy het heyligh graf*). Van Mander, 1604, fol. 235v. See also Heuer, 2010, 151. For the English translation of the biography, see Van Mander and Miedema, 1994, I: 194–205 and III: 268–90.
- 24 Heuer, 2010, 152–4.
- 25 *Johan van scorel bin ice en scildere ... was ter plaetse dair ons bedildere / jesus christus starf om ons verblien*. Woodall, 1989, 149–55.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 161.
- 27 Another panel created by Jan van Scorel in 1526 for an Utrecht patron, *The Entry into Jerusalem* (Utrecht, Centraalmuseum), in which Jerusalem as seen from the Mount of Olives hovers in the background, was only spared destruction because it was reportedly hidden by the son of the painter. Kloek *et al.*, 1986, 24–5. The removal of religious images occurred in Utrecht in August 1566, as well as in 1580, 1586, and 1595. Staal, 2007, 316–18; Kooi, 2000, 25–6.
- 28 Heuer, 2009, 8. Two of the depicted persons can be identified as from Amsterdam, suggesting that all were members of the Amsterdam confraternity. Rudy, 2012, 229–30.
- 29 Heuer, 2010, 143.
- 30 Rudy, 2012, 230.
- 31 Betschart, 1996, 105; Heuer, 2010, 147. The map can now be found in the BNF and the Centraal Museum, Utrecht.
- 32 Roberts, 1997, 23.
- 33 Bresc-Bautier, 1989, 220; Forsyth, 1970, 10.
- 34 Konnert, 2006, 45.
- 35 Arad, 2015, 161.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 9–18. Some of the stations associated with the Crucifixion and Entombment were again remade in the nineteenth century.
- 37 Wunder, 2003, 195.
- 38 Ribera, 1521. The book was reprinted in Lisbon in 1608. For a modern edition, see Martín, 2001. Ribera's library included Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*. Wunder, 2003, 84–5.
- 39 Wunder, 2003, 198.
- 40 Pereda, 2012, 77–9 and 92. Maiolica signs now mark the stations of the cross. A booklet of 1653 claimed that the portal was made to re-create Piale's tribunal hall (*cuya portada hizo labrar al modo y traça de la de Pilatos*). *Memoria muy devote y reverdo muy provechoso ...*, 1653. Pereda also notes the possible relation to a depiction of Pilate's palace as the setting for the Flagellation, attributed to Alejo Fernández (Prado, Madrid). The painter and his son were among those hired to decorate some of the rooms of the palace in 1537. *Ibid.*, 99–100.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 79–81.
- 42 *Memoria muy devote y reverdo muy provechoso ...*, 1653. Beaver, 2013, 64.
- 43 Wunder, 2003, 200.
- 44 Beaver, 2013, 64. Pradillo y Esteban, 1996.
- 45 Gomez-Geraud, 2000.
- 46 Aranda, 1533, 10v–11v. Quoted in Beaver, 2013, 80.
- 47 Yepes, 1583; Beaver, 2013, 82.
- 48 Beaver, 2013, 79; Remensnyder, 2000.
- 49 The burial chapel of Ferdinand and Isabella (the Capilla Real, or Royal Chapel), had already had a hoard of relics from the Holy Land, including an envelope marked *medida del sepulcro* (measure of the Sepulchre), corresponding to the dimensions of Christ's tomb. Beaver, 2013, 73–4.
- 50 Rosenthal, 1961; Rosenthal, 1958. Rosenthal had also argued that the cathedral was intended to be the burial site for Charles V, the possibility of which is discounted by Eisler, 1992.
- 51 Although dismantled during remodeling of 1614, the ciborium is known from an engraving. Freiberg, 2014, 174.
- 52 Kubler, 1990, 418–25.
- 53 Kleinschmidt, 2004, 167.
- 54 Natsheh, 2000, 601–4. The construction coincided with new fortified walls in Mecca and Medina, through which the unity of the three most holy cities of Islam was asserted. Necipoğlu, 2005, 72–3 and 190–1.
- 55 Morris, 2005, 303.

- 56 Including the *Porta Aurea*, *Templum Salomonis*, *Moschea del Soldan*, *Porta de S[ancto] Stefano*, *Cax[a] P[ilati?]*, *[Ecce] Hom[o]*, *Dove fu Flagelato X[risto]*, and *Caxa D(e) Herode*. Segre, 2012, 181 and 195. Segre argues that the fresco of Jerusalem viewed from the Mount of Olives reflects the walls constructed by Süleyman from 1538, but omits the last portion of the walls constructed in 1540, so that therefore the fresco must have been painted before 1540. Even if this is true, the fresco could have been painted from a drawing made earlier in Jerusalem. For another interpretation, see Piccirillo, 2006.
- 57 Nuvolone had maintained that he could read a ruined inscription on the lunette of the Mount of Olives fresco as the signature of the painter Bernardino Lanino, pupil of Gaudenzio Ferrari. Given the continued deterioration of the fresco, this cannot be confirmed. Segre, 2012, 221.
- 58 Necipoğlu, 2008, 61; Bernardini, 2000, 89. See also Necipoğlu, 2005.
- 59 The tiles incorporate an extensive program of inscriptions, which include dates indicating the time frame for their creation: 1545–6 to 1551–2. Necipoğlu, 2008, 62–5.
- 60 Mitchell, 1919–20. The current St. Stephen's Gate, which stands at the beginning of the Way of the Cross, was also reconstructed as part of Süleyman's remaking of the city's walls.
- 61 Schick, 2012, 385–7.
- 62 Morris, 2005, 366.
- 63 Piccirillo, 2009, 364.
- 64 Piccirillo, 1999, 169–70; Piccirillo, 2009, 373; Ragusinus, 1573. On the Ottomans opposing the repair work, see Horn *et al.*, 1962, 36–7. Note that Elzear Horn emphasizes the Tomb was reconstructed according to its *antiqua forma* (ancient form). *Ibid.*, 37. Horn (writing 1724–44) also transcribes letters by Boniface regarding what the Franciscans saw inside the Tomb during the reconstruction. *Ibid.*, 132–4.
- 65 Pringle, 2007, 35.
- 66 In the same years the tensions between the Ottoman authorities and Christian pilgrims were more sharply felt; Melchior von Seydlitz, for example, was arrested while on pilgrimage in 1557, and spent two years with his companions in various prisons. Biddle, 1999, 60. See also Betschart, 1996, 127.
- 67 Roma, 2008, 129–30.
- 68 Campolongo, 1991, 41–2; Coscarella, 2008, 219–22. Coscarella hypothesizes that the ultimate inspiration was from the Franciscans in Jerusalem, and that they may have supplied him with or helped him make drawings of the sanctuaries.
- 69 Massone, 2008.
- 70 Roma, 2008, 130–1.
- 71 *Questa è la vera misura della Pietra sopra la quale fu posto il benedetto corpo di Gesù, dopo schiodato dalla croce ed ivi fu unto ed involto nel lineo*. Gentile, 2008, 46; Roma, 2008, 132.
- 72 *Questa cappella è sulla sommità del Monte Oliveto, e non vi è altro che la pedata del Salvatore nostro*. Roma, 2008, 132.
- 73 Another church with a re-creation of Christ's (single) footprint has been found in the church of San Siro a Sale presso Novi Ligure. The fifteenth-century stone has an inscription: *Questa he la misura del pè del nostro Signore posto nel monte Oliveto et ivi ha molta indulgentia. Hoc opus fecit fieri Lazarinus da Boeris* (This has the measure of the foot of our Lord placed on the Mount of Olives and there it has a great indulgence. This work was made by Lazarinus da Boeris). Gentile, 2008, 46.
- 74 Ragusinus, 1573.
- 75 *In hoc sacello conclusa sunt vestigia pedum Christi, lapidi impressa ... Alterum ad Templum Salomonis delatum est, & ibi ab infidelibus venerator*. *Ibid.*, 63–4.
- 76 Aquilante Rocchetta, who made the pilgrimage in 1598, reported that he saw one footprint on the Mount of Olives because the Turks had taken the other and put it inside the Temple of Solomon (*c'ingenocchiammo tutti nel mezzo di detta Cappella, dove è una pedata di N. Signore perché l'altra l'hanno di là cavato i Turchi, e posto dentro il Tempio di Salomone*). Rocchetta, 1630, 114. Until the sixteenth century, pilgrims had inconsistently referred to one or two footprints, or sometimes two separate stones each with a footprint. See for example Adorno *et al.*, 1978, 277 and Bonnardot and Longnon, 1878, 80.
- 77 Necipoğlu, 2005, 32, 58, and 99–100 (footnote 205), with reference to Ottoman pilgrims describing the footprint of Muhammad in the Dome of the Rock. See also Hasan, 1993. I have not found any evidence of the story of the theft of the footprint until Ragusa's account. Felix Fabri, writing around 1480, refers to the Saracen destruction of parts of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, but notes that they did not disturb the stone with the footprints of Christ, due to their respect for them. Pringle, 2007, 76.
- 78 Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) had entered the Franciscan order in 1505; he studied the Hebrew language, taught Hebrew at the University of Heidelberg from 1524, and sometime after 1529 left the Franciscan

- order and followed Lutheranism. McLean, however, characterizes him as an “adogmatic figure, one aloof from the theological debates” of the period. McLean, 2007, 40; Balz *et al.*, 1994, 407.
- 79 Beaver, 2012, 276.
- 80 Kühnel, 1996, 322. These first maps of ancient Jerusalem presumably relate to the first preserved wooden model of the city, now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich (inv. no. Modell 8). Unfortunately the circumstances for its creation and its date are unknown, although the museum attributes it to Jacob Sandtner, who created a number of wooden models of German cities in the 1560s and 70s.
- 81 Delano-Smith and Ingram, 1991, 81–98 and 121–2.
- 82 Beaver, 2012, 278; Shalev, 2003, 56. A similar map of Jerusalem with the ground-plan of the Temple of Solomon was printed in Geneva. Delano-Smith and Ingram, 1991, 121.
- 83 The view of ancient Jerusalem in the eighth volume is based upon an earlier printed map made by Pieter Lacksteyn; Montano has replaced the ziggurat-like image of the Temple with its ground-plan. Shalev, 2003, 58–63; Balfour, 2012, 180–1. Montano seems to answer Erasmus’ call for an understanding of biblical geography as the basis of an enriched experience of reading Scripture (echoing Jerome): “Once we learn from cosmographers the [biblical] regions, we can follow the shifting scenes of the story in our minds, as if we were being carried along with it, as if we were witnessing the events and not reading them.” Quoted in Beaver, 2012, 270, from Erasmus, 1518.
- 84 Alessi and Perrone, 1974, II: 117.
- 85 Alessi also worked in Perugia, as in 1542, where he worked with Antonio da Sangallo on the Rocca Paolina. Brisca, 2004, 643.
- 86 For the Golden Gate, Alessi envisions the installation of a sculptural group of Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem. In the background, we see the octagonal Temple of Solomon, conflating the projected building at Varallo – to be incorporated into the scenography – with a tradition of depicting the octagonal Temple in pictorial versions of the scene, stretching back to Duccio’s *Maestà*. Moore, 2010b.
- 87 Alessi and Perrone, 1974, I: 43–5. See also Perrone, 1975.
- 88 Hsia, 1998; Göttler, 2013, 430.
- 89 *Illa porro aedificii rotundi species olim idolorum templis in usu fuit, sed minus usitata in populo christiano*. Sinding-Larsen, 1965, 205. See also Voelker, 1977.
- 90 Göttler, 2013, 427–8.
- 91 Algeri, 1979, 108.
- 92 Gill, 2013, 98. Alessi also created the design for the new basilica in 1570 enclosing the Porziuncula, about which the Franciscans were also not happy, especially since the project entailed destroying some of the most ancient buildings associated with their order. Tomei, 1990, 18–22. Writing in the eighteenth century, the Franciscan Elzear Horn observed that Alessi’s design for the Porziuncula enshrined its chapel in the same way that the Church of the Holy Sepulcher did the Tomb of Christ and the Basilica of Loreto the House of Mary. Horn *et al.*, 1962, 37–9.
- 93 Alessi prepared his plans at the request of Giacomo d’Adda, one of the site’s *fabricciere* (an elected local official, responsible for overseeing maintenance of the chapels). Lasansky, 2010, 258.
- 94 Gill, 2013, 102–3.
- 95 Bascapè decreed that visitors to Varallo would visit the chapels individually, without Franciscan guides. Longo, 1994, 369–70.
- 96 Alessi proposed either kiosks placed at center of chapels or flat screens dividing chapels, of which only the screens were constructed. Gill, 2013, 105.
- 97 Göttler, 2013, 433.
- 98 Lasansky, 2010, 260.
- 99 Writing in the eighteenth century, the Franciscan Elzear Horn noted the original location of the Loreto chapel within the subterranean Cave of the Nativity in Nazareth. Horn *et al.*, 1962, 260.
- 100 Benzan, 2014, 202. Alessi had designs for both the Ascension chapel and Chapel of the Transfiguration in the *Libro dei Misteri*.
- 101 Borromeo’s letters of 1584, for example, indicate that he sought to intervene in the decoration of some of the chapels which he considered “very confusing.” Göttler, 2013, 437–8.
- 102 The duke of Savoy was also involved in the continuing development of the sacred mountain at Varallo, financing the Chapel of the Massacre of the Innocents along with his wife, Catherine, Infanta of Spain. Göttler, 2013, 448. In 1583 he made a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain at Varallo. Longo and Fava, 2010, 105. See also Klaiber, 1993, 196.
- 103 Indulgences had been granted to those who visited the chapel by Leo X in 1519, where the Shroud had been permanently installed in 1502. Scott, 2003, 15. The chapel was re-made in the image of Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. *Ibid.*, 39–40.
- 104 Borromeo also attempted to intervene in the efforts to create a proper architectural setting for the Shroud,



- particularly by instructing his architect, Pellegrino Tibaldi, to provide designs for a reliquary chapel. Tamburini, 2000, 91. After visiting in 1582, Borromeo sent the Duke an architectural model for a proposed choir. The letters between Borromeo and Pellegrino on this matter also survive. The duke apparently did not want to respond to Borromeo's wishes, lest the Shroud and its chapel come under the jurisdiction of the archbishop. Scott, 2003, 61–9.
- 105 Klerck, 2014. Borromeo certainly also wished to integrate Milan, his native city and the seat of his archbishopric, into Italy's sacred landscape. Under Borromeo's patronage, the Church of San Sepolcro in Milan was reconstructed, including chapels with polychrome statuary of terracotta like those at Varallo. Twenty-four chapels were to be constructed in the lower church; the project was abandoned with only two of the scenes installed in the upper church, along with the body of Christ at the altar. Longworth, 2009.
- 106 Casper, 2013, 44; Nicolotti, 2014.
- 107 Guissano, 1613, 334–5. These events were recounted more summarily by Bascapè. Bascapè, 1592. An illustration of Borromeo's pilgrimage to Varallo was also published in Bonino, 1610, 33; Gentile, 2000, 49; Stoppa, 1995.
- 108 Guissano, 1613, 340. "La qual cosa egli l'hebbe per gran ventura, per partecipare in qualche modo de i tormenti, che Christo nostro Redentore haveva patiti nella dolorosa sua Passione, figurati, & espresso nel lenzuolo Santissimo, nel quale si vedono chiari i segni delle piaghe, e del sangue sparso; si come vi si scorge similmente benissimo tutta la figura del Signore, & ogni sua parte distintamente impressa, tanto la parte anteriore del corpo, quanto la posteriore."
- 109 *Ibid.*, 244. "Gli restò talmente impressa nel cuore la memoria delle piaghe di Giesù Christo nostro Signore, e de i dolori della sua amara Passione, per la visita della S. Sindone, e si gran dolore ne sentiva nell'animo, che volle andare al Monte Sacro di Varallo, dove sono espressi tutti i misteri d'essa passione in diverse Capellette sparse per quell Monte, per meditarla, e piangerla ivi solitario a suo modo."
- 110 *Ibid.*, 345 and 372–3. For Borromeo as an *alter Franciscus*, see Hood, 1984, 306.
- 111 Nicolas, 1986, 41–2.
- 112 Gregg, 2004; Göttler, 2013, 395.
- 113 From 1590, the sacred mountain incorporated a hotel for pilgrims and a gift shop, where this and other pamphlets with maps and a checklist of the chapels could be purchased. Hood, 1984, 302. See also Longo, 1996, for a discussion of the books that were in the two convents at Varallo, which included a version of the *Meditations* which ultimately would have inspired this guide.
- 114 Göttler, 2013, 437. It is known that Borromeo asked Gabriele Paleotti to review his manuscript, and the book produced by Paoletti – the *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images) of 1582 – presumably reflects some of Borromeo's thinking. Göttler, 2013, 401. Paoletti compares the Holy House of Loreto to the Shroud in Turin and Veronica's veil, all as paradigms of sacred images. Paleotti *et al.*, 2012, 99–100.
- 115 Lasansky, 2010, 264; Göttler, 2013, 399.
- 116 Calvin ridiculed the Shroud in a printed sermon in 1543. Scott, 2003, 15.
- 117 A bull of 1587 issued by Sixtus V mandated the reform of the sacred mountain under the bishop of Novara, again emphasizing the need to "stabilize" the place. Gentile, 2008, 40; Balosso, 1995.
- 118 Grossman, 2002, 185–7. The installation of a recreation of the Shroud of Turin at Varallo in the 1480s may be the result of Borromeo's personal involvement at Varallo's sacred mountain, or it may have been installed shortly after Borromeo's death as a commemoration of his pilgrimage. Another possibility is that the duke of Savoy gave it to the mountain (although we could imagine Borromeo being involved in this as well). Benzan, 2014, 132. Longo suggests it may have been donated by Gerolama d'Adda. Longo, 1994, 278. The connection between Turin and Varallo extended back into the early sixteenth century. In 1520, the Augustinians offered to officiate at the Church of Nostra Signora di Superga and erect on the hill "mysteries of the Holy Sepulcher" (*misteri del Santo Sepolcro*), a plan that was never realized. A similar plan emerged again in connection with the Capuchins at Santa Maria del Monte in Turin, also never undertaken. Gentile, 2008, 41.
- 119 Benzan, 2014, 132. *Inventario delle suppelletti li, argento gioielli esistenti nelle chiesa del Sacro Monte* (1618, 11v), Archivio Civico Varallo, M 23. Fasola says it was kept at the doorway to the Hospice where they planned to build the *Coming of the Holy Spirit*. Fassola, 1671, 117; Benzan, 2014, 132–3.
- 120 Lasansky, 2010, 258. The decoration of the chapel was completed by Pier Francesco Mazzucchelli (il Morazzone) (frescoes) and Jean de Wespign

- (Tabachetti) (sculptures); see Longo, 1994. The veil is an actual piece of canvas. Benzan, 2014, 104.
- 121 Longo, 1994, 402. The Veronica had been exhibited at the 1575 Jubilee in Rome; in 1578 the Shroud of Turin was also exhibited. Casper, 2013, 44.
- 122 Benzan, 2014, 147.
- 123 In the midst of the renovations of Varallo in the 1560s, 70s, and 80s, the small Chapel of the Tomb of Mary was left unaltered, as a relic of the original foundation. The small rectangular chapel perched on the side of the hilltop was intended to re-create the Tomb of Mary in Jerusalem, but its form would have resonated with the Loretan Holy House as well as the Porziuncula outside Assisi. The latter, originally dedicated to the Tomb of Mary, was enclosed within a monumental basilica planned by Galeazzo Alessi. Tomei, 2001.
- 124 *Een devote maniere om gheestelyck pelgrimage te trecken tot den heylighen lande als te Jherusalem, Bethleem, ter Jordanen ...* Van Herwaarden, 2003, 73. Jan Pascha's book was written sometime before the authors death in 1532, but was only published in Louvain in 1563. Pascha, 1563.
- 125 *Ierusalem, et suburbia eius, sicut tempore Christi floruit ...* Balfour, 2012, 184–5; Adrichem, 1584.
- 126 Van Herwaarden, 2003, 75 and 96.
- 127 Siew, 2008, 17; Nebenzahl, 1986, 90.
- 128 Adrichem, 1590.
- 129 Piccirillo, 2009, 366–7; Moldovan, 1983.
- 130 For example, he includes an illustration of the “house of the rich man” (Luke 16:19–31) identified by pilgrims since the end of the fourteenth century, perhaps specifically with the ornate Madrasa al-Jaharkasiyah. Schick, 2012, 378–80.
- 131 Fra Antonio presents himself as an Observant friar born in Lecce (in Apulia), and says that he was in Jerusalem for seven years where he created the map. He also made a map of Rome, published in 1576. Piccirillo, 2009, 367.
- 132 Siew, 2008, 28; Nebenzahl, 1986, 63. See also Beaver, 2012.
- 133 Van Herwaarden, 2003, 75.
- 134 *Ibid.*, 81–2 for Latin, 83–5 for English translation. The passage is accompanied by a printed line, with which the reader can calculate the exact measurements used by Adrichem.
- 135 On Mechelen's Way of the Cross, which was relocated in 1586 from outside the city to the city's fortifications, see Sempels, 1949, 611. Adrichem focuses upon Louvain as the model for the Way of the Cross, reflecting its significance for Jan van Pascha and also Adrichem himself, who had spent several years at the city's Catholic university. Van Adrichem spent ten years of theological training in the university in Leuven, where his uncle was a lecturer, and returned to Brabant after the religious troubles surfaced in Delft and Utrecht, spending further years in Mechelen. Adrichem, 1584, 124–5; Kirkland-Ives, 2013, 142.
- 136 He also cites the Franciscan Boniface of Ragusa's book (Ragusinus, 1573) as an important precedent. Zuallardo, 1587, preface. In his description of the Church of the Ascension, Zuallardo draws attention to the one footprint of Christ, indicating that the other had been taken to the “modern temple of Solomon” by the Turks. Zuallardo, 1587, 173.
- 137 Zuallardo, 1587. A related Latin edition was modified by Cotovicus and printed in Antwerp in 1619. Cotovicus, 1619; Levy-Rubin and Rubin, 1996, 370–4.
- 138 Piccirillo, 2009, 368.
- 139 For woodcut illustrations related to those in Zuallardo's book, see Betschart, 1996, 112 and 126.
- 140 Pirro Ligorio's print (*Civitas Hierusalem*) was also republished in Venice in the 1560s by Donato Bertelli.
- 141 Betschart, 1996, 140.
- 142 Ostrow, 1996, 34. Fontana also includes an account to Loreto, suggesting that he conceived of Rome's pilgrimage network as extending to the papal basilica and the Holy House. The Tempietto was also integrated, especially through the construction of a new road from the Ponte Sisto to the Gianicolo. Freiberg, 2014, 163.
- 143 *Exorcizote, creatura lapidis, in nomine Dei.* Cole, 2009, 65–6.
- 144 Blancus, 1586, 5.
- 145 Fontana generally characterizes Sixtus V's actions as eradicating the memory of idolatry from the city. “Di qui è, che nel primio anno, che dalla providenza del sommo Motore fu assunto al Pontificato, con ogni forza possibile cercò, non solo di reprimere, ma di levare affatto la memoria de gli Idoli, che tanto furono da Pagani esaltati con le piramidi, con gli obelischi, con le colonne, co' tempi et con altri famosi edifici.” Fontana, 1590, 3.
- 146 In a guidebook for pilgrims to Rome published in 1588, the author, Pompeo Ugonio, refers to Sixtus V as the New Moses in taking from the Egyptians their vessels of gold and silver and employing them for the cult of the true God. Ugoni, 1588, 90–1.

- 147 Ostrow, 1996, 60.
- 148 Nagel, 2011, 221–59.
- 149 For earlier experiments in replacing figural altarpieces with micro-architectural sacrament tabernacles, see *ibid.*, 405–6 and Waldman, 1999, 54.
- 150 In the same period, a sacrament tabernacle resembling the Tempietto was designed for the high altar of San Lorenzo at the Escorial under Philip II. The tabernacle was completed by 1585 and is described in 1626 as being like the Tempietto in Rome. The tabernacle does not survive, but is known from prints. Freiberg, 2014, 175.
- 151 Nagel, 2005, 404. A significant example was also provided by the sacrament tabernacle designed by Pellegrino Tibaldi for Milan Cathedral under Borromeo. *Ibid.*, 254–5.
- 152 Lavin, 2007, 110–11; Pancirolli, 1600.
- 153 Witcombe, 1985, 369–73. Fontana, 1590, 70.
- 154 Frescoes depicting scenes from the Passion of Christ were created under the direction of Cesare Nebbia for the walls enclosing the Scala Santa. Witcombe, 1985, 374.
- 155 Hoffmann and Wolf, 2009, 408–9.
- 156 Benzan, 2014, 43.
- 157 Göttler, 2013, 403; Pizzetta, 1996, 12; Longo, 1994, 397. The frescoes are attributed to Pier Francesco Mazzucchelli (Il Morazzone) (1571–1626) and Giovanni D’Enrico (c. 1560–1644), based upon a contract of 1609.
- 158 Longo, 1994, 403; Lasansky, 2010, 261.
- 159 The inspiration may have come from Carlo Bascapè’s pilgrimage to Rome during the Jubilee of 1600. Pomi, 2008, 148–9.
- 160 Benzan notes that while in Rome the Scala Santa is extracted from any narrative linearity, at Varallo it is placed in its proper narrative context. Benzan, 2014, 154. See also Longo, 1994, 414–16.
- 161 “[T]he screen at Varallo enables the translation of the chapel’s palpable corporeality ‘into image.’” Benzan, 2014, 95.
- 162 Pomi, 2008, 149.
- 163 Orta, founded in 1583, presents the life of St. Francis in twenty-three chapels. Varese was founded in 1604 by Federico Borromeo, presenting the fifteen mysteries of the rosary in chapels designed by Giuseppe Bernascone. There was an older installation at Varese relating to the mystery of the Crucifixion. Gentile, 2008, 41. In 1614, Federico planned the sacred mountain at Arona, to have fifteen chapels by Carlo Fontana presenting the life of Carlo Borromeo. The sacred mountain was never finished, with the exception of the 70-foot-high statue of Borromeo holding the decrees of the Council of Trent, completed in 1697. Lasansky, 2010, 252.
- 164 Longo and Fava, 2010, 109; D’Adda, 1605.
- 165 Ferrari is quoting a sonnet by Giuseppe Ravelli: *Or, che niega essequir le voglie pronte / d’irte il rio Turco, peregrin devoto, / adorar, a Sion la Tomba, e ’l voto, / sciorre a l’eterno Dio, di gratie fonte, / vientene di Verallo al Sacro Monte; / ove vedrai il luogo al fedel noto, / e da l’empia infedel gente remoto, / nuova Sion, senza contese, et onte.* Quoted in Longo and Fava, 2010, 109; Ferrari, 1613.
- 166 The map contains Italian inscriptions corresponding to numbered locations. The upper inscription draws attention to the question of the modern city’s relation to the ancient one, especially regarding the location of the walls.
- 167 Note that the Palace of Pilate more resembles Fontana’s recently constructed building for the Scala Santa in Rome rather than any structure along the Way of the Cross in Jerusalem.
- 168 Amico, 1610; Amico, 1620.
- 169 Bernardino Amico returned with his drawings to Italy in 1609 and gave them to Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630). Tempesta created twenty copperplates from Amico’s thirty-eight drawings for the first edition published in 1610. Amico, 1610.
- 170 Amico *et al.*, 1953, 12.
- 171 Amico, 1620, 18; Amico *et al.*, 1953, 2.
- 172 Serlio, 1545.
- 173 In the dedication, Amico describes the poor conditions for pilgrims and how the Ottomans now possess Christian sacred places, particularly those on Mount Sion and the Mount of Olives. Amico also claims that the Ottomans physically threatened the sacred buildings, as in his description of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which – he says – had been stripped of precious stones to decorate their mosque in Jerusalem. Amico, 1620, 1.
- 174 Translated from the dedication of the 1620 edition. Amico, 1620, [n.p.].
- 175 Beaver, 2013, 59; Miera, 2001, 439.
- 176 Philip III had given financial assistance to the friars. Amico *et al.*, 1953, 14.
- 177 The second edition, whose engravings were created by Jacques Callot, was printed in Florence in 1620 with forty-seven illustrations engraved on thirty-four copper plates. Amico, 1620; Piccirillo, 2009, 375.
- 178 Morris, 2005, 383; Tesi, 1993, 147–9; Rinaldi, 1992, 336.
- 179 Amico, 1620, 24.



- 180 *Ibid.*, 25; Murphy-O'Connor, 2012, 113–14.
- 181 Amico, 1620, 25.
- 182 Piccirillo, 2009, 378.
- 183 Piccirillo, 1999, 177; Amico *et al.*, 1953, 12.
- 184 Piccirillo argues that the models were directly based upon the scaled drawings made by Bernardino Amico. Piccirillo, 2007, 50. For the example illustrated here, once the property of Sir Hans Sloane and now in the British Museum, see *ibid.*, 182.
- 185 The choice to start with the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem reflects an ordering of the edifices according to the chronology of the life of Christ. Note that Amico entirely omits Nazareth and the Cave of the Annunciation, reflecting the widely held belief that the building had been transported to Loreto.
- 186 “Il secondo disegno, che segue, è tutto il corpo della passata pianta, tirato in prospettiva, qual per poter veder bene, e distintamente è necessario pigliare il suo punto, ò centro con la sua distanza proportionata, che si dimostra per la linea posta sopra il medesimo disegno, avvertendo però, che non si facci, come d’alcuni, che pigliando la Carta nelle mani uniscono l’occhio loro con quello della linea, guardandola per traverso; ma si deve mettere il disegno nelle mani, e serrando un’occhio, con l’altro mirar il punto con tanta distanza, quanto è lunga la linea, stando in maestà, ò in frontespizio, come vogliamo dire, & anco fuor di squadra secondo sarà fatta la figura, e fermando l’occhio per linea retta, e poi girandolo senza moto della testa, si vedrà il tutto di rilievo, come se fosse fabbricato di materia.” Amico, 1620, 7.
- 187 Note that in the account of the *Presepio*, Amico explains that a piece of marble is in the place of the wooden crib, which had been carried to Rome. *Ibid.*, 10.
- 188 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 189 Summers, 2003, 431.
- 190 “[N]el pavimento di duro, e marmorea sasso stà impressa, come se fosse in cera, la forma d’un piede del Nostro Salvator Giesù Christo, e sono gl’ultimi vestigi, che lasciò salendo al Cielo . . . L’altra pedata si dice, che l’hanno tolta i Turchi, e la tengono nel loro tempio, con molta veneratione, come anco quell’altra nel sudetto Monte, pure loro Moschea, dove molte volte impediscono ingresso à nostri Padri, e Peregrini con molto disgusto, e travaglio.” Amico, 1620, 46.
- 191 “Questo disegno è un Tempio, il quale essendo edificato nel lugo, dove era quello di Salamone, have anco usurpato il suo nome; poiche del predetto non vi è pure un minimo vestigio, eccetto la piazza essendo stato da quindici volte distrutto, e saccheggiato; quello era lungo, e stretto, questo e sferico di dentro, e di fuori, hà otto angoli, in somma è vero, che non è quello antico nè parte di quello.” *Ibid.*, 47.
- 192 A fresco of Jerusalem was created in 1610 for the Franciscan Monastery of St. Joseph, Brescia, apparently inspired by Amico’s map of modern Jerusalem. Piccirillo, 2009, 387.
- 193 Amico, 1620, 55; Piccirillo, 2009, 370.
- 194 Piccirillo, 1999, 174–5. Piccirillo asserts that the drawings were the basis for reproductions of chapels of sacred mountains in Italy, but does not give any references or details.
- 195 Cracraft, 1988, 70–3; Lidov, 2009, 9. For the related models, see Piccirillo, 2007, 88 and 135.
- 196 Ousterhout, 1997–8, 403.
- 197 Merlin, 1991, 198–200.
- 198 Longo and Fava, 2010, 33. The connections to Amico’s Treatise are less obvious; in addition to the idea of using the drawings to inspire a crusade, Favi includes reference to the chapel at Matariyya. BRT Ms. Casa Savoia, II, 12, fol. 31. *Ibid.*, 193. Favi notes that now the chapel at Matariyya is “disgustingly profaned” (*sporcamente profanato*). Favi also refers to the right footprint of Christ having been taken from the Mount of Olives by the Turks and put in the *moderno Tempio di Salomone* (modern Temple of Solomon), reiterating a story told in the books by Amico, Zuallardo, and Boniface of Ragusa. BRT Ms. Casa Savoia, II, 12, fol. 93. *Ibid.*, 216.
- 199 Important treatises on the theological significance of the Shroud were published in Bologna, beginning with Paleotti’s. Paleotti, 1599.
- 200 BRT Ms. Casa Savoia, II, 12 and BL Ms. Add. 33566. For the Turin manuscript, including a complete transcription of the text and several illustrations, see Longo and Fava, 2010. While the Turin manuscript refers to the author as Vincenzo Fani, his correct name appears to be Vincenzo Favi, as in the British Library copy. On the variants, see Sciolla and Griseri, 1985, 219. In the same years, the Bolognese painter Francesco Cavazzoni created an illustrated manuscript relating to his voyage of 1616. The unusual production of illustrated manuscripts by two Bolognese in the same years (*c.* 1615/16), in a period when printing dominated books created on the subject of the Holy Land, suggests a mutual inspiration for these two works. Cavazzoni’s is entitled, *Il viaggio da Bologna al Santo Sepolcro, e a Gerusalemme, con le descrizioni di*

- tutte le cose notabili da lui vedute, e con i documenti e avvisi ai pellegrini, i quali viaggiano in quei posti, con le vedute delle città, e dei Luoghi Santi, il tutto disegnato a penna con grandissima diligenza maestria nell'anno 1616. The manuscript is Ms. 704 of the Musée Condé of Chantilly, published in Cavazzoni, 2000. The illustrations are primarily of scenes from the life of Christ relating to the sacred places in the Holy Land.
- 201 The surviving examples of models are predominantly of the Holy Sepulcher, Church of the Nativity, and Tomb of Mary. Piccirillo, 2007.
- 202 BRT Ms. Casa Savoia, II, 12, fol. 71r. Longo and Fava, 2010, 44 and 208.
- 203 BL Ms. Add. 33566, fol. 96r; BRT Ms. Casa Savoia, II, 12, fol. 127r. Longo and Fava, 2010, 230. For a later example of a drawing of the tombs of the Latin kings, see Horn *et al.*, 1962, 70–1.
- 204 BL Ms. Add. 33566, fol. 86r; BRT Ms. Casa Savoia, II, 12, fols. 111r–112r. Longo and Fava, 2010, 223–4.
- 205 Rossi, 2001.
- 206 Ronen, 1970.
- 207 Pritchard, 2010.
- 208 The location and form of this chapel – potentially a rotunda – has been debated. Tamburini, 2000; Scott, 2003, 70.
- 209 Vesely, 2004, 196; Scott, 2003, 72–5.
- 210 Scott, 2003, 76–7. According to Scott, the chapel's circular shape was only definitively established by the architect Bernardino Quadri (c. 1625–95).
- 211 Scott, 1995, 418–19.
- 212 Scott, 2003, 92–3. Guarini died in 1683, and Donato Rosseti was appointed supervisor for the completion of the chapel. *Ibid.*, 114.
- 213 One of the inlaid models of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, probably based on Amico's scaled drawings, apparently entered the ducal collections in Turin, sometime after it was made in the second half of the seventeenth century. It is now in the Museo Civico d'Arte Antico. Piccirillo, 2007, 72.
- 214 The Shroud had been acquired by duke Louis of Savoy in 1453; one of his ancestors was St. Louis, king of France, who had obtained the Crown of Thorns. Scott, 2003, 13. Julius II had designated the ducal chateau in Chambéry a *cappella sancta* with decrees issued in 1506 and 1507. *Ibid.*, 15.
- 215 [S]e nelle altre pitture si loda il verisimile, in questa si loda il vero, essendo il tipo e il prototipo, la copia e l'originale, l'ideato e l'idea, il colorito e il colore, il pittore e la pittura tutto una cosa. Tesauro, 1659, II: 38. Quoted in Casper, 2013, 54.
- 216 Scott, 2003, 145–8. Although we do not know which material was used for the Unction Stone in the period when pilgrims described it as green or black, serpentine is a possibility.
- 217 Felix Fabri describes the Unction Stone as a *niger lapis, quibusdam rubeis maculis respersus, bene politus*. Fabri and Hassler, 1843, I: 305. Michele da Figline says it is almost like porphyry (*una pietra quasi come porfido*). Figline and Montesano, 2010, 102. Caravaggio had recently drawn attention to the relic in an altarpiece made by 1603 for the Chapel of the Pietà in Santa Maria in Vallicella in Rome. The moment of Christ's death is presented as the beginning of the life of the material relics of the Shroud and the Unction Stone, as Christ's fingertips graze the side of the dark stone. The painting had traditionally been identified as an Entombment scene, but Graeve argues that the altarpiece should be considered a *Pietà*, reflecting the dedication of the chapel for which it was created. In this context, Graeve was the first to argue that the painting shows the Unction Stone, rather than the Tomb of Christ. Graeve, 1958. This identification has been disputed, although I think it is clear that the Shroud was particularly associated with the Unction Stone.
- 218 Quaresmio, 1639, II: 494.
- 219 Scott, 2003, 55.
- 220 *Ibid.*, 150.
- 221 *Ibid.*, 116.
- 222 *Ibid.*, 12 and 143.
- 223 Santje, 1997, 318. For the examples in Latin America, see Alcalá, 2007.
- 224 The chapel in Prague was commissioned by Katharina von Lobkowitz. Stannek, 1994, 238. Such chapels were also constructed in Italy. Simone, 2006, 115. See also Stannek, 1997, 291–327. Stannek, like Santje, counts over a hundred replicas of the Holy House from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Santje, 1997, 323–7. On the role of pilgrimage in the renewal of Catholicism in seventeenth-century Germany, see Forster, 2001, 84–97.
- 225 Dalman, 1922, 118–19; Kühnel, 2012b, 108–9.
- 226 Kroesen, 2000, 130. For other examples, see Zanzi *et al.*, 2002.
- 227 Tenenti, 2003.
- 228 A re-creation of the Scala Santa was constructed at Santa Margherita di Bevagna, in Perugia, and incorporated a re-creation of the Shroud of Turin. An inscription indicates that the dimensions were “taken from the original, Turin on June 10, 1677” (*Extractum*

- ab originali, Taurini sub 10 junii 1677*). Sensi, 2006, 54. The Scala Santa was also re-created in Turin, at San Lorenzo. The site survey of 1670 for the church, undertaken before reconstruction, indicates that a chapel dedicated to the Scala Santa was already in place. Klaiber, 1993, 238–9. Horn refers to other recreations of the Scala Santa: Horn *et al.*, 1962, 141.
- 229 Longo and Fava, 2010, 110; Nanni, 1626.
- 230 Quaresmio, 1639. Quaresmio was in Jerusalem from 1616 to 1634 and died in 1656. Piccirillo, 1999, 171; Pringle, 2007, 35.
- 231 Pringle, 2007, 36.
- 232 Quaresmio, 1639, II: 585. Quaresmio also includes the Latin text of Adomnán's descriptions, together with Bede's versions. According to a marginal note, the printed ground-plans were based upon the ninth-century manuscript in Brussels (BRB Ms. 3921–2).
- 233 Horn *et al.*, 1962, 146–57.
- 234 Schama, 1995, 440–3.
- 235 In Vienna, a Way of the Cross from the center of the city was inaugurated in 1639 to celebrate the victory of the Catholic Church over Protestantism. For eighteenth- and nineteenth-century examples, see Kühnel, 2012a, 260.
- 236 Cracraft, 1988, 70–3.

## EPILOGUE

- 1 Lara, 2004, 66.
- 2 Quaresmio, 1639.
- 3 Alcalá, 1998, Alcalá, 2007, and Sanfaçon, 2001.
- 4 Sandys, 1615, ii. Collectively, the colonies formed both the new Eden, to be populated by the new Adam, and at the same time the new Zion, where laws would be mandated according to the Bible, as asserted in John Eliot's *Christian Commonwealth* (1659), for example. Vogel, 1993, xv and 30–1.
- 5 Schweigger, 1608. Schweigger also lived in Istanbul and published the first German-language translation of the Qur'an, printed in Nuremberg in 1616. For another example see Hellfrich, 1578. Some publishers with an international audience in mind may have wished to promote interest in illustrated pilgrimage narratives among Protestant audiences. Georg Richter, in his preface for the German edition of Christoph Fürer's pilgrimage account, draws attention to Jerome as the model pilgrim. Richter even claims that Philip Melanchthon, a close associate of Martin Luther and significant early leader

- within the Reformation, was fond of Bernhard von Breydenbach's book. This, and other interesting examples of pilgrimage guidebooks written by Protestants, is discussed in Clark, 2013.
- 6 Pococke, 1743.
- 7 Medvedkova, 2014, 431–2.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 433–4.
- 9 Thackeray, 1889; Barclay, 1858, esp. xv.
- 10 Piccirillo, 2002, 191; Ousterhout, 2009b.
- 11 Shalev, 2011a, 1–2; Goldhill, 2013, 79. On Robinson's dismissal of these sites, see Robinson and Smith, 1841, I: 344.
- 12 Davis, 2004, 6.
- 13 Vogel, 1993, 27. It was the same period in which American naval expeditions sought to find a trade route over the Jordan River and Dead Sea. The British had first explored these possibilities, hoping for a direct trade route to India, earlier in the century. Silberman, 1982, 23 and 61.
- 14 Silberman, 1982, 39; Nassar, 2006, 80. On the similar British views, see Moscrop, 2000, 14.
- 15 Nassar, 2006, 71–3. The British also commenced Anglican missionary activities in Jerusalem in the same period.
- 16 Robinson and Smith, 1841, I: 46; Vogel, 1993, 30
- 17 Vogel, 1993, 4
- 18 "Let us mount yon winding path up Olivet's sacred height ... [F]ollow my pencil while I rapidly sketch the scene spread out beneath, where rests the unhappy city, like an invalid lingering out a sickly existence, under the atmosphere of a false religion, the creed of Islam." Banvard, 1853, 8. For Church's related painting of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, see Davis, 1996, 61.
- 19 Davis, 1996, 63.
- 20 Stanley, 1856, 186. Church had a copy of this book with notes written in the margins. Davis, 1996, 241, footnote 48.
- 21 Silberman, 1982, 43.
- 22 Robinson and Smith, 1841, I: 438. David Roberts echoed this in the caption for his illustration of the Golden Gate: "By the Moslem, however, it is kept constantly walled up, from a singular dread, that through it a king shall enter, who is to make himself master not only of Jerusalem, but of the globe. And that their vigilance, at least, may not be wanting to avert the conquest, they keep a sentinel constantly on duty in a tower flanking the gateway." Roberts, 1842–5, I: 15. There are many other examples, including in the popular *Earthly Footsteps of the Man of Galilee*. Vincent *et al.*, 1894, 236.



- 23 Banvard, 1853, 11. For Banvard's panorama, see Huhtamo, 2013, 189. From 1854, Banvard's panorama was also exhibited in other American cities, until at least 1863. Davis, 1996, 70.
- 24 Previous panoramas of the Holy Land, like Frederick Catherwood's, were stationary. Davis, 1996, 56.
- 25 Thomson, 1858, I: 503. On the popularity of the book, see Vogel, 1993, 105.
- 26 Twain and Matthews, 1911, 330.
- 27 Not all Protestants rejected the authenticity of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in this period. The Revd. George Williams, an Anglican, for example, argued against Fergusson's theories and supported the researches of Ermete Pierotti. Williams and Pierotti, 1864.
- 28 Fergusson, 1865; Moscrop, 2000, 42.
- 29 Silberman, 1982, 151.
- 30 De Vogüé, 1973, iv; De Vogüé, 1860; De Vogüé, 1864.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 1973, v.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 119. The French monarch had also been the official protector of the holy sites on behalf of Catholicism since 1525. Silberman, 1982, 8.
- 33 Balfour, 2012, 206.
- 34 Conrad Schick produced a related model, exhibited in Vienna from 1873 to 1875, as he imagined that he might be asked in the future to design the reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Balfour, 2012, 209; Goldhill, 2013, 129. On Pontchateau, see Bresc-Bautier, 1989, 229–30.
- 35 *A Guide to the Franciscan Monastery*, 1914. The buildings, mostly constructed in the first two decades of the twentieth century, were initially based upon the measurements and photographs of Fr. Schilling, who visited the Holy Land.
- 36 Rowan, 2004, 257–8.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 235; Long, 2003, 16–27.
- 38 Davis, 1996, 92.
- 39 As, for example, expressed by the Revd. A. D. Vail in the 1880s. Long, 2003, 15.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 34–5. Long also compares the canopy that enclosed the model with the Dome of the Rock.
- 41 Monk, 2002, 25; Wharton, 2006, 206.
- 42 Silberman, 1982, 91.
- 43 Pullan *et al.*, 2013, 51–2.
- 44 Gordon, 1884, vii–viii; Monk, 2002, 28.
- 45 Pullan *et al.*, 2013, 56.
- 46 Monk, 2002, 25.
- 47 Wilson, for example, was unconvinced by Gordon's claim and believed that the traditional site was probably correct. Silberman, 1982, 153.
- 48 Davis, 1996, 74. Stereoscopes of the Holy Land had been made since the 1860s. Nassar, 2006, 132.
- 49 Hurlbut, 1911; Long, 2003, 89–90. Views of the Holy Land were the most popular of the stereographic images in the United States. Vogel, 1993, 10.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 11.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 75.
- 52 Hurlbut, 1911, 35–7; Nassar, 2006, iii and 111.
- 53 Nassar, 2006, 121–43.
- 54 “The Great World's Fair at St. Louis, 1904,” 415.
- 55 Silberman, 1982, 154.
- 56 Fletcher, 1905, 209.
- 57 Davis, 1996, 95; Rowan, 2004, 259.
- 58 Vogel, 1993, 213–14. Wilson had established that the structures known as Solomon's Stables could not be Solomonic or Herodian. He proposed that they were related to the pinnacle of the Temple described by pilgrims. Wilson and Warren, 1871, 180–1.
- 59 Vogel, 1993, 215.
- 60 Fletcher, 1905, 145 and 208.
- 61 Long, 2003, 49.
- 62 Shamir, 2012, 101–3.
- 63 Elmendorf, 1912.
- 64 Nassar discusses a similar example of a stereoscopic photograph whose caption asks the viewer to imagine the Temple Mount as the setting for King Solomon's procession. Nassar, 2006, 137–8.
- 65 Elmendorf, 1912, 54. The idea of the camera as a weapon in the invasion of Palestine was not original, although previous allusions had been more subtle. See, for example, Vincent *et al.*, 1894, introduction (n.p.).
- 66 Elmendorf, 1912, 43.
- 67 Balfour, 2012, 212.
- 68 Nassar, 2006, 133–4; Wharton, 2006, 156–7.
- 69 Elmendorf, 1912, 49.
- 70 Long, 2003, 32–3 and 214.
- 71 Pullan *et al.*, 2013, 56; Monk, 2002, 18. On the concept of the purification of Jerusalem under the British, see Wharton, 2008, 42.
- 72 Wharton, 2008, 45; Monk, 2002, 71.
- 73 Pullan *et al.*, 2013, 59.
- 74 *Ibid.*, 60.
- 75 Geddes, 1919, 18–19. Although these ideas would continue to inform planning after the British Mandate, the extent of the nature reserve actually implemented after World War II would be of greatly reduced scale. Pullan *et al.*, 2013, 61–2.
- 76 For example, see Lee, 1920.
- 77 Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, 2014, 51.
- 78 Madden and Rethi, 1964.

- 79 Cohen, 2008, 43.
- 80 The idea was formed earlier, in 1934, by Luigi Barlassina, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem; a proposal was first offered by the apostolic delegate, Monsignor Testa; Cohen, 2008, 56 and 78.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 64–5.
- 82 Ousterhout, 2009b, 886; Baldi *et al.*, 1949.
- 83 Corbo, 1981a, 1981b, and 1981c; Ousterhout, 2009b, 886; Madden and Rethi, 1964.
- 84 Davis, 2004, 11.
- 85 See Wharton's related comments on illusionism in Western art, in Wharton, 2006, 234–5.
- 86 Stockdale, 2004; Wharton, 2006, 189–97.
- 87 Lukens-Bull and Fafard, 2007, 11–14.
- 88 Long, 2003, 76.
- 89 *Ibid.*, 79.
- 90 Reiter and Reiter, 2008, 52; Luz, 2014. See also Wharton, 2006, 222–3.
- 91 Reiter and Reiter, 2008, 47.
- 92 The simulation is credited to the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Urban Simulation Team at UCLA. On the relation of the UCLA reconstruction to the Holy Land Experience in Orlando, see Wharton, 2006, 228.
- 93 Benedikt, 1992, 14–15.
- 94 *Ibid.*, 4. On the suppression of embodiment in the theorization of cyberspace, see Downes, 2005.

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iuxta numerum xii. scorum apostolorum semper die  
 ac nocte ardentes lucent. & quibus. iiii. inimo illius  
 lectuli sepulchralis loco inferius positis. Nunc uero  
 bis quaternales super maginem eius superius collocat  
 ad latus dexterum oleo nutriente pfulgent. Sed & hoc  
 & iam notandum esse uideatur. Quod maxime us oleum  
 saluatoris hoc e saepe supra memoratum tegurium  
 speleum si ihu xpo in ea sepulto propheta uaticinatur  
 dicens. Hic habitauit in excelsa spelunca petre for  
 tissime. & paulo post de ipsius dni resurrectione ad  
 apostolos lasificandos sub inferitur. Regem cum glo  
 ria uidebitis. Supra dictae igitur rotundae ecclae  
 formulam cum rotundo teguriolo in medio eius  
 collocato in cuius aquilonali parte dominicum habet  
 sepulchrum. subiecta declarat pictura. Nec non  
 scorum aliarum figurar eclesiarum. de quibus inferi  
 us intinabitur.

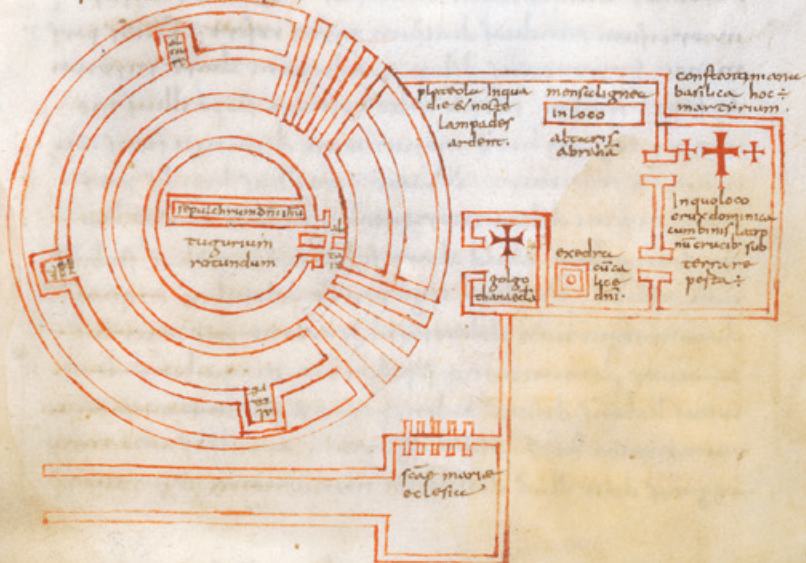


Plate 1 Church of the Holy Sepulcher, ZB Ms. Rh. 73, fol. 5r, ninth century (Photo: ZB)



Et nocte Lucerne. In occidentali eiusdem civitate  
 parte fenestre octo. eandemq. regione Lampade  
 infirmitate portantes. usq. ierusalimam puarum  
 fulgent. **L**uxuriam lux. corda inuicem un  
 cam quatenus calacritate. et compunctione pau  
 facere victrix. **I**ndie. ascensionis omnes per  
 annos fragulos missa. per adu. uali distiguntis  
 pcella desursum. rudine confucit. et om  
 qua in ecclā. ad fuerit. tere pster uero. **T**or  
 illi nocte illa. lucerne ardem. ut non illustrari  
 tantū. sed et ardere mony. et supposita loca uide  
 amur. **A**rbuis quoq. basilice figuram. p oculis  
 cepingere placuit.



**M**onumentum lazari. ecclā ibidem extructa  
 demonstrat. et monasterium grande in campo  
 quodam behanis magna obuarum silua circumdato.  
**I**t aut bebhama quindecim stadiis ab ierusalem.

Plate 2 Church of the Ascension, ÖNB Ms. 580, fol. 12v, eleventh century (Photo: ÖNB)



De quadā pergrandi basilica in eo constructa. quae lā breuī suc-  
cinctaq; intimanda. Cuius sic describitur formula.



memorabilis & stat ad occidentalem partem eius p̄tra. sup quam ut-  
festur dñs flagellatus est. Habet itaq; aptica beata ut sup̄ dictū ē.  
In montis sion superiore campestri planitie. lapidex ē. fabri-  
cata structura. **LXXV** In illo agello qui ebraice acheldemag-  
uocatur. Hunc paruum agellulū. ad australem montis sion  
plagam sitū n̄r arcufus saepe frequentans uisitauit. lapidū ma-  
ceriā habentē. In q̄ diligentius plurimi humantur peregrini.  
Alii ū & ipsi aut pannis aut pelliculis t̄cti. negligentius relin-  
quuntur. sup terrae faciem putrefacti iacentes inhumati.  
**LXX** **A**belia septentrionem uersus. usq; samuelis ciuitate. que asmathē  
nominatur. terra p̄ & rosa & aspera. p̄ quadā monstrat̄ inter-  
ualla; Ualles quoq; spinosae. usq; ad tamnicā regionē paten-  
tes. Aliter ū asup̄ dicta elia & monte sion qualitas regionum  
monstratur. usq; ad cesareā palestine. occasum uersus.

Plate 3 Church on Mount Sion, ÖNB Ms. 458, fol. 9v, ninth century (Photo: ÖNB)



iudaicas captiuitatis libro partim de scilicet arculfus experientia excerpta detulimus. Qui a ipse indubitanter refert de eo loco quo de faucibus maris galilee iordani egreditur usque ad eum locum ubi in mare mortuum intrat. ubi dierum iter habuit. Quod scilicet iter mare salissimum a demontis oliuari specula sepius sicut ipse narrat scilicet prospicit arculfus.

**XVIII** Arculfus sacerdos scilicet regionem samariae peragrans ad eundem provinciam peruenit civitatem quae ebraice dicitur dicitur sicheim. greca uero & latina consuetudine sicima nominatur quae quam liba utriusque & sicheim uocari solet. Itaque prope hanc eandem civitatem quandam aera murum uidit constructam ecclesiam. quae qua dyfida. in. iiii. mundi cardines formata extenditur quasi infimilitudinem crucis cuius figura inferius describitur.

In cuius medietate us dici solet ad spiciens partem eius medius habet quem saluator in quodam die hora eundem puteum iterum eodem meridie haurire uenit. De eadem mulier interrogans dixit. Domine neque in quo haurias habet. & puteus altus est. Arculfus itaque quidem eiusdem putei bibit aqua & de illius altitudine enarrat dicens. Ille quem aspectus puteus altitudinis habet bis uicenas ortus. hoc est xl cubitos.



Plate 4 Church of Jacob's Well, ZB Ms. Rh. 73, fol. 18v, ninth century (Photo: ZB)



ab oriente porte iii

18

ab oriente porte iii

ab oriente porte iii



Et ciuitas non habet sol  
neq[ue] luna nam claritas d[omi]ni  
in luminauit eam & lucos nactus  
est agnus

Et ab occasu porte iii  
ubi angelus d[omi]ni ostendit s[an]cto iohanni ciuitatem  
s[an]ctam hierusalem nouam discende[n]de  
de celo habentem claritatem

Plate 5 Jerusalem of the Apocalypse, VBM Ms. 99, fol. 38r, ninth century (Photo: BNF)





Plate 6 Jerusalem of the Apocalypse, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg Ms. 140, fol. 55r, c. 1000 (Photo: Staatsbibliothek, Bamberg)



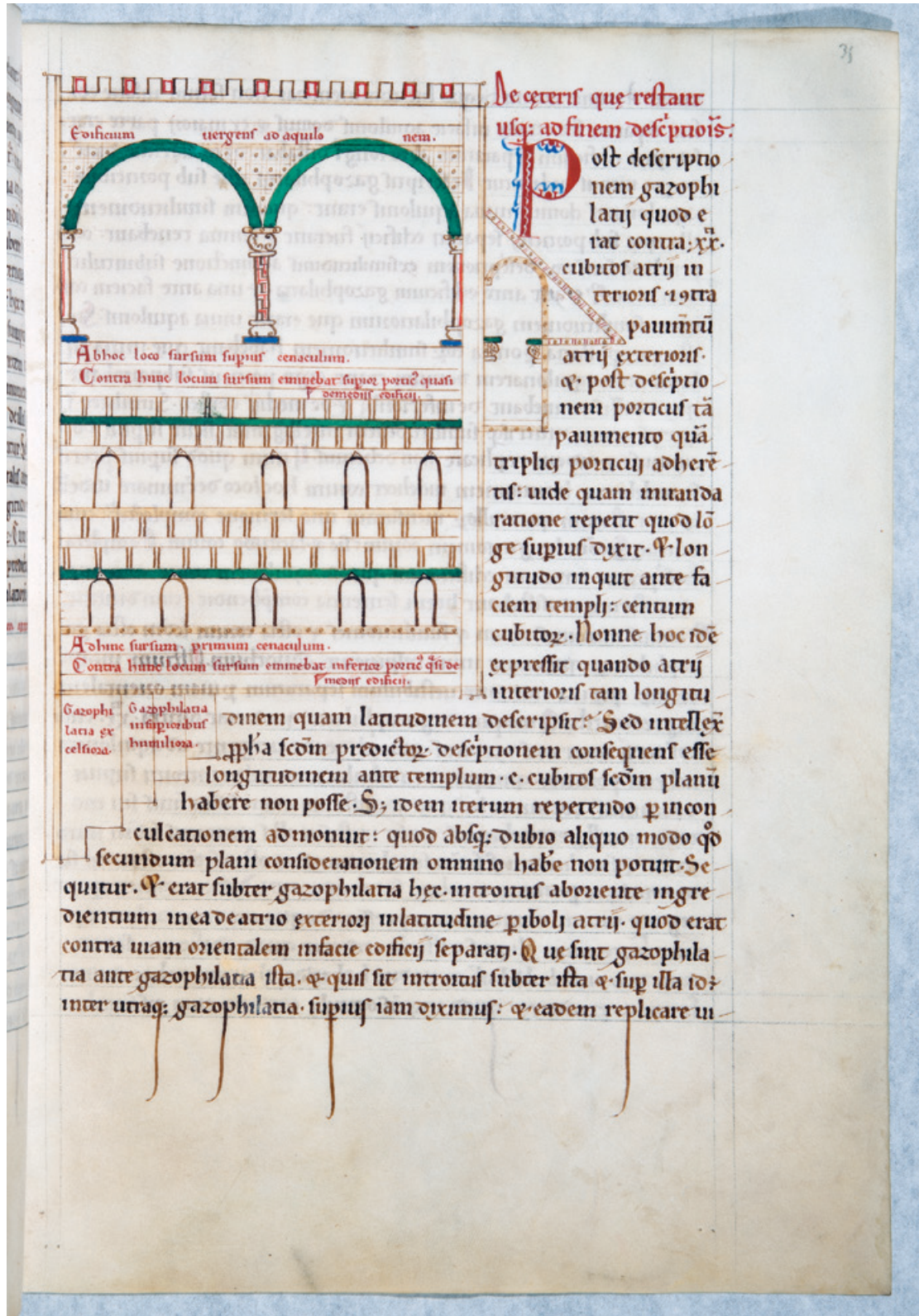


Plate 7 The East Gate of the Temple, BNF Ms. NAL 1791, fol. 35r, twelfth century (Photo: BNF)









Plate 9 Jerusalem, KB Ms. 85, fol. 1r, c. 1200 (Photo: HIP / Art Resource, NY)





Plate 10 Entry into Jerusalem, Psalter of Queen Melisende, BL Ms. Egerton 1139, fol. 5v, c. 1135 (Photo © British Library Board)



Plate 11 Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Entry into Jerusalem* from the back of the *Maestà* altarpiece, Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana, Siena, 1308–1311 (Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY)



Plate 12 Pietro Vesconte, Jerusalem, from Marino Sanuto, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* ..., BLO Ms. Tanner 190, fol. 206v, c. 1321–4 (Photo: BLO)



Plate 13 Discovery of the Volto Santo in Jerusalem, BAV Ms. Pal. Lat. 1988, fol. 6v, c. 1400 (Photo: BAV)





Plate 14 Itinerary to Jerusalem, BL Ms. Royal 14 CVII, fol. 5r, 1250–1259 (Photo © British Library Board)



Et iscm e altare p illi appitōnis meōria  
 Sūt a plura 7 notabilia in ipi eccā septe  
 & hec q̄tā s̄ nōtia sūt quoz oim foꝝ  
 et situs apper i foꝝ 7 figura. h̄ cū magna  
 diligentia designata.

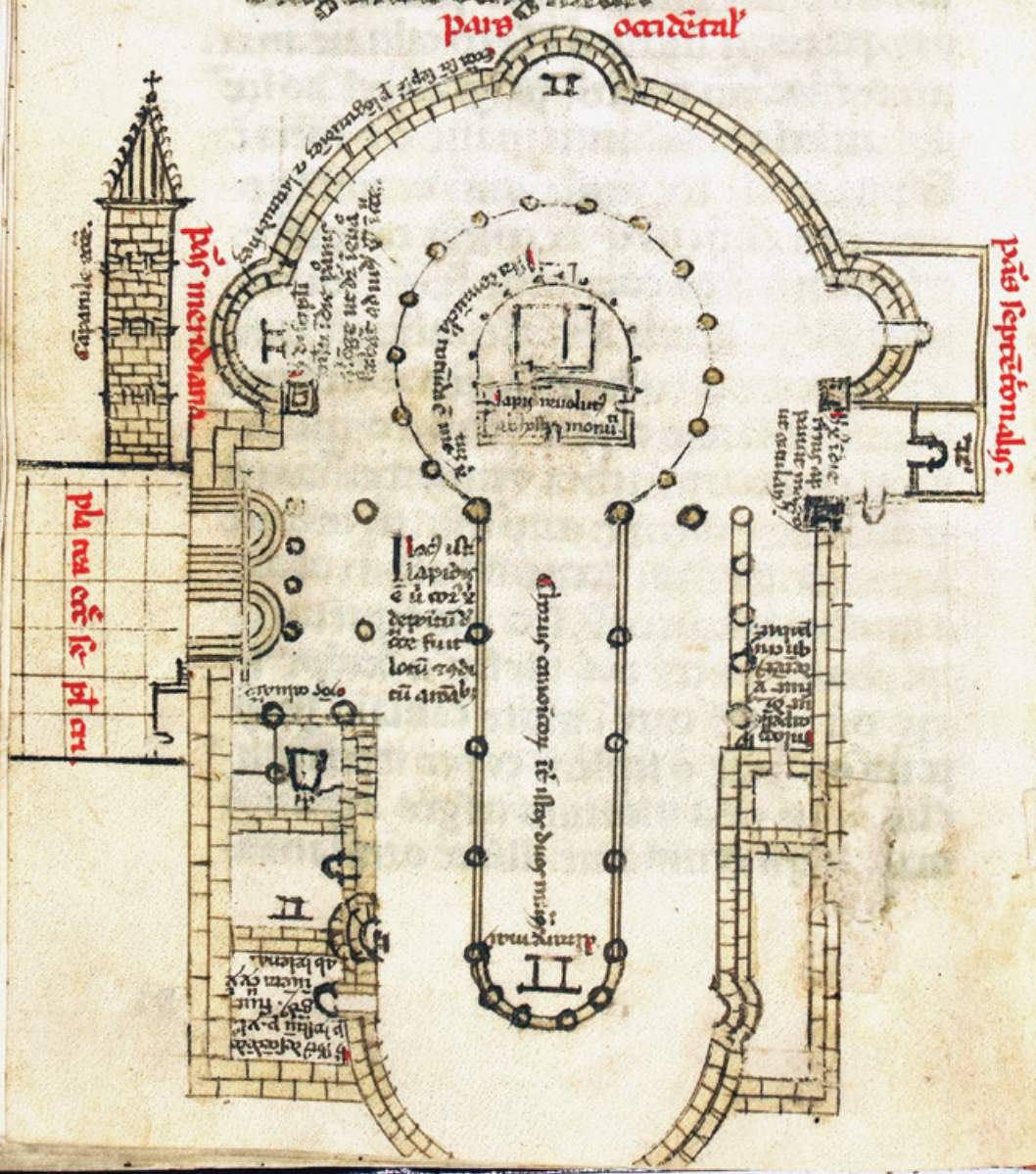


Plate 15 Ground-plan, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, BCR Ms. 3876, fol. 51v, first half of the fourteenth century (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome)





Plate 16 Letter initial with Franciscan pilgrim, BCR Ms. 3876, fol. 1r, first half of the fourteenth century (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome)



Plate 17 Church of the Holy Sepulcher, NYPL Ms. Spencer 62, fol. 11r, 1490–1510 (Photo: Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations)

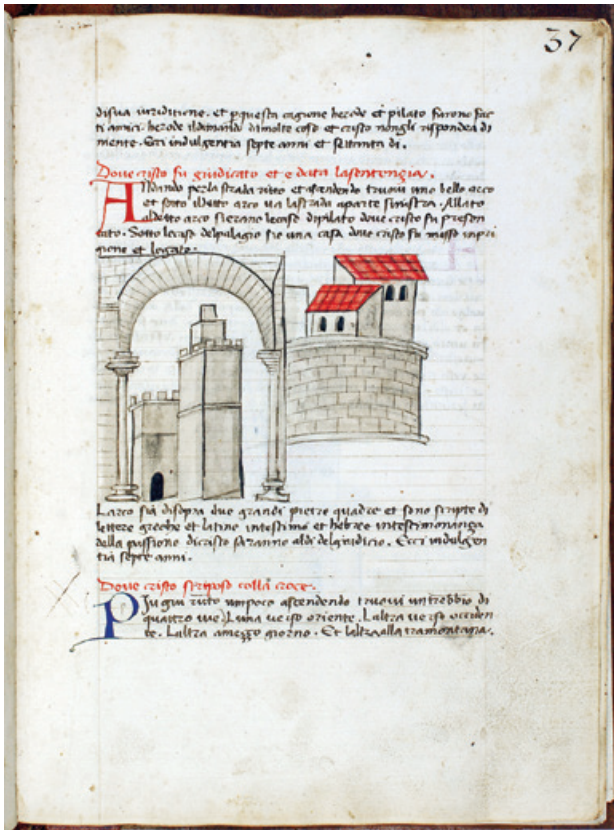


Plate 18 *Ecce Homo* arch, BNCf Ms. Panc. 79, fol. 37r,  
c. 1481 (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali  
e del turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)



Plate 19 Nazareth, BNCf Ms. Panc. 79, fol. 49v, c. 1481  
(Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del  
turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)





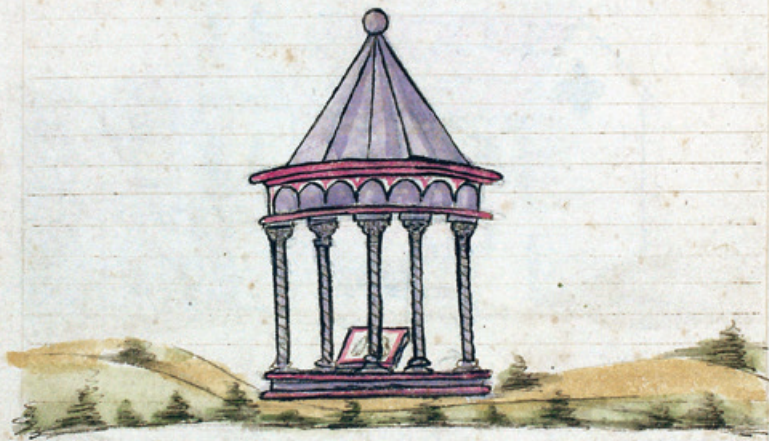
Plate 20 Column in “the Hanging Church” and tomb of St. Barbara, NYPL Ms. Spencer 62, fol. 97v, 1490–1510 (Photo: Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations)



Plate 21 Monastery of the Holy Cross, BNCF Ms. Panc. 79, fol. 43v, c. 1481 (Photo: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze)



ladetta scala cinque piedi. Et questa scala va alla chiesa donde  
 Cristo ando in cielo. Come in capo della detta scala truoua una  
 loggia dinanzi alla porta della sancta chiesa et inui si paga p  
 tributo mecca dramma per testa per la prima uolta. La por  
 ta se uolta marco et uolta al ponente. Dentro alla chiesa  
 se tutta tonda colonnata di belle colonne di marmo et nel me  
 ggio se una grande finestra di sopra. Dentro e tutta dipin  
 ta et lauorata al meggio della chiesa detta al dritto della grande  
 finestra che e di sopra se una bella cappella tonda colonna  
 ta conotto cono crasano cono sia due colonne una dall'una



parte et così dall'altra. Et sia due porte una dal ponente donde  
 s'entra nella cappella et una all'auante che sia forata di so  
 pra alla uolta in una acuta di sopra a un pome di pietra. Den  
 tro la cappella se di tauole di marmo tauolata et larga dentro  
 da dieci piedi per ogni uerso. nel meggio se una tauola di mar  
 mo con due pedate come le forme di due piedi scalci. Et in di  
 yhesu Cristo s'ileuo et monto in summa naltza pietra rossa  
 la quale se fuori della detta cappella et e murata. Et di quel  
 la pietra yhesu Cristo s'ileuo colla potentia del padre impresen  
 za.

. De gl'apostoli.



**L** Operto di ahoza di questo trouamo una fortessa molto bella et chiamasi lamech. Ma nono lamech doue sta lo corpo di maumetto. Ma e una tenuta et stamoc' p'za aini pe'guardia del deserto. Et inu' sono due bagnora grandissime



et dallato uno pozzo di buona acqua. or nonne bere troppa che  
 rda conuene pigare come se fusse il greco di pisa. Et dallato  
 erano ben sei fornaci et io domandai di queste fornaci quello  
 doua essere. Et mi fu detto che per quello luogho alcuna uolta pas  
 sa tanta gente di saciani quando uanno allamech a uisitare  
 lo sepolcro di quello si aguzato di maumetto di numero di qua  
 ranta miglia passano insieme si che conuene empier le dette  
 bagnora di acqua accio chella gente possa bere a sua uolonta et  
 alle fornaci si possa quocere pane et uiuanda. Lagrande c'pta  
 di lamech doue sta lo sepolcro del zisto maumetto. Io a fu appres  
 so ma andare non ci uolsi. domandai l'ontepito di questi loro  
 santuarij. Disse che nella detta c'pta di lamech sia una bellis  
 sima moschea ioe la chiesa loro et dentro sia una cappella che  
 dintorno di sopra et di sotto sia di calamita et lo sepolcro di





Plate 24 Hubert or Jan van Eyck, *Women at the Tomb*, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1420s (Photo: HIP / Art Resource, NY)



Plate 25 Jerusalem, BL Ms. Egerton 1070, British Library, fol. 5r, c. 1435–43 (Photo © British Library Board)



Plate 26 Jerusalem, BNF Ms. Fr. 9087, fol. 85v, fifteenth century (Photo: BNF)





**A**d ce *hymne.*  
nam agni prouu  
di et stolis albis candidi  
post transitum maris ru

Plate 27 Tomb of Christ, Ms. 219, Bibliothèque Municipale de Tours, fol. 110r, 1460s (Photo © Bibliothèque Municipale de Tours © CNRS-IRHT)



Plate 28 *Christ Bearing the Cross*, c. 1470, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 43.95, Bequest of George D. Pratt, 1935 (Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



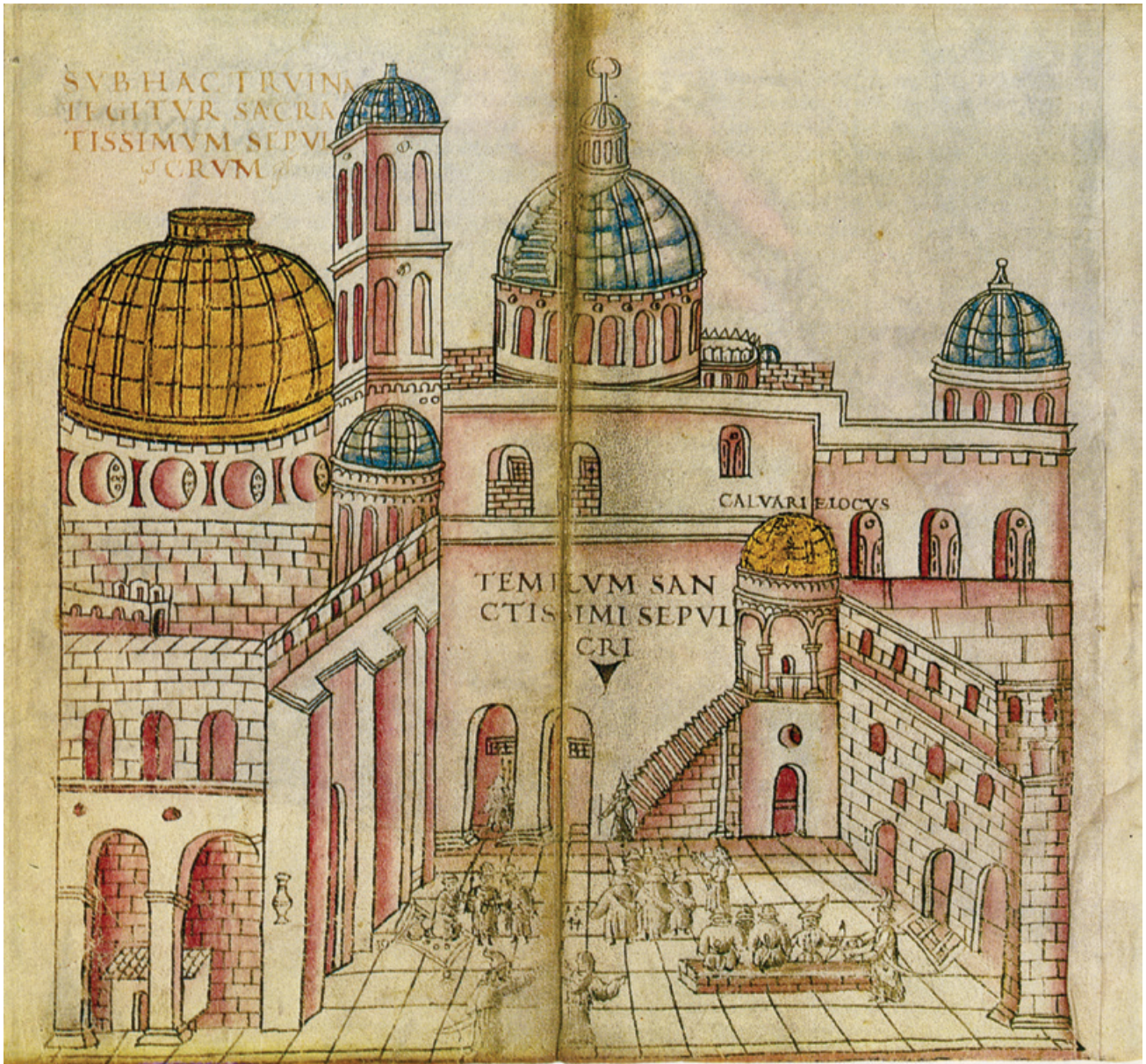


Plate 29 View of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Gabriele Capodilista, *Itinerario di Terra Santa* (Private Collection), c. 1475 (Photo: Sotheby's, London)

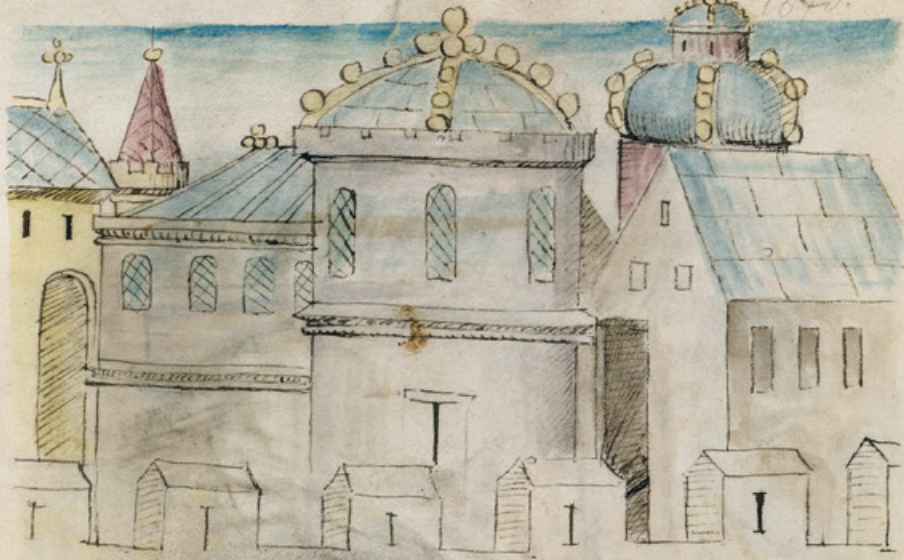


Von der selben gegent die wne dann finden  
 von der begreynus adams abrahams ysacks  
 und Jacops do sie weggraben sint  
**D**er weg in ebron das ist der von Jerusalem  
 gen Betlehem durch die statt und halb  
 dem mitten tag do vinstu ein schöne Stadt  
 die hauffen die hauden karyack und ymen in  
 der stat ist ein schöne krich aber die hayden  
 halten sie und entar kein creisten hm ein nicht  
 gen aber mir sagt ein hayden das darinne  
 ist ein gross wels das ist ein gras erhaben  
 ober die erden und in dem selbst gras  
 ist weggraben adam abraham ysack und  
 Jacop und hee werber eua Sara rebecca  
 und helia und do selbst wuchs der pamm



Plate 30 Church of the Patriarchs at Hebron, BL Ms. Egerton 1900, fol. 67v, c. 1450-1467 (Photo © British Library Board)





**Introuit auitas iherusalem dic psalmum sequentem**

**L**auda iherusalem dnm lauda. deu tuu spm Quonia confortant  
seras portam tuam benedixit filijs tuis mte. **C**um profuit  
mes tuos pacem et adipe femina faciat te **C**um emittit eloquiu suu  
terre. uelociter currit seruis eius. **C**um dat nixem sicut lanam nebula  
sicut cinerem spargit. **M**ittit crystallum suu sicut succellas ante facie  
frigoris. eius quid sustinebit. **E**mittit uerbu suu et lique faciet ea  
sicut sonitus eius et sicut aqua. **C**um annuntiat uerbu suu iacob  
misticis et iudicia sua iherosol. **N**on fecit taliter omi nationem et iuda  
ea sua manifestauit eis. **G**loria patri et filio et spu sco. **Oratio. uers**

**G**loriosa dicta sunt de te uitas dei. **Colla. h.**  
**D**eus qui ciuitatem iherosol summo prodigne et nobis beneficijs immensis  
inestimabiliter sublimasti. uolens in ca filiu tuu unigen tuu legibus huius  
subici. uindi. tradi. ligari. percuti. despic. uisum iudari. flagellari.  
blasphemari. uulnerari. coronari. celsisq. mari et trulari. **P**resta quib  
ut hie acerbissime passionis summo beneficio deuote recolentes. **S**imul ter terra  
meis per memoria. ceterisq. illam iherosol sanctorum spiritum et scorum  
omni saluet eternam mansionem et tuu seueritatem. **consequi mecumus.**  
**Per.**



Plate 31 Church of the Holy Sepulcher, BAP Ms. 212, fol. 2r, 1470s (Photo: BNF)





Plate 32 Christ at the Holy Sepulcher, QCO Ms. 357 fol. 70v, after 1480 (Photo: Queen's College, Oxford)